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William Pitt.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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FORT PITT.

By

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

CHAPTER I.

The Struggle For Supremacy Between France and England

In the olden time Pittsburgh was known indiscriminately as Pittsburgh and Fort Pitt, the latter designation being most generally used. The story of those far-away days has been told before, but as Sir Charles Wakefield of England is about to present to the city, a statue of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, for whom the place was named, it will not be inappropriate to repeat the tale, together with such incidents as may have been overlooked, or which did not come to the knowledge of the earlier historians. The story of the struggle for supremacy in America between the French and the English is of romantic interest. The French claimed the interior of the continent by right of discovery by LaSalle. The English claims were more comprehensive and just as inconclusive as those of the French. They claimed the country from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific on the ground of discovery, and the Ohio Valley by purchase at Lancaster in 1744 from the Six

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Nations, the ostensible owners. (1) The contest on the part of the French was hopeless from the beginning. Their settlements were widely scattered. Canada and Acadia, which last, had been ceded to England in 1713, were in the far north, while away to the south was Louisiana. The total population was only about eighty thousand, while the English Colonies, which were all closely connected and located on the Atlantic seaboard, numbered about one million one hundred and sixty thousand souls. (2) The French developed a comprehensive plan of building a line of forts from Canada southward, intended ultimately to connect Canada with Louisiana, and restrict the English to the seaboard.

Like that of most frontier communities, the story of Fort Pitt and of the village which sprang up within its shadow, is so intermingled, that in order to arrive at an intelligent understanding, the incidents connected with each must be treated as the history of the whole. The annals of Fort Pitt begin many years prior to its actual erection.

It was the desire for the possession of the Indian trade that first stirred the rival claimants to the Ohio Valley into action. It was a great fur country and was capable of drawing rich tributary currents from the region of the Great Lakes. (3) English traders were doing business there as early as 1730, French traders even earlier. At first the French had a monopoly of the fur trade, but the prices of furs declined and the Indians were dissatisfied and in 1747 they turned to the English traders who paid them more money for their furs. Conrad Weiser, a German, who had been a farmer and school teacher, (4) and in early life had lived with the Indians, spoke their language and had their confidence, was now the Pennsylvania Indian interpreter and the confidential adviser to the authorities in Indian affairs. He early learned of the discontent of the Indians with the French traders and saw an opportunity for enlarging the trade and influence of Pennsylvania, which information he imparted to the Provincial authorities. Accordingly in 1748 he was sent with presents to the Indians at Logstown, situated on the north side of the Ohio River, eighteen miles below the site of Pittsburgh, where he made a treaty and secured their

friendship for Pennsylvania. At the same time he gained for the Province the Indian trade from Logstown to the Mississippi River, and from the Ohio to the Michigan region. (5)

Virginia was also anxious for the Ohio Indian trade, and in 1748 there was formed by London merchants and a few leading men in Virginia, including Thomas Lee the President of the Council of the Colony, and two brothers of George Washington, the Ohio Company, to trade with the Indians and settle on their lands, Governor Dinwiddie becoming a partner at a later date. They obtained a grant from England of 500,000 acres of land on the south side of the Ohio River and sent Christopher Gist, a surveyor, into the country to explore and report on the same, his first journey being undertaken in 1751, and the other in 1752. On the second visit to the Indians Gist made a treaty with them at Logstown, where he secured their promise not to molest the company in its settlement of the lands. (6) The next year the Ohio Company made plans for building a fort and laying out a town on the hill immediately below the mouth of Chartiers Creek. (7)

The French were not asleep while Weiser was weaning the Indians from their cause, and during the time that the Ohio Company was negotiating with them for permission to occupy their lands, but were preparing to assert their claims to the Ohio Country by some positive act. Accordingly, in 1749, they sent an expedition down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, under Captain de Celeron and took possession of the Ohio Valley in the name of the French king. The French carried the sword of conquest in one hand and the cross of salvation in the other; and the occupation of the Ohio country was both spiritual and political. The wooden crosses which DeCeleron erected along the Ohio River were intended to indicate that the country was dedicated to the Christian religion; the sovereignty of France was proclaimed by the burial of leaden plates reciting the story of the occupation. Priests and soldiers chanted the *Te Deum*, the hills and valleys rang with the cries of *Vive Le Roi*, and the country was part of New France.

The English soon learned of DeCeleron's expedition, but took no decisive measure to gain possession of the Ohio

Valley until 1754. Two years (8) before the French had begun building their series of forts southward and were contemplating the erection of a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Pennsylvania knew of this action of the French but did nothing to thwart them, although three of the forts already constructed were within the limits of that Province. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia was not so quiescent, being perhaps also influenced by his connection with the Ohio Company. First he sent George Washington, then twenty-one years of age, to interview the commandants of the French forts and ascertain their reasons for building the forts, but their only reply was that, "France was resolved on possessing the great territory which her missionaries and travellers had revealed to the world." (9) In the spring Dinwiddie, with the consent of Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, (10) sent a small force, hastily collected, to the confluence of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers where they began the erection of a fort in an effort to forestall the French, the place having been recommended by Washington as the most suitable for the purpose. This the Virginians called Fort Prince George (11) after the grandson of George the Second, king of England, the heir apparent to the throne and afterward King George the Third. Virginia also decided to raise a regiment of six companies, and in order to stimulate the military ardor of the people, Governor Dinwiddie issued a proclamation offering a bounty of two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio River, to be divided among those who would enlist for the proposed expedition. (12)

But the French were equally alert and by a movement from Canada which was Napoleonic in its rapidity (13) they appeared on April 17, 1754, in overwhelming force before the Virginians and compelled Ensign Ward, the officer in charge of the uncompleted works, to surrender, and themselves built a fort, which they named Fort Duquesne after the Marquis, Duquesne deMenneville, Governor-General of Canada. The next year the French annihilated the army of English and Provincials under Braddock, which had been sent to capture Fort Duquesne.

Then came a change in the English policy. The nation

Marquis Duquesne de Menneville.

was disheartened at the failure of its armies in Europe and America, and in 1757 with one voice called William Pitt, to form a ministry in which he became nominally Secretary of State but in reality Prime Minister, the Premier, the Duke of New Castle, being a figurehead. Pitt was a man of unbounded energy and immediately upon assuming power planned for the next year a vigorous prosecution of the war against the French whom the English had been fighting in Europe for several years. For America he designed three campaigns—one against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, another against Louisburg and the third against Fort Duquesne, the last to be commanded by General John Forbes.

The fame of William Pitt spread to America and the Colonials were aroused as they had never been aroused before; and they became enthusiastic partisans of the war. The Pennsylvania Assembly at once provided men, voted money, supplied wagons and repaired roads. In Philadelphia the Rev. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, renowned in his day as an orator and writer, advocated participation in the war from the pulpit, and with his pen. (14) The prevalent opinion among the Americans was that they were engaged in a religious war. The French were Catholics and the English Protestants, and therefore it was a struggle between the two religions. Dr. Smith advocated this view. In an address written, and published broadcast, at the desire of General Forbes while levying forces for the contemplated expedition against Fort Duquesne, he declared: "Never was the Protestant cause in a more desperate situation." Probably for the benefit of the many German settlers in Pennsylvania he lauded Frederick II, the Protestant king of Prussia, designated in history as Frederick the Great, who was dazzling England and the rest of Europe by his audacious victories over several Catholic powers, and proclaimed him "The great and heroic King of Prussia." Dr. Smith's conclusion was an appeal to the patriotism of the Americans. "Rise then, my countrymen! as you value the blessings of the liberty you enjoy, and dread the evils that hang over you, rise and show yourselves worthy of the name of Britons!"

Pennsylvania responded nobly to the appeal, and sup-

plied nearly half the required force, not including waggoners and laborers. Colonel Henry Bouquet, a brilliant Swiss officer, and lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, was the second in command to Forbes. The campaign was opened in the spring by Colonel Bouquet setting out with the regulars on his march to Raystown which he reached early in June. The Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina troops were assembled at Winchester under Washington. Forbes marched from Philadelphia early in July. The campaign proceeded without mishap until September 14th when the army met with a serious setback at the very gate of Fort Duquesne, where Major James Grant was defeated and taken prisoner.

Emboldened by this victory the French with a large force of Indians determined to attack Bouquet at his camp on Loyalhanna Creek on October 12th, before the arrival of the force under General Forbes, but were defeated with considerable loss. The march was resumed. The weather turned cold and the mountains were white with snow; then the snow melted and the cold rains fell and the new road which had just been constructed became deep with mud. But the march continued. On November 24th the army was on the bank of Turtle Creek, within twelve miles of Fort Duquesne. In the evening the Indians reported seeing thick clouds of smoke rising over the fort; at midnight the dull sound of a distant explosion was heard. In the morning the army moved forward again and in the evening came in sight of the smoking ruins of the fort, and not a Frenchman to be seen. The goal was reached and the campaign ended. In thankfulness to the great minister who had sent him there, Forbes named the ruins, "Pittsburgh".

The next day was Sunday and by direction of General Forbes the Rev. Charles Beatty, the chaplain of Colonel William Chapham's Pennsylvania Regiment, was ordered to preach "a thanksgiving sermon for the remarkable superiority of his Majesty's arms." (15) On the same day Forbes wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Denny of Pennsylvania, reporting the capture of Fort Duquesne, the letter being dated "Fort Duquesne or now Pittsburgh," (16) this being the first time of which there is any record that the

name "Pittsburgh" was used. On the 27th Forbes notified William Pitt of the victory over the French, this letter being dated simply "Pittsburgh." He also gave Pitt this additional information: "I have used the freedom of giving your name to Fort DuQuesne, as I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirits that now makes us masters of the place." (17)

A flood of other letters must have been sent by the happy captors of the French stronghold describing the expedition, and telling of the taking of the fort and expressing the exhuberance of their joy over the event. Only a few, however, have been preserved, and these are mainly from officers of the expedition. Among those still in existence are two letters from Colonel Bouquet. To his friend, William Allen, the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, he wrote on November 25, 1758, the letter being dated at "Fort Duquesne" in which he told of the last days of the campaign, and (18) generously gave Forbes the credit for its happy ending. "After God," he said, "the success of the expedition is entirely due to the General."

The other letter written by Bouquet is the one he sent his friend, Miss Anne Willing of Philadelphia, whose cousin, Joseph Shippen, was in his command and was his intimate friend. This also was dated at Fort Duquesne on November 25th. He addressed his correspondent as "Dear Nancy." She has been described as a charming young lady to whom Bouquet was engaged to be married. "I have the satisfaction to give you the agreeable news of the conquest of this terrible Fort," he began. "The French seized with a panic at our approach have destroyed themselves—the nest of pirates which has so long harboured the murderers and destructors of our poor people.

"They have burned and destroyed to the ground their fortifications, houses and magazines, and left us no other cover than heaven—a very cold one for an army without tents or equipages. We bear all this hardship with alacrity by the consideration of the immense advantage of this important acquisition." He concluded by telling her that he hoped soon to have the pleasure of seeing her when he would give her "a more particular account—chiefly about the beauty of this situation, which appears to me beyond

my description." (19)

Another letter of importance is that of George Washington, who wrote to Governor Farqieur of Virginia on November 28, 1758, from the "Camp at Fort Duquesne":

"I have the pleasure to inform you that Fort Duquesne, or rather the ground upon which it stood, was possessed by his Majesty's troops on the 25th inst. The enemy, after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the fort, and ran away by the light of it, going down the Ohio by water, to the number of about five hundred men, according to our best information. The possession of the fort has been a matter of surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes than the weakness of the enemy, want of provisions, and the defection of the Indians. Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by those prisoners, who providentially fell into our hands at Loyalhanna, when we despaired of proceeding farther. A council of war had determined that it was not advisable to advance this season beyond the place; but the above information caused us to march on without tents or baggage, and with only a light train of artillery." (20)

Forbes left the junction of the two rivers on December 3rd with the bulk of the army, (21) Bouquet remaining with the residue. The next day as Forbes' representative he met the Indians and gave them Forbes' assurance that the intentions of the British toward them were peaceful. (22) On December 5th Bouquet followed Forbes (23) with nearly all the remaining troops leaving Colonel Hugh Mercer in command with a force of two hundred and eighty men. (24)

In the meantime Forbes was marching eastward, but at Ligonier he became ill, and was obliged to remain there until December 27th, when he continued his journey, reaching Philadelphia on January 17, 1759. Notwithstanding his continued illness, one of his first acts after his arrival in Philadelphia, was to cause to be struck a gold medal in commemoration of the campaign which had ended so gloriously. On one side was a representation of a road cut through a forest and over rocks and mountains, together with the motto, *Per tot Discrimina.* On the reverse side was a picture of the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers, with a fort

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Raising the British Flag on the Ruins of Fort Duquesne

in flames, and Forbes approaching, carried on a litter, followed by the army marching in column with cannon; the motto here was *Ohio Brittanick Concilio Manuque.* On February 20th Forbes distributed the medals, (25) which were to be worn around the neck attached to a dark blue ribbon, to the officers of Colonel Bouquet's battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment.

On March 11th, the conqueror of Fort Duquesne died in Philadelphia. The entire city mourned his death and two days later he was given an imposing funeral. The remains were taken to the State House, and from there, escorted by a large force of military and by the officers of the Province and of the city, were taken to Christ Church, thousands of spectators lining the streets as the funeral cortege passed by. In the chancel of the church the Iron Head, as his Indian allies admiringly called Forbes, was laid to rest. (26)

Winter was coming on at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, and in order to provide shelter as well as to afford protection for the troops, it was necessary to build a temporary works, and the construction of a small stockade was begun before Forbes left. It was located on the bank of the Monongahela River at the south end of West Street, and between that street and what was for many years known as Liberty Street, but is now Liberty Avenue, and within four hundred yards of Fort Duquesne. It was four-sided with bastions at the four corners. According to the plan in the Crown Collection of Maps and Manuscripts in the British Museum it was of sufficient size for the accommodation of two hundred and twenty men. (27)

The importance of the place as a barrier against the encroachments of the French, in the eyes of the English ministry, is apparent from the letter of William Pitt, dated January 23, 1759, and written immediately upon receiving news of the capture of Fort Duquesne. Already he advocated the restoration, if possible of Fort Duquesne, or the erection of a fortress adequate to maintaining the possessions of English. (28)

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CHAPTER II.
The Collapse of French Rule in America, and the Rise of English Power in the Ohio Valley.

Forbes had been succeeded in the command of the English and Provincial troops in the Southern Department to which Pennsylvania belonged, by General John Stanwix (1) and Captain Harry Gordon who ranked as lieutenant in the First Battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, (2) was designated as chief engineer of the proposed fort. On August 6, 1759, Colonel Mercer wrote to Governor Denny that Captain Gordon had arrived with most of the artificers, but would not select a site for the new fort until the arrival of General Stanwix, and added, "We are preparing the materials for building with what expedition so few men are capable of." (3) Shortly afterward Stanwix arrived bringing with him materials and more skilled men and laborers, and on September 3, 1759, the work of building the fortress, advocated by Pitt, was commenced.

The plan of the fort, however, was not the work of Captain Gordon, but was made by Lieutenant Bernard Ratzer, an assistant engineer, also belonging to the First Battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment. (14) The original of this plan, like the plan of the temporary fort built along the Monongahela River, is preserved in the Crown Collection of Maps and Manuscripts in the British Museum. The 60th or Royal American Regiment, originally the 62nd or Royal American Regiment of Foot, had been authorized by an act of Parliament of November 5, 1755, which provided for raising a regiment among the German and Swiss settlers in America, and for the granting of commissions in this regiment to foreign Protestants who had served abroad as officers or engineers. The number of officers was never to exceed fifty and the engineers never to be more than twenty, and none were to be allowed to rise above the rank of lieutenant-colonel. (5) One of the requirements of the officers was that they must be able to speak the German language. Judging from Ratzer's name and because it appears in the list of officers of the battalion with nearly

a score of other lieutenants with German names, all of whom were commissioned at about the same time as Ratzer, he was a German. That he was a man of ability is apparent from the fact that in 1766 and 1767 he made a survey of the city of New York and a plan of the place, of which several editions were published. This plan, according to an eminent authority, is "the most accurate and reliable survey which we have of New York at this period and even today is much used in searching titles." (6) Ratzer remained in the English army for many years after the close of the French War, advancing to the rank of captain in 1773 and major in 1782. (7)

An interesting account of the happenings at the forks of the two rivers at this period was printed in the *American Magazine* of December, 1759, published at Woodbridge, New Jersey. (8) It is in the form of a letter, and is dated September 24, 1759. "It is now near a month since the army has been employed in erecting a most formidable fortification; such a one as will to latest posterity secure the British empire on the Ohio. There is no need to enumerate the abilities of the chief engineer, nor the spirit shown by the troops in executing this important task, the fort will soon be a lasting monument to both. Upon the General's arrival, about four hundred Indians of different nations came to confirm the peace with the English, particularly the Tawas and Wyandots, who inhabit about Fort D'Etroit. These confessed the errors they had been led into by the perfidy of the French; showed the deepest contrition for their past conduct, and promised not only to remain fast friends to the English, but to assist us in distressing the common enemy whenever we should call on them to do it. And all the nations which have been at variance with the English, said they would deliver up what prisoners they had in their hands to the General, at the grand meeting that is to be held in about three weeks. As soon as the Congress was ended the head of each nation presented the calumet of peace to the General, and showed every other token of sincerity that could be expected which the surrender of the prisoners will confirm. In this as in everything that can secure the lasting peace and happiness of these Colonies, the General is indefatigable."

On October 25, 1759, General Stanwix held another council with the Indians and told them that he insisted on their restoring the prisoners who were still in their possession. He also had Captain Montour, the interpreter, inform them that the city of Quebec had been captured by the English, who soon expected to drive the French out of America. The Indians then formally buried the hatchet and declared themselves fast friends of the English for all time. The chronicler of conference adds that "thereupon General Stanwix drank to the health of the Indians and the meeting dispersed." (9)

The work of building the fort went on throughout the summer and autumn, but was necessarily slow. The only material at hand was wood, which could be cut within a few hundred feet of the fort. Bricks had to be made, and to do this the proper clay must first be secured and thereafter kilns constructed for burning the bricks. Every other article needed in the construction of the fort was carried overland on packhorses, a distance of more than three hundred miles. It was therefore winter before the fort was well under way, and on December 8th, General Stanwix wrote to Governor Hamilton from the "Camp at Pittsburgh."

"The works here are near carried on to that degree of defence which was at first prepared for this year, so that I am now by degrees forming a winter garrison which is to consist of three hundred Provincials, one-half of whom are Pennsylvanians, the others Virginians, and four hundred of the First Battalion of the Royal American Regiment, the whole to be under the command of Major Tullikens when I leave it. These I hope I shall be able to cover well under good barracks and feed likewise for six months from the first of January, besides artillery, artificers and batteau men; Indians, too, must be fed, and they are not a few, who come and go and trade here." (10)

On December 24th, General Stanwix sent another letter to Governor Hamilton, this time dated "Pittsburgh," in which he wrote that he was making arrangements to have more troops at Fort Pitt in the following spring to assist in the construction of the fort; and that it could be completed during the next summer. (11)

After the fort was occupied, although far from finished, on March 21, 1760, General Stanwix left Fort Pitt for Philadelphia. On June 29th, General Robert Moncton, the chief officer of the department to which Fort Pitt belonged, called by Bancroft "the brave, open-hearted and liberal Moncton," who only the year before had been the second in command under Wolfe at the surrender of Quebec, came to the fort. (12) Almost immediately he began arranging to send a large force to Presqu' Isle (now Erie) to take possession of the upper posts as well as those along the frontiers as far as Detroit and Mackinaw; and on July 7th, Colonel Bouquet marched with five companies for Presqu' Isle, other troops following later. But the march was uneventful. The French, in order to reinforce the army which was being collected by them to oppose the English who were moving against Montreal, had withdrawn their forces, and when Bouquet reached Presqu' Isle on July 17th, he was enabled to take possession without resistance. It was at about this time that the first census of Pittsburgh was taken, the work being done by Colonel James Burd who arrived with his regiment of Pennsylvanians on July 6th. The enumeration was made on July 21st and it was found that the population, exclusive of the soldiers, was one hundred forty-nine. (13)

That the reputation with which Bancroft credits Moncton, was well deserved is evidenced by the consideration which he had for the Indians. Some of the Indian traders were unscrupulous in their dealings, and the Indians were often imposed upon, and cheated in trading their skins and furs for such necessaries as they required. Moncton saw the evil and provided a remedy, and established a store at Fort Pitt where the Indians could trade without fear of being wronged. (14)

On August 20th, Moncton made a treaty at Fort Pitt with the Six Nations and delivered a speech from Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the commander in chief of the British forces in America. He declared that the King of England had not sent him to deprive the Indians of their lands, that he did not mean to do so, and that the posts which he was establishing were being built to prevent the enemy from taking them; nor were the English people there to settle

on the Indian lands. (15)

Meanwhile the work on the fort was progressing. In the diary of James Kenny, a Quaker, who was living in Pittsburgh in 1761, and managing a store (16) for Philadelphia parties, there is an account of the uncompleted fort as it appeared in civilian eyes, as well as interesting sidelights on the life of the village. In one of the entries dated "11th mo., 19th," there is a detailed description of the fort, the "banks" of which the writer states are nearly raised. He relates that the front facing the town is of brick and the corners of the angles of hewn stone; * * * the part nearest the point where the two rivers meet is of earth sodded over and covered with thick long grass planted the year before, the bank having been mown several times during the summer. The fort he said is "four square" with a row of barracks along each square, three rows being of wooden framework, and the row on the side nearest the point, brick. Also that a large brick house had been erected during the past summer in the southeast corner of the fort on which the roof is being put on. He continues, telling that there are steps at the door of hewn free stone, and the building has a cellar under it. The doors of the magazine, vaults and dungeons, are under huge banks of earth thrown out when the trenches were dug, and open in the rear of the barracks. In the magazines are kept the stores of ammunition, etc., and in the dungeons the prisoners who are to be tried for their lives are confined. There are no lights in the vaults and on the southeast bastion stands a high pole like a mast, on which a flag is hoisted every first day of the week from about eleven to one o'clock, and on state days, etc. Then there are three wells of water walled in the fort, and there is a square of clear ground in the interior about two acres in extent.

Kenny's journal also gives the earliest information obtainable in regard to the state of education and religion in Pittsburgh. He states that many of the inhabitants had engaged a schoolmaster, and had subscribed sixty pounds for him for the year, and that he had twenty scholars; also that the soberer people seemed to long for some public way of worship and that the schoolmaster, although a Presbyterian, reads from the book of Common

Prayer, on the first day of the week to a congregation of different principals, "where they behave very grave." This last remark is evidently not made from personal knowledge, as the writer adds in parenthesis, "as I heard;" and concludes his observations by saying that, "On occasion the children also are brought to church as they call it."

General Moncton had left Fort Pitt on October 27, 1760, (17) and from that time Colonel Bouquet was in charge, and at his direction a second enumeration of the inhabitants, as well as of the houses in the town was made. This was done on April 14, 1761, and the report showed that the population consisted of two hundred and twenty-one men, which included a number of soldiers dwelling outside of the fort, seventy-three women and thirty-eight children, and that there were standing in the village one hundred and sixty-two houses, of which ten were unoccupied. (18)

By the time that winter arrived Colonel Bouquet had completed Fort Pitt. It was a most formidable work and the cost was enormous. Lewis Brantz, a well educated young German, who stopped over in Pittsburgh in 1785, while on his way from Baltimore, being employed in conducting a party of Germans to the Western country, who had engaged to settle on lands owned there by his employers, wrote in his journal, that Fort Pitt was "formerly the strongest Western fortification of the Americans." (19) The Rev. David Jones, a Baptist missionary who was in Pittsburgh in 1772, related that the fort was said to have cost the crown £100,000 sterling. (20) Hugh Henry Brackenridge, who came to the place in 1781, writing of the fort in 1786, said, the cost was £60,000. (21)

What is claimed to be an authentic description of the fort was printed in the Centennial number of the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette* of July 29, 1886.

"It covered eighteen acres of ground and was much larger than Fort Duquesne. The fort proper was built in the form of an irregular pentagon, with regular bastions at the five angles surrounded by a broad moat, which at times was nearly filled by the rising water of the rivers. The moat extended from the Allegheny River northeast of the fort, and entirely around it, but did not connect with the Monongahela, though it approached very near it. The

two shorter angles of the work upon the land side were revetted with brick solidly embanked with earth. The other three angles were stockaded with an earthen parapet. A line of sharpened palisades was planted near the foot of the rampart. The fort was supplied with casemates, or bomb-proofs, and had barracks and officers quarters for a thousand men. Running across a point outside of and parallel to the ditch was the glacis, or earth work, with salient and re-entrant angles having entrances covered by traverses and extending from river to river. A light parapet with three bastions, extended along the Allegheny and thence along the Monongahela to the bastion. Eighteen guns were mounted on the bastions."

The fort was located almost entirely west of Marbury (now Barbeau) Street which was laid out partly along what had been the glacis and partly in the moat of the fort. (22) At about where Penn Street (now Penn Avenue) intersects Marbury Street was the main entrance to the fort and here there was a drawbridge crossing the moat. The southerly line of the fort extended across Penn Street, this portion of Penn Street being entirely covered by the fort all the way to the Monongahela River. It also crossed Liberty Street at West Street and extended thence to the Monongahela. Facing this stream was another entrance with a drawbridge. The stronghold extended northwardly from Penn Street at the point nearest to Marbury Street, about one hundred and fifty feet, and at the north bastion about three hundred feet, the distance in both instances being measured to the outer line of the moat.

Along the easterly front of the fort Lieutenant Ratzer had laid out gardens covering all the ground between the Allegheny River and Liberty Street, and extending eastwardly approximately to about seventy-five or a hundred feet from Fifth (now Stanwix) Street. This ground was divided by three lanes into five blocks. The gardens comprised about forty acres and were divided into two parts. Close to the fort and extending eastwardly from the bastions and along the Allegheny River, under the direction of the officers of the fort, an orchard of apple and pear trees was planted, called the King's Orchard. Farther east the ground was brightened with flowers and shrubs and

ornamental plants, and made useful by the cultivation of vegetables, necessary for the inmates of the fort. This was christened the Artillery Gardens. (23)

But the great fortress erected for the maintenance of English supremacy proved to be unnecessary. Long before it was completed French arms everywhere in America had met with defeat at the hands of the English. The year 1759 had been a glorious one in English history. The French had abandoned Ticonderoga on the approach of General Amherst. The battle of Niagara had been fought and won on July 24th by Sir William Johnson, the Colonial Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the victory being so decisive that the troops sent by General Stanwix from Fort Pitt took possession of the French posts as far as Presqu' Isle without resistance. (24) Finally General Wolfe had climbed to the plains of Abraham and captured the fortress of Quebec. In 1760 these victories were crowned by the surrender of Montreal; and Detroit, and all other places in Canada were surrendered to General Amherst in September. The end had come to the French domination. All their possessions in the North, as well as those east of the Mississippi were in the hands of the victorious English. A preliminary treaty of peace between France and Great Britain, as well as with other powers, was signed on November 3, 1762. But a definitive treaty of peace yet remained to be executed, and this was not finally accomplished until February 10, 1763, when a treaty was signed at Paris formally ceding the conquered territories to Great Britain.

Fort Pitt, however, was still necessary as a protection against the Indians. The transfer from the French to the English of the posts between the Great Lakes and the Ohio led to a war with the Indian tribes of which the master spirit was Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas. A coalition of the Indian tribes from the Allegheny and Ohio rivers to the Great Lakes was formed, led by Pontiac, and by Kiyasuta at the head of the Senecas, Delawares and Shawanese. It is generally known as Pontiac's War, but along the Ohio border it was called the Kiyasuta and Pontiac War. (25)

The design of the Indians was to drive the English from all the Western country. So sudden were the move-

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Henry Bouquet

ments of the Indians and so vigorous their attacks, that in a short time they had captured eight widely scattered forts and massacred the garrisons. Only Detroit, Niagara, Fort Pitt and Ligonier remained in the hands of the English, and these were all besieged. During the latter part of May the Indians began murdering settlers in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt and even soldiers who tarried outside of the fort. On the 30th the matter had become so threatening that the inhabitants of the town were ordered into the fort, and in the next few days all the houses in the town were pulled down or burned.

Now the siege commenced in earnest. Colonel Bouquet then in command at Philadelphia, was early in the spring ordered by General Amherst to collect a force and march to the relief of Fort Pitt. (26) After being engaged by the Indians at Bushy Run, whom he defeated decisively, he reached Fort Pitt on August 10th and raised the siege. (27) The Indians were dismayed at the terrible punishment received at Bushy Run, and not only gave up their designs against Fort Pitt, but withdrew westward to the Muskingum River. The next spring, however, having recovered from their fright, they again ravaged the frontier, and a new expedition was planned to be sent against their towns on the Muskingum River.

The army began to assemble at Carlisle on August 5, 1764, and here Colonel Bouquet assumed the command. The arrangements were completed on August 9th, when the new army began its march, arriving at Fort Pitt on September 17th. (28) On October 3rd the army left Fort Pitt and arrived at the Muskingum on the 17th, when a conference was held with the Indians. The Indians were only too willing to make peace, the prisoners in their hands were surrendered, a treaty of peace was entered into, and this ended the Kiyasuta and Pontiac War. The termination of this war ended the usefulness of Fort Pitt, except as a watch tower from which to observe the neighboring Indians, and as a place to fit out expeditions against the Indians farther away.

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CHAPTER III.
The Town Grows as the Fort Declines.

The town, which was located east of the fort, was soon rebuilt after the termination of the Kiyasuta and Pontiac War and grew in importance. Formerly nearly all the houses were located along the Monongahela River, only a few near the fort, in what was known as the lower town standing away from that river and in the direction of the Allegheny. The upper town was farther up the Monongahela River and extended to the location of Market Street. (1) On the rebuilding of the town the houses were mainly erected in what had been the upper town, which now began near the location of Ferry Street. There were as yet no streets, and the only road was the one which came from the East, and led to the main entrance of the fort. From this a few paths diverged to the Monongahela River and to the houses standing there and at the other points. And now, in 1765, Colonel John Campbell, by direction of the commander at Fort Pitt, prepared a plan of that part of the territory which lay between Water Street and Second Street, now Second Avenue, and Ferry and Market streets, comprising four blocks; and this was the town of Pittsburgh. (2)

More traders settled in the town; the population increased, trade with the Indians grew in volume, but otherwise the only events of moment were the conferences held with the Indians who were always willing to attend, knowing that food and drink would be served in abundance, and that they would be supplied with such necessaries as ammunition and blankets. The most important of these was the great conference which began on April 26, 1768, with the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawanese, Munseys, Mohicans and other tribes (3) who had complained of the murder of several of their people by the whites, and about their encroachments on the Indian lands, particularly on those along the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. The Indians attending this conference are said to have numbered eleven hundred. (4)

The title to all the lands in Western Pennsylvania, in-

cluding those about Fort Pitt, was still in the Indians, the possession of the numerous occupants being by sufference of the proprietaries or by permission of the military authorities. That it was true that the whites were encroaching on the Indian lands, and that the Indians had cause for their complaints is evident from the fact that the Pennsylvania Council on February 3, 1768, enacted a law providing the death penalty for persons settling on lands owned by the Indians. (5) But nothing was done under this law except to issue a proclamation notifying the intruders to remove, which they refused to do. The conference continued until May 9th, but little was accomplished. It was agreed that four deputies from the Indians, accompanied by two white men, should go to the illegally settled lands and warn the settlers to leave. The Indians, however, refused to go and the conference ended in failure (6) and the irritation between the Indians and the whites continued.

The desire for the acquisition of the Indian lands in the Colonies was not confined to the people of Pennsylvania, but was equally strong in New York and Virginia. A settlement was eventually brought about by leading trading companies, assisted by self-interested public men, (7) among the latter being William Franklin, the Royal governor of New Jersey, Governor Sir Henry Moore of New York, and General Thomas Gage, the commander in chief of the British forces in North America, all of whom connected themselves with a land company formed to acquire some of these very lands after the Indians had surrendered their title, and expected to profit largely thereby. Sir William Johnson is also said to have become interested in this company. The matter of the acquisition of the Indian lands was brought before the British cabinet, and in January, 1768, the Earl of Shelburne, the Secretary of State, authorized Sir William Johnson to adjust the boundary with the Six Nations. Johnson soon arranged for a congress with the Indians to convene at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, New York. On October 24th thirty-two hundred Indians had gathered and with the commissioners of the interested Provinces, including Lieutenant Governor Penn of Pennsylvania, in attendance, the first session was held.

Sir William Johnson had the confidence of the Indians

and easily persuaded them to concede the demands of the whites, and the sessions ended on November 1st. And for a sum of money equal to about ten thousand dollars, and such goods as were necessary to the Indians, or for which their untutored hearts yearned, they conveyed enormous tracts of land to Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York. The deed to Pennsylvania was for about one-third of the land in the Province, the western portion of the grant, including all the territory south of the Ohio River and east of the Allegheny, and comprising the southern portion of Allegheny County, all of Washington, Greene, Fayette, Westmoreland, Somerset and Cambria counties, and portions of at least a dozen other counties, extending all the way to the northeastern boundary of the state. To Virginia the Indians granted a still larger tract, including most of the present state of Kentucky, and that to New York was also enormous in extent. (8)

Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, were now prepared to place portions of their newly acquired lands in the market for sale. All of Western Pennsylvania was in Cumberland County, and the first step taken by the Penns was on March 27, 1769, when they caused a survey to be made of a tract of land in that county to be called the manor of Pittsburgh, containing fifty-seven hundred sixty-six acres, which included Fort Pitt and the town of Pittsburgh, and much of the present city, as well as a still larger area south of the Monongahela River. This was patented on May 19, 1769.

In June, 1769, panic seized the people of Pittsburgh. It was feared that an Indian uprising was imminent. In the neighborhood of the town the Senecas had stolen upwards of a hundred and fifty horses, shot about two hundred head of cattle, and murdered several settlers. The prevalent opinion was that the Indian tribes had broken the treaty of peace made with them the year before, and the farms about the town were soon deserted. The Moravians were a sect of German enthusiasts who believed themselves called upon to preach the Gospel to the heathen nations of all the world, and had penetrated the Western wilds and risked torture and death in their efforts to Christianize the Indians. The assistance which they rend-

ered the Colonists of the middle Provinces during the French War and in the time of Indian troubles, forms an illuminating page in Colonial history. Since 1768 they had conducted a mission on the upper Allegheny which was in charge of David Zeisberger and Gottlieb Senseman. When the excitement was at its height at Fort Pitt, the two missionaries appeared there for the purpose of obtaining supplies for their people, and learned of the Indian outrages. They knew the sentiments of the Indians toward the whites better than the people at the fort and assured them that they had nothing to fear as no general uprising of the Indians was contemplated. (9) The help which the Moravians gave General Forbes in keeping the Indians from joining the French in 1758 had been invaluable, and was well known at Fort Pitt, where also a number of the Moravians had visited and were highly respected, and the assurance given by Zeisberger and Senseman stayed the panic and calmed the fears of the frontiersman.

The next year the mission on the Allegheny River was removed to Beaver Creek, the congregation leaving on April 17th in fifteen canoes, reaching Fort Pitt three days later. Zeisberger's biographer refers thus to the Indian converts and the impression made by them at Fort Pitt: "When this post still bore the name of Fort Duquesne, and French priests were as active as French soldiers, it had often been visited by baptized Indians. But now, for the first time appeared a company of Protestant converts. It was a novel sight. Traders and the garrison thronged the camp, and beheld with astonishment the problem solved, that savages can be changed into consistent Christians." (10)

Ever since the first settlers came into the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, there had been scarcely any semblance of enforcement of law. Carlisle, the county seat of Cumberland County, was two hundred miles away and when Bedford County was erected in 1771, there was no relief, the county seat of that county being still too distant to induce the settlers on the Western border to attempt to secure their rights or redress their wrongs by lawful methods. They now agitated for a new western county, with a centrally located county seat, and on February 26, 1773, their desires were attained and Westmoreland County

erected, which embraced all of the Province west of "Laurel Hill." The county seat was fixed at Hannastown, located on the Forbes road about three miles northeast of the present borough of Greensburg, and thirty-five miles from Pittsburgh. Three years before its erection as the county seat, Robert Hanna had purchased from the Penns the land of which Hannastown was part, had built a tavern, laid out a village site and thereafter had the place established as the county seat. (11) The houses were all built of logs and never exceeded thirty in number.

Few travelers visiting or passing through Pittsburgh have left written records of their impressions while there. In addition to a few missionaries who were sent out by religious organizations in the East to attempt the conversion of the Indians, or to preach the Gospel to the settlers, there was only one lay traveler who wrote out his experiences while in the place, of which there is in existence a published record. Most of the early travelers have left only meager details of their visits to "Fort Pitt," for by that name they all designated the place. The notes of these sojourners in Pittsburgh have an historic interest as they indicate the various steps in the progress of the place. But the reader cannot help wondering at the unanimity with which, where they refer to the houses at all, they place the number so much below the figure given in Colonel Bouquet's census of 1761. They were surely not all mistaken in this respect, and the only manner in which this can be explained, is that when Bouquet gave the number of the houses as 162, he meant rooms, the trading houses, which comprised practically all of the town, generally having quite a number of rooms, and a room being considered sufficient for a family.

The earliest account is that written by John Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, and is the story of a visit made by him in 1762. He was then nineteen years of age, and was accompanying Christian Frederick Post as assistant, who was on a mission to the Moravian Indian towns on the Tuscarawas River. On the evening of April 1st, the two travelers reached Fort Pitt, and Heckewelder relates that when within seven or eight miles of the fort, they came upon the field of Braddock's defeat. "A dreadful sight was presented to our eyes," he writes. "Skulls and bones of the

unfortunate men slain here on the 9th of July, 1755, lay scattered all around, and the sound of our horses' hoofs continually striking against them, made dismal music, as, with the Monongahela full in view, we rode over this memorable battleground." Continuing he said: "The only private dwelling in the neighborhood of the fort was situated at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela. It was owned by two traders, Messrs. Davenport and McKinney, who received us in a very friendly and hospitable manner. Within the fort also we met with kind well-wishers, and the treatment we received at the hands of the gallant commander, Col. Bouquet, and all his officers, calls for my lasting gratitude." (12)

Mathew Clarkson of Philadelphia, who subsequently became prominent in the public life of that city, being mayor of the city from 1792 to 1795, was at Fort Pitt in 1766. At this time he was connected with one of the most noted commercial houses in Philadelphia, which carried on the fur trade with the Indian tribes of the Mississippi Valley, having their headquarters at Fort Chartres. He made the western tour for his employers, and while on his way to Fort Chartres stopped at Fort Pitt, arriving on August 18th. (13) His diary is disjointed, but throws considerable light on many phases of the life of the place of which little is known today. Immediately upon his arrival he delivered the letters which he had brought for Major William Murray, the commander of the fort. The first entry after he reached Pittsburgh reads: "Got to Fort Pitt just after dark, was stowed away in a small crib, on blankets, in company with fleas and bugs, and spent a night not the most comfortable." On August 10th, he wrote: "Took a walk to the ship-yards. Found four boats finished and in the water, and three more on the stocks; business going on briskly. Met with Major Murray, who had been at the store (which must have been the store established by General Moncton) to wait upon me with an invitation to dine with him today. Was extremely polite and obliging; took me into the fort.—Dined with him at the mess-room in company with____the officers in the garrison at this post. Major Murray offered me a room in the barracks which I accepted of. Lodged this night in Mr.

John Reid's room, the Commissary.

He tells of hearing "Mr. McCleggan preach to the soldiers in *Erse*—but little edified. He preaches alternately one Sunday in that language, and the next in English." He gives some information in regard to the manner in which letters were received at and sent from the fort. "Sent letters to forward by the Express, which sets off directly with monthly returns. They are forwarded by soldiers to Shippinsburg, where they are put in the Post Office, and forwarded to Philadelphia. The returns are made up the 24th of every month." He also notes the arrival at Fort Pitt of the Rev. Charles Beatty and Rev. George Duffield, two Presbyterian missionaries, "on a message among the Indians to preach the Gospel. Supped with them at the mess." He then relates that he heard Mr. Duffield "preach in the town a very judicious and alarming discourse."

The Rev. Charles Beatty, who had been at Fort Pitt with General Forbes' army, has also written a journal of the visit to Pittsburgh which he and Mr. Duffield made and about which Mr. Clarkson wrote. They remained at the place four days, and Mr. Beatty (14) tells of waiting on the commander of the fort whom he calls "Captain" Murray, who received them politely and introduced them to the Rev. Mr. McCleggan, the chaplain of the Forty-second Regiment, part of which was in garrison there. Both missionaries slept in a room in the fort, and Mr. Beatty seems to be very grateful because Mr. McCleggan, "with some other gentlemen of the place," furnished them with "blankets to sleep in, and some other necessaries, so that we fared as well as we could expect."

On Sunday forenoon, at the invitation of Mr. McCleggan, Mr. Beatty preached to the garrison, while Mr. Duffield preached to the people "who live in some kind of a town without the fort."

The journal most often quoted is that of George Washington who was in Pittsburgh in 1770, while on his way to the Kanawha River district. On October 17th he arrived at Fort Pitt. "We lodged in what is called a town," he wrote, "distant about three hundred yards from the fort at one Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. The houses are built of logs and ranged in

streets, are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders. The fort is built on the point between the rivers Allegheny and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is five sided and regular, two of which near the land are of brick; the others stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrision consists of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Captain Edmonstone." (15)

Another glimpse of the village and the fortification is obtained from the diary of Rev. David Jones, already referred to, who was there on June 4, 1772. (16) "At this time," he relates, "the fortification was remaining but somewhat impaired. Here are about eighty soldiers with one commanding officer—East at about two hundred yards distant, by the Monongahela, there is a small town chiefly inhabited by Indian traders, and some mechanics. The army was without a chaplain, nor was the town supplied with a minister. Part of the inhabitants are agreeable and worthy of regard, while others are lamentably dissolute in their morals."

Two months after the visit of Mr. Jones, two other ministers of the Gospel came to Pittsburgh, the Rev. David McClure, and the Rev. Levi Frisbee, both Presbyterians. Mr. McClure kept a diary and from this an extended view and a most vivid picture may be obtained of life in early Pittsburgh. Mr. McClure made Pittsburgh his headquarters, preaching to the settlers in many places in Western Pennsylvania, as well as to the Indians on the Muskingum, remaining in the country for eight or nine months. He arrived in Pittsburgh on August 19, 1772, and thus describes his entry into the village. (17)

"Arrived at this place about sunset. The first object of our attention was a number of poor drunken Indians, staggering and yelling through the village. It is the headquarters of Indian traders, and the resort of Indians of different and distant tribes, who come to exchange their peltry and furs for rum, blankets and ammunition, etc." He describes the fort as "a handsome and strong fortification. In it are barracks, and comfortable houses, one large brick house is called the Governor's house. It stands at the point of land formed by the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, on an extensive plain. Adjoining are

good orchards and gardens. The village is about one-fourth of a mile from the fort and consists of about forty dwelling houses built of hewed logs and stands on the bank of the Monongahela."

His first Sunday morning he spent in preaching in the fort to the garrison at the request of Major Hamilton. The greater part of the soldiers had lately arrived from Fort Chartres, and had not heard a sermon for four years. The men, about two hundred in number, were paraded under arms during the divine service. His companion, Mr. Frisbee, preached in the village in the afternoon. He comments on the character of the inhabitants, and says they are very dissipated. "They seem to feel themselves beyond the arm of the government, and freed from the restraining influence of religion. It is the resort of Indian traders; and many here have escaped from justice and from creditors, in the old settlements. The greater part of the Indian traders keep a squaw, and some of them a white woman as a temporary wife."

The reception of the missionaries by the officers of the fort was most friendly. On the eve of his departure for the Indian country, having passed the evening with Major Edmonstone, the commander of Fort Pitt, and the other officers of the garrison, Mr. McClure wrote: "The Major politely waited on me at the gate and at parting said, 'you are engaged in a benevolent work and you have my best wishes for your success. I am a Christian and therefore please to command me in anything in which I may serve you.' "

In the entry of Oct. 19th he tells of the contemplated abandonment of Fort Pitt. "In consequence of orders from General Gage, the garrison are preparing to depart. They have begun to destroy the fortress. This is a matter of surprise and grief to the people around who have requested that the fortress may stand as a place of security to them in case of an Indian invasion. I asked one of the officers, the reason of their destroying the fort, so necessary to the safety of the frontier. He replied, 'The Americans will not submit to the British Parliament and they may now defend themselves.' "

Shortly before he left the place finally, on November 19th, he made this entry in his journal, "Waited on Major

Edmonstone, who remained in the dismantled fort, expecting to leave it in a few days.—The Major appears displeased with the manners of the people of this country. In conversation on the parade, he told me he had traveled through England, Ireland, France, Germany and Holland, but never knew what mankind were, till he came to that station."

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CHAPTER IV.
In Virginia.

The English had now been at peace with the Indians for eight years. But the Indians were suspicious of them on account of the continued maintenance of Fort Pitt. They feared that the troops kept there and at the fortified places on the Wabash, the Illinois and the Mississippi were intended at some future time to be used against them. The forts were regarded as useless by the English and in order to conciliate the Indians, in the autumn of 1772, so it is alleged by several authorities, General Gage ordered their abandonment. (1)

It is quite possible, however, that the remark made to Mr. McClure by the English officer about the abandonment of Fort Pitt, had more than a foundation in fact. A revolutionary spirit was already abroad, not only in the East, but on the border as well. Ever since the passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament in 1765, in pursuance of which documents of all kinds were to be taxed, the American Colonists had been irritated against England. They refused absolutely to obey the law and declined to buy English goods. Nor did the repeal of the obnoxious measure two years later allay the popular resentment, especially as under a new act duties were levied on importations; and the Americans again refused to buy from England. General Gage in 1770, had sent troops to Boston and the "Boston Massacre" resulted; and in Pittsburgh the New England spirit may have become evident. That the population was not any too friendly to the English is apparent from the remarks of Major Edmonstone to Mr. McClure, already quoted. It may have been quite true that Fort Pitt and the other forts were ordered dismantled as a precautionary measure, so that in case of an uprising the Colonists might not gain the advantage of the possession of the forts and the military supplies kept there. Also the conciliation of the Indians may have been part of the plan of the English to win them to their side in case the Americans rose in arms against them.

On October 10, 1772, Major Edmonstone, the commander of Fort Pitt, sold the buildings and materials of the

fort consisting of picketts, bricks, stone, timber and iron in the building and walls of the fort and in the redoubts to be demolished, for the sum of fifty pounds, New York currency, to William Thompson and Alexander Ross. (2) Thereupon the fort was abandoned, but a corporal and three men were left to care for the boats and batteaux intended to keep up communication with the Illinois country.

The people of Pittsburgh protested and petitioned the Governor of the state to intervene and prevail on General Gage to restore the fort. Governor Penn, however, by a message of January 29, 1773, recommended to the Assembly that a small garrison be maintained at Fort Pitt by the Province, (3) and in a communication dated February 5, 1773, suggested to the Assembly that a garrison of twenty-five or thirty men might be placed there by the Province. (4) The Assembly, however, on February 19, 1773, declined to comply with Governor Penn's request, giving as a reason that it might offend the Indians with whom the country was at peace. (5)

But while Fort Pitt was abandoned it was not fully destroyed and continued to be occupied in some way for a score of years afterward. Upon its evacuation by the English it was taken possession of by Major Edward Ward, a half brother of George Croghan, the Indian trader, and Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs to Sir William Johnson. He was the same Ward who, while Ensign, had been compelled to surrender to the French the uncompleted fort at the forks of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers.

It is not quite clear by what right Ward took possession of Fort Pitt, but it was perhaps done as agent of or by permission of Ross and Thompson, to whom Major Edmonstone had sold the materials and buildings of the fort. That this is probably the explanation of Ward's possession, is indicated from the fact that a petition was presented to the Virginia Convention on December 18, 1775, by Ross and Thompson, in which they asserted that they were in possession of Fort Pitt from the time of its abandonment by Major Edmonstone until it was occupied by Dr. Connolly on January 1, 1774, (6) Ward's occupation of the fort ending at that time, and asking to be compensated for the use of the fort by Connolly. Also Ross had been the

agent in Pittsburgh for the contractor for victualling his Majesty's forces in North America, and was besides the possessor of the title to several tracts of land located about the fort, the grant of which had been made to him directly or indirectly by Major Edmonstone prior to the evacuation of Fort Pitt by the British. (7) Hence he was strongly suspected of being disloyal to the American cause, and was in fact afterward attainted of treason by Act of the Pennsylvania Assembly. The possession of the property at the fort may therefore have been turned over to Ward whose loyalty was unquestioned, in order to avoid being confiscated.

In 1774 the long pending controversy between Virginia and Pennsylvania in regard to the boundary between the Colony of Virginia and the Province of Pennsylvania reached its climax in Pittsburgh. Lord Dunmore had been Royal governor of New York from October 18, 1770, to July 8, 1771, when he was transferred as Royal governor to Virginia. (8) Bancroft paints a disagreeable picture of Dunmore. "No Royal governor showed more rapacity for power. During his short career in New York he had acquired fifty thousand acres of land. Scarcely had he settled in Virginia when his greed for land caused him to become a partner in two immense purchases of land from the Indians in Southern Illinois." (9) From the beginning he had cast longing eyes on the growing settlements in Western Pennsylvania, and early in 1773 he appeared at Fort Pitt (10) where he met Dr. John Connolly, a Pennsylvanian by birth, well connected, a nephew of George Croghan, and the husband of the daughter of Samuel Semple who kept the tavern where Washington stopped in 1770. That Connolly made a most favorable impression on Washington who met him on this visit, is evident from the entry which he made in his journal on that occasion. Washington had invited Connolly, together with Croghan, and the officers of the fort to dine with him at Semple's tavern and he wrote of him that he was "a very sensible, intelligent man, who had traveled a good deal over this Western country." He quotes Connolly's views at length on the lands, climate and prospects of the country southwest of Pittsburgh. (11) To Connolly, Dunmore un-

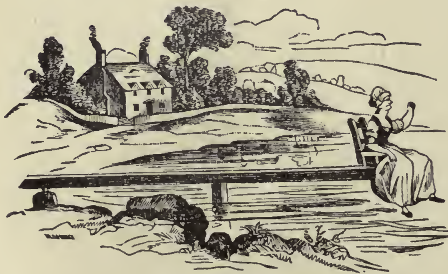
folded his plans for extending the Virginia dominion. The wiley Earl claimed that Pittsburgh and the surrounding country was part of Virginia, being embraced in West Augusta, as that part of Augusta County lying west of the Alleghany Mountains was called. (12) He worked on Connolly's ambition and perhaps his cupidity, and easily persuaded him to become the instrument for carrying out his plans.

Early in January, 1774, Connolly appeared in Pittsburgh bearing a commission as captain from Dunmore, and claimed authority to establish a new Virginia county which was to include Pittsburgh. His bombastic proclamation was dated January 1, 1774, and was posted in the village on January 6th. The proclamation called upon all persons in Pittsburgh to assemble as militia on January 25th. (13) The day before they were to gather, however, Connolly was arrested in Pittsburgh (14) by order of Arthur St. Clair, later a general in the Revolutionary War, who was then a Justice of the County Court, Prothonotary, Register and Recorder of Westmoreland County, and committed to jail at Hannastown. But Connolly's arrest did not prevent the assembling of some of the people as militia. On February 2nd St. Clair wrote to Governor Denny of Pennsylvania, (15) "I was in hopes that the sending him (Connolly) out of the way would put an end to it altogether, but I was mistaken. About eighty persons in arms assembled themselves, chiefly from Mr. Croghan's neighborhood and the country west and below the Monongahela, and after parading through the town and making a kind of *feu de joy*, proceeded to the fort, where a cask of rum was produced on the parade, and the head knocked out. This was a very effectual way of recruiting."

Connolly, however, was soon released on his own recognizance. (16) In a few days he returned to Pittsburgh and from there went to Redstone where he collected a body of armed men, and then proceeded to Staunton, Virginia, where he was sworn in as a justice of the peace of Augusta County. Armed with civil authority, as well as the military power which he already possessed, he reappeared in Pittsburgh on March 28th, (17) with a body of militia and took possession of Fort Pitt, changing the name of both the fort

34

Lord Dunmore.



The Ducking Stool.

and the village to Fort Dunmore.

He reconstructed and refurnished the fort, using it principally as a jail or lockup for the imprisonment of those who opposed him. (18) That many of the settlers supported Connolly's contentions is beyond question. Bancroft says, (19) "The western people, especially the emigrants from Maryland and Virginia, spurned the meek tenets of the Quakers, and inclined to the usurpation,"—and with this powerful support Connolly carried through his measures with a high hand, appointing civil and military officers, levying taxes on peltries (20), arresting and imprisoning those who refused to obey his orders. Jurisdiction was now opposed to jurisdiction, arrests were followed by counter arrests; and the Western country became a scene of confusion.

Since February, 1774, there had been a number of Indian outrages in the Western country, which were met with terrible reprisals by the whites. The Indians were for war. Dunmore called out the militia of Western Virginia and proceeded to Pittsburgh where he collected his forces, and in September, 1774, with about twelve hundred men, raised in the Northwestern counties of Virginia and about Pittsburgh, he descended the Ohio River. When he reached the Scioto River, however, the fighting was over, General Andrew Lewis, the commander of the militia of Southwestern Virginia, having defeated the Indians at Point Pleasant. (21) This ended the war, and Dunmore, foreseeing the approaching Revolution, arranged such terms of peace with the Indians, that they subsequently became the allies of the British. (22) Connolly, who had been more or less occupied with this war, now returned to Pittsburgh.

At Hannastown the Pennsylvania adherents were still attempting to enforce the laws of that state, and on December 12, 1774, Dunmore issued a writ in the name of his Brittanic Majesty, adjourning the county court of Augusta County from Staunton, the county seat of Augusta County, to Fort Dunmore and the first term was held there on February 21, 1775. (23) The Virginia laws provided for the ducking stool as a punishment for evilly disposed women, and one of the first acts of the court at Fort Dunmore was at the session held on February 22nd, at which Connolly

presided, to instruct the sheriff to employ a workman to build a ducking stool at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers. (24)

But Dunmore's power was rapidly drawing to a close. The Revolution was beginning, the battle of Lexington was fought on April 19, 1775. The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10th. The Virginia Convention which convened at Richmond on March 20, 1775, to appoint delegates to the new Continental Congress, had taken measures for enrolling companies of volunteers in each county, and before daylight on June 8th, Lord Dunmore and his family fled from Williamsburg, and took refuge on board the Fowey, an English man of war, lying at Yorktown. (25) On July 25th, Connolly left Fort Dunmore (26) to join Dunmore. He never returned to Pittsburgh, his rule was at an end, and like his employer, he espoused the British cause.

The leaders in the newly formed government viewed with alarm the troubles existing between Virginia and Pennsylvania, and on the day that Connolly shook the dust of Pittsburgh from his feet, the delegates in Congress from both Virginia and Pennsylvania published an address to the "Inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Virginia on the west side of Laurel Hill," whom they designated "Friends and Countrymen." The address was signed by Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, and by John Dickenson, George Ross, Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson and Charles Humphries of Pennsylvania. It referred to the unhappy condition existing west of Laurel Hill and begged the inhabitants to terminate their differences, dismiss their armed men, release their prisoners, and suggested that until the dispute was decided, every person should be permitted to retain his possessions unmolested. (27)

But the danger of civil war in Western Pennsylvania between the adherents of that Province and those of Virginia was not yet over. The claim of Virginia to the disputed land was not surrendered at Dunmore's flight, and although she had driven him from Williamsburg and was intensely loyal to the Revolution and was standing shoulder to shoulder with Pennsylvania in the movement, she did not loosen her grip on the western end of that Province. The

first Provincial Convention organized by the Revolutionary Virginians met at Williamsburg on August 1, 1774, and again at Richmond on March 20, 1775, Williamsburg being no longer a safe place for treason mongers. (28) At the session held in July, 1775, it appointed a Committee of Safety. This body was given authority to commission officers, direct military movements, issue warrants on the Treasury, and all commanding officers were directed to pay strict obedience to its orders. (29) The Committee of Safety commissioned John Neville of Frederick County, captain of militia, and on August 7th ordered him to proceed with his company of one hundred men to Fort Pitt and take possession. Captain Neville was probably selected for this service because he had been a resident of Pittsburgh for some time, having made large entries of land on Chariters Creek under the Virginia laws, and having been elected to the Virginia Provincial Convention from Augusta County in the previous year, but being prevented from attending on account of illness.

During all of this time of turmoil and controversy, the adherents of both Virginia and Pennsylvania were loyal to their oppressed brethren in Massachusetts. On May 16, 1775, only four weeks after the battle of Lexington, meetings were held by the Virginians at Pittsburgh, (30) and by the Pennsylvanians at Hannastown, (31) at which resolutions were adopted unanimously approving the New England movement; and steps were taken to organize, arm and discipline the militia in order to meet whatever might betide. The better to carry out their designs the Hannastown meeting organizd themselves into the Association of Westmoreland County. At the same time the meeting proclaimed their loyalty to King George the Third.

On July 12th, Congress created three Indian departments of which one was to be west of the Alleghany Mountains, called the Middle Department. (32) Richard Butler was made agent of this department with headquarters at Pittsburgh, and continued as such until April 10, 1776, when he resigned in order to assist in the organization of a regiment, which became the Eighth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, and of which he was commissioned major by Congress on July 20, 1776. He was

succeeded as Indian agent by George Morgan. Shortly after Morgan assumed the duties of the office there were indications of Indian troubles. Consequently a hundred men were raised in Westmoreland County for this service if needed, and in September, Congress issued an order assembling all the militia that could be spared, for the defense of Fort Pitt. (33) Powder, lead and ten thousand flints were forwarded to Morgan, but the Indians remained quiet and neither the militia, the powder, lead or flints were needed.

The Virginia Provincial convention which convened at Richmond on July 17, 1775, divided Virginia into sixteen districts, West Augusta being created one of the districts, (34) and a law enacted in October, 1776, defined the boundary between Augusta County and the District of West Augusta. On November 8, 1776, the legislature divided the district of West Augusta into three counties, Ohio, Monongalia and Yohogania, nearly all of the last, which included Pittsburgh, and much of the other two being composed of Pennsylvania territory. (35) Delegates were elected to the Virginia Provincial Council, and after the passage of the Act of 1776, senators and delegates to the legislature, and all the other officers in the district were elected or appointed under the Virginia laws. Troops were raised for the Revolutionary armies, the Sixth Virginia Regiment being attached to Muhlenberg's brigade. (36) The Thirteenth Regiment was known as the West Augusta Regiment. (37) The Seventh Virginia Regiment was the first considerable body of men raised in the Monongahela country, (38) Justice's courts were now held regularly, those of Yohogania County being held in the upper story of a log jail and court house 24x16 feet, on the farm of Andrew Heath on the Monongahela River, nearly opposite and a little above West Elizabeth, and at or near the location of Elizabeth. (39) Virginia granted lands to settlers, taxes were levied but frequently not paid, the disputed jurisdiction between Pennsylvania and Virginia giving to many of the disaffected a chance to shirk their payment as well as avoid military service. (40) Roads, mills, taverns and ferries were authorized, and the Pennsylvanians obeyed the Virginia laws and applied to the courts of that Colony or

state, and brought and defended suits there when necessary.

On December 18, 1776, Virginia, through its legislature, proposed a certain line as the boundary between the two states and suggested that a joint commission be appointed to agree upon a boundary line to which proposal Pennsylvania refused to consent. On July 5, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania made an effort to bring about an agreement by sending a letter to the Virginia delegates in Congress, proposing a settlement, but nothing came of the matter.

On February 7, 1777, the Virginia Provincial Council directed the raising in Yohogania County of a company of militia to consist of a hundred men to garrison Fort Pitt and relieve Captain Neville's company. Robert Campbell was made captain of this company and commanded at the fort (41) until the arrival of Brigadier General Edward Hand on June 1st.

In the meantime Captain Neville had been ordered to join the Eighth Virginia Regiment, known as the German Regiment, so called because it was largely composed of young men of German birth or extraction. It was organized on December 1, 1775, by the Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, pastor of the German Lutheran Church at Woodstock, and at least one company, that of Captain Stinson, came from about Pittsburgh. (42) Muhlenberg was made colonel, and the regiment became historic, not only on account of its achievements in the Revolution, but also by reason of the glowing verses of Thomas Buchannan Read. The poet's picture is prescient of war. It was Sunday morning; the church was crowded with worshippers from far and near. The pastor was in his pulpit declaiming about the impending conflict.

> "When suddenly his mantle wide
> His hands impatient flung aside,
> And lo! he met their wondering eyes
> Complete in all a warriors guise."

Outside before the open church door the trumpets were calling to the men to enlist; the drum and the fife were firing them "with fiercer life," while overhead the church bell rang out wildly, and the word that is spoke was,

"War! War! War! War!"

Muhlenberg having been made brigadier general on February 21, 1777, and the regiment afterwards also losing the two colonels who had successively followed him, Neville became colonel on December 11, 1777. On September 14, 1778, the regiment was merged into the Fourth Virginia Regiment, of which Neville became colonel on June 1, 1777. (44) After the war Colonel Neville returned to Pittsburgh and became one of its most prominent citizens.

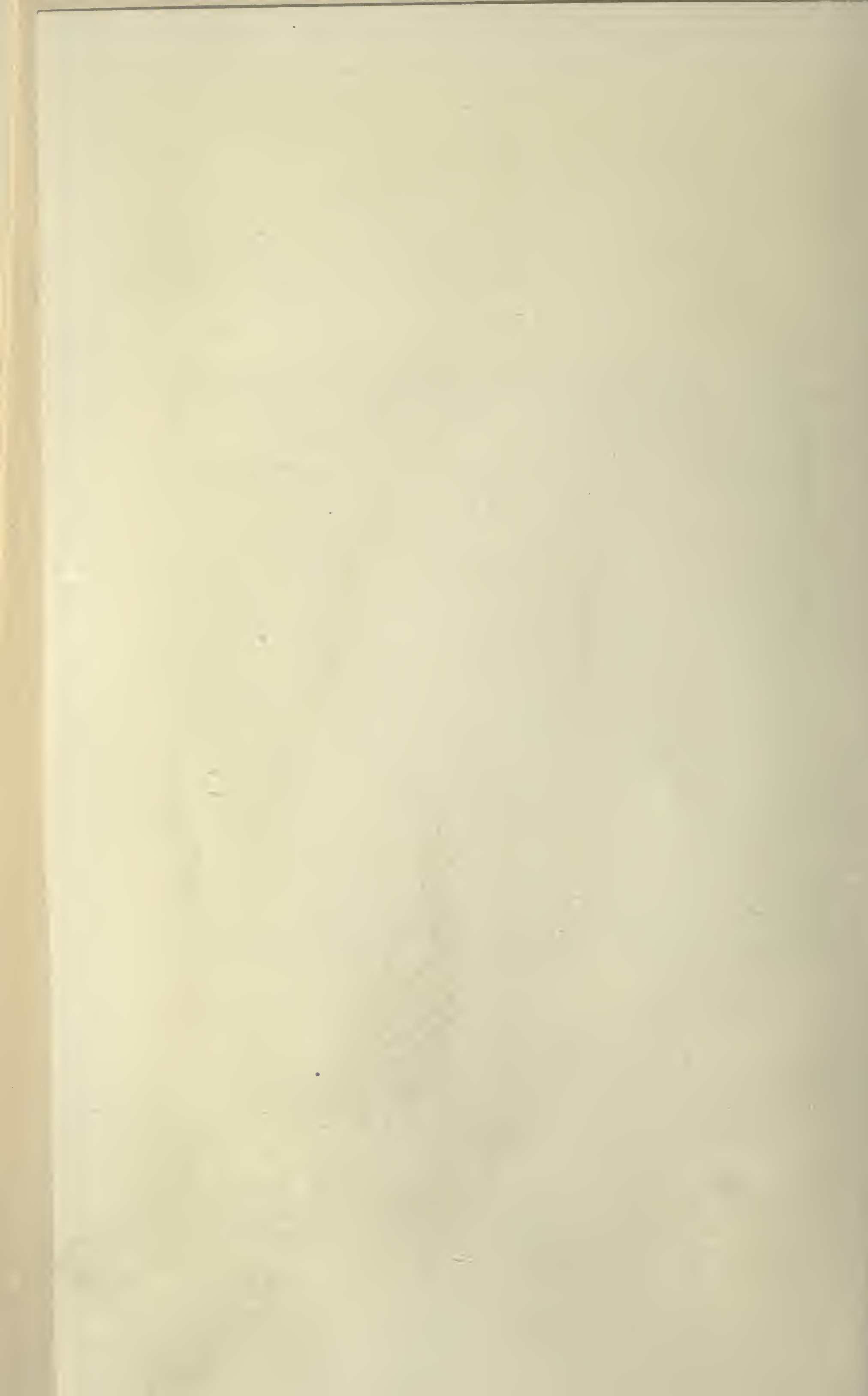
It was only at Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland County, and in the contiguous country that the Pennsylvania jurisdiction continued. After the April term of 1776, however, no sessions of this court were held until 1778, (45) the Assembly of the state having on January 28, 1777, under the first constitution, provided for reorganizing the courts, and the first term of the Westmoreland County court began with the July, 1778, session. (46)

Westmoreland County was not behind the District of West Augusta in raising troops, and as early as May 24, 1775, in pursuance of the resolution adopted at Hannastown on May 16th, the Associators of Westmoreland County began organizing themselves into companies, which were formed into a regiment of two battalions, the First Battalion being commanded by John Proctor. Congress having on May 26th resolved that the Colonies be put into a state of defense, (47) the Pennsylvania Assembly on June 30th (48) created the Council of Safety, delegated with power to call the Associators into actual service. Thereupon the Regiment of Westmoreland County Associators was reorganized, and became part of the militia of the state. The First Battalion was called to Philadelphia in January, 1777, (49) and was later stationed in the West. A flag had been adopted by this battalion which was one of the first, if not the first, Rebel flag to appear in the Western country, and was the first Colonial flag to be flaunted in Pittsburgh in defiance of British authority. On its crimson folds alongside of the cross of St. George, was a rattlesnake with thirteen rattles, and the warning motto, "Don't tread on me!"

The Eighth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line was another body of Western Pennsylvania troops, seven of the eight companies being organized in Westmoreland County,

Flag of the First Battalion of the Regiment of Westmoreland County Associators

The letters J. P. I. B. W. C. P., are the initials of the words, "John Proctor's First Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania."



and seeing service in the East and at Fort Pitt. (50) Other troops raised in Westmoreland County were two companies of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion, of Colonel Arthur St. Clair. Westmoreland County also furnished men to the Third and other Pennsylvania regiments.

At last, on December 18, 1778, Virginia proposed a joint commission to agree upon a boundary line. To this Pennsylvania acceded in March, 1779. (51) The Commission met in Baltimore in August, and on the 31st agreed that Mason and Dixon's line should be extended westward, and that private property rights acquired under the laws of either state were to be fully recognized. The report was ratified by the Pennsylvania legislature on November 19, 1779. But Virginia was not yet ready to surrender her claims, and in December sent into the disputed territory three commissioners to adjust land titles therein, this action being authorized by an act of her legislature of May 3, 1779, enacted after her proposal for the boundary commissioners but prior to their report. The land-adjusting commissioners met at various points and granted a hundred certificates to claimants under Virginia settlement rights. (52)

The differences between the two states were a disturbing element in the new republic and late in 1779 Congress adopted a resolution recommending to the two states "not to grant any part of the disputed territory or disturb the possession of any person living therein until the dispute can be amicably adjusted between the two states." (53) This resolution came up in the Pennsylvania Council on December 28th and a proclamation was ordered to be issued in accordance with the recommendation of Congress. (54) Virginia still held back and Pennsylvania, no longer ruled by the Quaker government, became impatient of further delay, and on March 24, 1780, through its Council, adopted threatening preambles and resolutions which breathed war. "But if Pennsylvania must arm for internal defense," the resolution recited, "instead of recruiting her Continental line; if her attention and supplies must be diverted in like manner; if the common enemy encouraged by our division should prolong the war; interests of our sister states and the common cause be injured or disturbed; we trust

we shall stand justly acquitted before them and the whole world." (55)

But on June 23rd, Virginia confirmed the commissioners report on condition that rights acquired by persons to whom lands had been granted by Virginia be saved; and the Virginia Court of Yohogania County closed its records on August 28, 1780, (56) and the power of Virginia was withdrawn.

The conditional agreement by Virginia had yet to be ratified by Pennsylvania, and on September 23rd, that state agreed to the condition attached to Virginia's ratification and confirmed and ratified the agreement of August 31, 1779. A survey had yet to be made and as Virginia was then being invaded by the British, and her affairs were in some confusion, at the suggestion of Governor Thomas Jefferson, contained in a letter of June 3, 1781, a temporary line was agreed upon between Pennsylvania and Virginia to hold good during the continuance of the war. While the temporary line was being fixed on the ground, the surveyors were under the protection of two hundred militia, for fear of trouble from the Virginia adherents. They made their report on February 19, 1783. (57) The ratification by Pennsylvania of September 23, 1780, was finally confirmed by Act of the Legislature on April 1, 1784. After the Revolution was over the permanent line was run, the commissioners making their final report on August 23, 1785. (58)

The western boundary was still to be run and this was completed on October 4, 1786. (59)

(To be continued.)

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Hon. Philander Chase Knox.

HON. PHILANDER CHASE KNOX.

On Thursday, October 13, 1921, the people of this community, as well as those of Pennsylvania and the rest of the United States, were shocked to read in the morning newspapers of the death the evening before, of United States Senator Philander Chase Knox. In Pittsburgh Senator Knox's death was felt as a personal bereavement. Only the morning before the daily papers had told of his return from a brief vacation in Europe, much refreshed in body and mind. The people were therefore entirely unprepared for his sudden demise.

Senator Knox was unquestionably one of the most eminent men sent into public life from Pittsburgh; and the city has produced a number of able public men. Albert Gallatin, next to Alexander Hamilton, the greatest Secretary of the Treasury that the United States has ever had, was the representative in Congress from the district of which Allegheny County was part. Henry Baldwin made a remarkable contest for a protective tariff in Congress. Walter Forward was a member of Congress, and became Secretary of the Treasury under President Harrison. William Wilkins was a member of Congress, United States Senator, Minister to Russia and Secretary of War in President Tyler's cabinet. Edwin M. Stanton had been President Buchanan's Attorney General and was Lincoln's great Secretary of War. Senator Knox was peer of them all.

He was in a class with Albert Gallatin and Edwin M. Stanton. In some respects Senator Knox's career resembles that of Stanton, in that both men were Attorney Generals of the United States before entering upon their larger careers. Senator Knox stepped directly into the Attorney General's chair from the office of one of the most prominent law firms in Pennsylvania, in which he was the senior partner, and which he left at a great personal sacrifice. While Attorney General, both in the cabinet of President McKinley and in that of President Roosevelt, he conducted some of the most important litigation in which the United

States has ever engaged. As Secretary of State in President Taft's cabinet he not only brought the South American countries into closer relationship with the United States, but also negotiated treaties with Great Britain and France which were for a better understanding between those countries and the United States.

But it is his work in the United States Senate which will make the most lasting impression on the country. The United States was dazzled by the result of the war against Germany, and the Treaty of Versailles with its League of Nations attachment, as brought home by President Wilson, would have been easily ratified, and that without examination, had it not been for the decided stand of Senator Knox. He displayed unusual courage in going counter to public opinion; he made the fight of his life, awakened interest and aroused sentiment both in the Senate and among the people. At first the result was doubtful, then the public view changed, and after an arduous struggle the fight was won, and the country was saved from dangerous European entanglements. May Pennsylvania ever have public servants as efficient and courageous as Senator Knox.

WILLIAM PENN
THE FOUNDER OF PENNSYLVANIA

By

ALBERT SIDNEY BOLLES*

We often laugh at the lack of knowledge shown by foreigners who visit our country, especially at their hazy ideas of distance, climate, manners and ways of business. In truth, unknown to ourselves relating to our country, there are many things which should be familiar knowledge. We New Englanders think we know something about the stern yet splendid history of the Puritans, the kindling of the revolutionary fires, the constitution since adopted to secure our political freedom. Perhaps we know something about the history of our neighbor state of New York, but beyond, if confessing the truth, our knowledge is as gray as the mist that lies so softly on these autumn mornings over our valleys.

Let us then go two hundred and fifty miles southward to Pennsylvania, where William Penn planted a highly original seed of political and religious liberty that sprang up and mightily grew into one of the most powerful of all the American colonies.

Who was William Penn? and how did he become the owner of such a vast estate in America of more than 28,000,000 acres? In many ways he was the most unique of all the varied characters who appeared in American colonial history. His father was one of England's greatest admirals. Rapidly rising in the service, at twenty-one he was sent by Cromwell as vice-admiral to the straights of Gibraltar. Meanwhile his family lived at Essex in the Old Wanstead House, which had been rebuilt by Chancellor Rich, visited by Queen Mary, and by her greater sister Queen Elizabeth.

Cromwell was growing old and the admiral, like many a man in those days, looking forward to higher place and

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*Read to the members of the Fortnightly Club, Bennington, Vermont

greater fortune, secretly wrote a message to the future King Charles II, that he was ready to serve him. Charles could do no more than send his thanks and beg Penn to keep his loyalty for a more favorable season. Cromwell, though soon learning of Penn's correspondence, said nothing, the fleet continued on its mission, but on its return Penn was stripped of his office and put into the tower.

Unhappy as any caged animal accustomed to freedom, he was finally released on very hard terms. Soon afterward Cromwell died and then the admiral's hour was come. Penn accompanied the commissioner of the royal fleet to welcome the King, who was living in Holland. As a part of the penalty for writing to Charles, Penn had been obliged to quit the naval service; one of the early acts of Charles, after becoming King, was to appoint him commissioner of the navy with lodgings in the Navy Gardens. Ere long he was made captain of the Fort of Kinsale, governor of the town and admiral of Ireland.

Meanwhile young Penn had been preparing for Oxford, and at fifteen entered the college of Christ Church. The revolutionary earthquake, which had shaken every part of England, had not left Oxford with its beautiful enchantments untouched. Many of the heads of its colleges had been driven forth from their beloved retreat by the unfeeling hand of Cromwell's visitors. Yet South, the orator of the University was there, also Wilmot, scattering his gems of wit, Christopher Wren of future fame as architect, and John Locke, a student in medicine. Whether he and Penn were close friends is not known; they were afterward rivals in legislation, and the contrast between their two schemes of government in the New World will long continue to excite all who are interested in the old and ever experimental problem of governing.

At this time a fierce controversy between Cavalier and Puritan was raging at Oxford. When hottest, Thomas Loe, a Friend or Quaker, a man of peace and gentleness, appeared. Penn's absence from chapel was noticed, his superiors were alarmed; and they soon learned that he had become strongly impressed with Loe's preaching. Other students, too, had come to think the same way. Noting their absence, they were required to explain and were fined. The fines

were imposed shortly after the adoption of a new rule requiring students to wear college gowns. Not content with disregarding the rule, they tore off the gowns from others who obeyed. For doing this they, including Penn, were expelled.

Let us linger for a moment over this new religious movement that was sweeping over England and had captured Penn. The religious bark at this time was drifting as aimlessly as Noah's ark during the great deluge. We in these days behold a great variety of religious vessels, and every now and then another is equipped and put into the religious sea. In Penn's day the church had dissolved into Anabaptists, Antinomians, Antiscripturists, Antitrinitarians, Arians, Arminians, Baptists, Brownists, Calvinists, Enthusiasts, Familists, Fifth-Monarchy men, Independents, Libertines, Muggletonians, Perfectists, Presbyterians, Puritans, Ranters, Sceptists, Seekers, Socianians. The bishop of the Church of England had been removed; Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his devotion to king and church had shared his master's fate; and parliament was busy in putting the Presbyterian Collar around the necks of the people. During this strange chaos of religious thought and life, George Fox, founder of the Religious Society of Friends, a religious revolutionist, appeared. Educated in the state church, he saw that there was no longer any life in the religious forms observed by those around him. At that time a new practice had sprung out of the chaos of religious beliefs; persons often met to discuss religious doctrines. At one of these meetings a woman, having asked a question, was thus answered by the priest in charge: "I permit no woman to speak in the church." Fix at once arose and asked: "Dost thou call this place a church? or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?" Instead of answering him, the priest in turn asked Fox what was a church. He replied: "A spiritual household, of which Christ is the head, but he is not the head of a mixed multitude, nor of an old house made up of lime, stones and wood." Too much was the answer for the priest; down he came from the pulpit and the discussion abruptly ended.

What was the great message that Fox flashed on mankind? "The immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit which

lights every man that comes into the world." "This light," says a well-known writer of the Friends Society, "is not the natural reason of man, but it is the divine power that quickens the conscience and gives spiritual perception." This was the idea, belief, religious conception, whatever name you choose to give, that Penn now accepted. Could any one in that day have had a thought so wild that the effect of his conversion to Quakerism would be to lay the foundation-stone of a colony in America! In truth, no change in the religious faith of any other American colonist ever wrought such varied and lasting results.

When his father heard of William's offense, how did he deal with him? At that time all was going well with the admiral, a peerage was not far off, and he had fixed on Weymouth for a title. He regarded William's religious wandering as a droll affair that could be easily laughed away. William came to the Navy Gardens in London, and hard drinking and late dancing were prescribed for him. One might confidently believe that such a course of treatment faithfully and vigorously pursued would expel any kind of religion. The admiral entertained the best of company and was a frequent visitor to the Drury Lane Theatre. A satire on the Puritans was then played at another theatre, and the admiral took William to the play. Failing in these methods, his father tried the rougher ones of imprisonment and whipping. These, too, failed,—what next?

Some of his friends were going to France to study, and William joined them. During his stay in Paris he was presented to Louis XIV; he met Robert Spencer, son of the Earl of Sunderland and Lady Dorothy Sidney, sister of the famous Algernon Sidney. Paris was gay and in a few weeks William's gravity began to disappear. Returning late one night from a party, he was accosted in a dark street by one who raising his sword, loudly shouted to William to defend himself. The stranger had taken off his hat in salutation, so he said, and his courtesy had been slighted. Vainly did William protest that he had not seen him. His assailant was evidently spoiling for a fight. William's blood was finally stirred and he drew his sword. A crowd quickly gathered, William soon proved to be the better swordsman and threw

the stranger's blade in the air.

The admiral was overjoyed to learn of his son's exploit. Soon after he left for sunny Sujou, on the banks of the Loire, where he spent two years reading the classics and French history. At nineteen, in company with Spencer, he left for a journey into Switzerland and Italy. Before completing it he was summoned home, for his father had been named Great Captain Commander of the fleet, under the Lord Admiral, the Duke of York, who was to wage war on the Dutch. William was now needed at home to take care of family affairs. Admiral Penn soon won a great victory, and peace having been declared, he returned home.

During his absence a great change had come over William. He had become grave and silent, had ceased to carry his hat in his hand, and to appear at court. What could the admiral do with him! He sent him to Dublin, Ireland, and afterwards to Shangarry Castle, a fine estate that had been presented to him by the King. William sailed for Dublin and presented himself to the Duke of Ormond. With one of the Duke's sons, Lord Arran, he became a strong friend. Resuming his gayety, he was ready for the boldest things. While waiting on the Dublin court, some rioters seized the castle. In defending it William displayed so much bravery that the Duke of Ormond wrote to the admiral of his intention to put William in command of a company at Kinsale.

At this time was painted the only portrait of Penn ever taken from life. He is dressed in the military costume of a highborn cavalier. His features are full, a calm sweet face, yet showing no lack of a high-souled purpose, which was the dominant note, as we will soon learn, in his great career.

From Dublin he went to Kinsale and Shangarry castle, and learning that Thomas Loe was to preach at Cork he journeyed thither, once more to fall under that strange spell by which he had been smitten at Oxford. Soon after the opening of the meeting the police entered and arrested every one and required them to appear before the mayor. He proposed to release Penn, Lord of Shangarry Castle, on giving his word to keep the peace. Penn denied that in meeting for worship he and the others present had been guilty of

breaking any law, and refused to give a bond for his good behavior.

Learning of his son's conduct, the admiral recalled him, and on his arrival frowned on him. Omitting to follow the fashion of the day and unhat himself, the admiral asked him what he meant. "I am a Friend," replied William, "and Friends take off their hats to none but God." "Then how would you behave at court?" asked the admiral. After waiting a moment, William answered that he could not lift his hat to mortal man. "Not even to the King and Duke of York," inquired his father. "No sir, not even to the King and Duke of York;" whereupon the admiral turned him out of doors.

We may wonder in these days why such a fuss was made over the uncovering of one's head. Of course, if William had been an old man with a shining pate there would have been at least one good reason for keeping his head covered, but, as he had a beautiful head of black glossy hair, he would, if like many a young man of our day, have been eager to show his waving locks.

We may linger for a moment over this episode because it shows what an evanescent and often irrational thing is fashion. In the beginning a hat was made to wear and not to carry in one's hand. Men wore them in home and church, in street and park, when eating a meal or listening to a play. "I get a strange cold in my head," wrote Pepys, "by flinging my hat off at dinner." Every one in those days ate with his head covered. A shopman behind the counter wore his hat and so did the preacher in the pulpit. The Puritans always wore their hats and only doffed them when repeating the name of God. When Charles II became king a hundred foreign fashions came into vogue, French words and fashions. Hat-lifting, therefore, was the sign of a foreign fashion; and all thoughtful persons wore them, while youths and courtiers carried them in their hands. By the Friends "the taking off the hat to a man," says an eminent Quaker writer, "the bowings and cringings of the body, and such other salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them," were condemned.

Though shut out from home, his mother did not forget

him,—what mother ever does forget her son?—and she sent money, while his friends still welcomed him to their homes. Yet we may believe that banishment from his lovely home in the Navy Gardens was a sore trial; and his father could not understand what his son had gained in giving up home, rank and great worldly prospects. After a short absence, however, he was permitted to return, probably by his mother's importunings, but the admiral would not speak to him, nor permit him to eat with the family.

Penn now started on his wider career by issuing a short statement of the Friends' doctrine of the inner light, "the one light for princes, priests and people." As the Friends were harshly treated by the government and often imprisoned, Penn was untiring in his efforts to secure their release and in urging religious toleration. Notwithstanding his rank, he did not long remain free to speak and write, for one morning, when the streets of London were filled with snow, and the pavements were covered with ice, the keeper of the tower, Sir John Robinson, was surprised to see Penn at the gate.

For what had Penn been seized and clapped into the tower? For doing nothing more than to publish without license from the Bishop of London a pamphlet entitled, "The Sandy Foundation Shaken,"—a pamphlet reflecting in no way upon the government, as harmless we would think in these days as a spelling book. While there he wrote another pamphlet entitled, "No Cross, No Crown," which is one of the enduring works of prison literature.

Released after serving his sentence, Penn started for Holland. From that country he went to Germany, holding meetings and expounding the principles of his faith. At this time there were many religious communities in Holland, among others the Puritans, who had gone there since the return of the Stuarts to the throne with the intention of migrating to the new world. To these exiles America was a land of promise, to which many had already fled. In religious and social meetings letters were read describing the events of the voyage, the beauty and fertility of the new country, and kindling the desires and imaginations of others to follow. Penn, too, was deeply interested, and his forgotten Oxford

dream emerged from its mysterious hiding, that he was to become the founder of a civil and religious republic in the new world.

Penn continued his journey up the Rhine, meeting many persons of note; then returning to England he resumed his preaching, writing and varied efforts to alleviate Friends who were sorely harrassed and persecuted by the government. During a second journey to the continent he learned that many of the seeds of Quakerism, planted on his first visit had sprung up and were healthfully growing. One of the places at which he stopped was the city of Duysburg, where lived the young and beautiful Countess Von Falkenstein. She was seriously inclined, so Penn had learned, toward the Friends' belief. The city lay in the territory of the Elector of Brandenburg. On the day of Penn's arrival with his companion Berkeley, the countess had left her father's castle and had crossed the river to Mulheim, where she often spent one day in the week at a clergyman's house. While on their way the count came along and questioned them. Penn replied that they were Englishmen and were going to Mulheim. One of the count's attendants asked Penn if he and his companion knew before whom they stood, and had not learned how to deport themselves in the presence of princes. Penn replied that he did not mean to be disrespectful. Then said the questioner, "Why do you not take off your hats? Is it respectful to stand covered in the presence of the sovereign of the country?" Penn answered that they uncovered to none but God. "Well, then," exclaimed the angry count, "get out of my domain; you shall not go to my town." And he bade one of his attendants to lead them away. It was nearly dark, and after going with them to a thick forest, he left them to find their way back to Duysburg. They wandered around and at ten o'clock reached the city wall. The gates were shut; they shouted, but no sentinel replied. So they lay down in a marshy meadow to sleep with the stars for a gilded covering. At three o'clock in the morning they arose, stiff with cold, walked for two hours, and at last the cathedral clock struck and the city gates were opened. Penn was pleased to receive a message from the countess, though failing to see her.

Meanwhile the admiral was growing old, and, nearing his end, sent for his son. For some time he had been thinking more seriously of William's conduct. Of course he hated all of William's ideas about equality, but he could not help admiring him for his patient endurance of the horrors of prison life for the sake of principle. Reaching his father's bed-side, the dying hero of the seas, won over by the moral splendor of his son's career, said to him: "Let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience, so you will keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in days of trouble."

A large sum was due to him from the government, and William questioned within himself: why not accept a province in America in settlement of the debt? As he pondered over the idea, it grew into clearer and larger form. Some politicians, wiser than their generation, regarded the enterprise as containing hidden danger to the crown. In less than a hundred years this utterance of mingled fear and prophecy was fulfilled.

Sixteen thousand pounds were due to Penn, besides the promise of a peerage to his father. If Penn were willing to accept a lordship on the Delaware for a barony on the Wey, Sunderland, Secretary of State, thought the bargain would be a good one for the government. The treasury was empty, and the government could hardly make another man Viscount Weymouth while the admiral's dues were unpaid. Had there been a full treasury, no Quaker seed would have ever been planted in Pennsylvania by William Penn. So the terms of the charter were settled and signed by King Charles on the fourth of March, 1681, sixty-one years after the landing of the pilgrim's at Plymouth.

Penn proposed to call the purchase, or rather province, Sylvania, because it was so largely covered with forest. Charles however, insisted on adding Penn as a compliment to his father. Fearing the name would be regarded as a display to his vanity, Penn offered twenty guineas to the secretary to change the name. One of Penn's biographers asserts that if he had offered the guineas to the King he would have accepted them and granted Penn's wish.

So, by this little thing, the indebtedness of the English

government to Penn's father, his son became the owner of a vast province in America, with power to form and administer a government in harmony with his own will. One can easily imagine how different such a government would be, a sole autocracy, from the governments of New England so largely created and administered by the King and his ministers.

Deeply imbedded as were the political institutions of New England in religion, it is worth while to look at Penn's frame of government, which was given to the world early in 1682. In the preamble is set forth his leading ideas on the nature, origin and object of government. It is of divine origin, so Penn declared, and bearing the same kind of relation to the outer man that religion bears to the inner. The outward is needed because man will not always obey the inward light. Its object is to encourage the well disposed, to shield virtue and reward merit, to foster art and promote learning. Vice will vitiate every form, and so long as men are ruled by their passions instead of reason, neither monarchy nor democracy can preserve them from destruction. Government depends more on man than man on government, if men are wise and virtuous. It is essential to the stability that the people be educated in noble thoughts and virtuous deeds. Such a people, making their own laws and obeying them faithfully, will be free, whatever may be the name of the constitution under which they live. He concludes by saying that "in reverence to God and good conscience towards men," he had formed his scheme of government to secure the people from the abuse of power and their freedom by their just obedience. Did not this lofty ideal justify him in calling it the "Holy Experiment"?

Leaving the people so free to govern themselves, ere long they began to come to the province from every part of Europe. At first came the English, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, Germans, Dutch and Swedes. For a long time the Swedes maintained their importance and many a family still living in the Commonwealth boasts of its Swedish descent. The Dutch were never so numerous. Fur trading in the early days was their chief pursuit, and as their trade with the Indians, who sold them, lessened, the Dutch wandered away.

Among the Friends who went to Pennsylvania were persons of varied mental and moral cultivation. They were industrious, of fine character, prosperous, and for many years were the controlling element in the province and in legislation. The Welsh Friends were educated people, and for twenty-five years were the only physicians.

Of the many continental people who were borne westward to Pennsylvania, the Germans were the most numerous. Through various sources they learned of Penn's government and offers to settlers. Many influences co-operated in this wonderful transformation scene, the despotism of princes, conflicts between the German states, religious persecutions, military conscriptions. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 cost France 700,000 of her best citizens, many of them fleeing to the Palatinate, whose ruler was a Lutheran. By giving them shelter he drew on himself the vengeance of Madame de Maintenon, who gave orders through her husband, Louis XIV, to destroy the Palatinate. How thoroughly Louis' soldiers accomplished their work is known to every one who has seen the ruined castle of Heidelberg with its ivy clinging to every cranny as if to hide the nakedness wrought by its destroyers. No wonder that the Germans were eager to fly from such foes. A large number soon settled in Germantown; within twenty-five years over 50,000 had come into the province. Many were from the Westphalia country, and near the close of their migration Louis' army laid it waste, burning every hamlet, market-place and church in the duchy of Cleves.

A few miles from Coblenz on the Rhine is the beautiful town of Neuweid, where lived Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Baptists, Jews and the Moravian brethren. This town also was marked for destruction. Suffering the fate of Heidelberg and Cleves, many of the survivors eagerly fled to Penn's peaceful asylum on the Delaware.

Another class of German emigrants must be mentioned—the Menonites. Persecuted while living under the shadows of the Alps, they went first to Alsace on the Rhine and afterwards to Pennsylvania. Germantown was the magnet; ere long they bought a large tract of land in the Pequea Valley, not far from Lancaster. Girt around by the gloomy

forest, whose silence was unbroken by the murmurs of a honey bee or the twitterings of a bird, they felled trees, built homes and tilled the land. This German-Swiss settlement, in the Eden of Pennsylvania, has retained its essential life for more than two hundred years, notwithstanding its nearness on every side to the loud-rushing civilization of our time.

In 1734 some Lutherans from Salsburg, one of the most beautiful parts of Austria, came to Georgia. Victims of bloody persecution, they emigrated with their pastors and schoolmasters; and not long afterward were joined by several hundred Moravian families. All went well until war broke out in the colony. Then, as their religion forbade them to fight, they started for Penn's peaceful province and settled in Bethlehem.

Finally may be mentioned the Scotch-Irish, who were so called becaused they had descended from the Scots, in the north of Ireland. Brave, hardy and hot-headed, their enmity toward the pope was as sincere as their veneration for Calvin and Knox. They were not particularly fond of Penn; and were more interested in killing an Indian in battle than in saving his life by peaceful art.

Many of the early settlers retained their native characteristics, especially the Germans. Their conversation was German; German was taught their children in the schools; their books, newspapers, deeds and other legal documents were in German. Associated in such large numbers by themselves, does any one wonder why they have so long preserved many of their ways and ideas? There was, however, from an early day a strong bond between them and the Friends. They had had fighting enough in their old home, so they were always ready to unite with the Friends to maintain peace throughout the province. Whenever a rumor of war was heard, started perhaps by the energetic, hot-headed, Scotch-Irish, couriers were sent in every direction among the Germans to tell them that if they would vote and act with the Friends there would be no war, and no higher taxes. These arguments were understood and were effective, and so with the aid of the Germans the Friends retained public control of the province until 1756, nearly to the on-coming

shadows of the revolution.

I have given these details of the national diversities of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, because in them are seen the explanation of several deep imprints that appear in the subsequent history of the state. First, they explain the lack of unity and interest in local matters. In New England the colonists were largely English and among them was more unity of sentiment and action. A common language is everywhere a bond between those who use it. It was natural for the Germans, who came to Pennsylvania in the early days, like the Norwegians, Poles and Huns and other nationalities who have come in later times, to associate together, attend the same church, have their own schools and newspapers, inter-marry and thus unintentionally preserve their distinct national characteristics.

Secondly, the spirit for peace, thus formed under the leadership of Friends, has always been preserved and in marked contrast with the uneasy riotous spirit displayed in other states of our national union. The blessings of order, learned in the provincial days, have never lost their potency, notwithstanding the wondrous growth in numbers and diversity of sentiment among the people, for resistance to government during the century and more of statehood has been rare and brief.

Thirdly, the love of order, thus notably displayed from the beginning at home, explains also the desire of Pennsylvania to maintain peace in the nation,—in other words, their national patriotism. The people of no state displayed this in fuller measure during the Civil War, and in the great world conflict. Of the many who went, of their willingness to go, of their faithfulness and valor, the thousands of graves on the battlefields of the civil and world wars, are the silent lasting witnesses that Penn did not attempt his Holy Experiment in vain.

Though Penn, as we have seen, created a form of government resting on the highest moral and political principles, he did but little personally to direct the destiny of the people. He appointed a governor and other officials who preserved order and administered all his public and private affairs. Only twice did Penn visit his province and even these visits

were brief. The proprietor of this vast estate, a man of the finest culture of the time, had he gone to Pennsylvania to spend his days with the people, his great influence and power would have been felt in every direction. But his interests in England were wide and deep, and even during his short absence in his province they greatly suffered.

One of the most unique things in Penn's scheme of government was his retention of the lordship of the land. In many ways one of the most modern of all the men of note concerned with the colonies, as a land-owner he acted the part of a great feudal nobleman. Instead of selling many acres, most of his land was leased on long terms, the tenant paying a quit rent. And whenever he sold, the grantee or purchaser could not sell without Penn's consent. This is known in feudal law as subinfeudation. You wonder what Penn was trying to accomplish by such a strange medieval regulation. He was playing the part of a great paternal father to his people. By putting such a restriction on the sale of the land, he sought to prevent undesirable citizens from becoming land owners and controllers of the destiny of the province. The same thing is still done in creating villages, especially near our large cities, in order to make them attractive and draw residents. So long as Penn could enforce this restriction, he largely controlled immigration to his province, for if those who desired to come could not buy nor lease land, they were in effect denied entrance.

Like many a dream before and since, it proved to be fleeting. Perhaps the coming of undesirables was somewhat checked, but another difficulty arose which was not forseen. Many, very many, who had agreed to pay rents, as soon as they found that Penn was in deep waters at home and not likely to return to his province, stopped paying their rents; still worse, his trusted agent, cold, sly and slick, proved to be a scoundrel, and Penn's income from his vast possessions crumbled until he became a bankrupt.

If Penn tried to play the good watchful father in keeping all undesirable persons out of the province, in religious things notwithstanding the intensity of his religious belief, he was not blind in his conception of religious liberty, and every one was free to live according to his religious convictions.

The only restriction imposed on any one was in observing Sunday. He insisted that the people should be quiet, otherwise they were left free to worship and act quite as they pleased. That was not after the New England way of doing things. No witches were burned in Pennsylvania, though the province was rank in some places with the kind of material from which witchcraft sprang. Even now the pow-wower still practices his magic art among those who in other regards are not in the least credulous.

As a consequence of Penn's liberal religious principles, all kinds of religious belief blossomed for a season in Pennsylvania. Besides the Friends, Lutherans, German Reformed, Presbyterians and other long established religious bodies, all kinds of religious cranks found a congenial home in the province. Many of them swarmed from the German universities, especially the University of Halle. The German Reformed and Lutherans were numerous, the Menonites were fewer. Nearly like them were the Tunkers, differing chiefly respecting baptism. From them sprang the Siebentager, or German Seventh Baptists, one of the most interesting of all the many religious associations. Some of their wooden buildings with their little windows are still standing. These voluntary exiles, like the pilgrims of New England, were Protestant friars, among whom were many educated men. They lived simple, severe lives, not unlike the order founded by St. Francis of Assisi. Father Friedsham founded the order in Pennsylvania, and men and women flocked from all sides,—even married women left their families to join and lead a more holy life.

Friedsham won over a German Reformed minister, who proved a valuable associate. Some Lutherans were led away, and as the number of hermits increased, a conventicle and monastic convent were established. Kedar was the name of the first convent for the sisters, built in 1735, when the province was half a century old, and three years later Zion was built for the brethren. They adopted the habit of the Capuchins or White Friars, consisting of a shirt, trousers and vest, with a long white woolen gown or cowl in winter, and one of linen for summer. For the sisters the dress was slightly changed. Petticoats for trousers and

a cowl of a somewhat different form. Monastic names were given to all who entered the cloister, though the community was a republic in form. Father Friedsham ruled like a despot. For many years this strange society flourished at Ephrata, about a hundred miles from Philadelphia.

Another association may be mentioned, the Schwenkfelders, so called, who still survive in Central Pennsylvania. Their founder was a Silesian nobleman, Kaspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig, counsellor to the Duke of Liegnitz, a contemporary of Luther. Persecuted at home by both Lutherans and Roman Catholics, they sought shelter under the liberal rule of Penn. Of the Pietists, the last to be noticed, what shall be said? More than one hundred associations existed within a radius of fifty miles from Philadelphia. In lonely retreats they spent their lives of silence and contemplation, like the monks of the Middle Ages,—a strong contrast to the bustling, energetic settlers around them. What strange influences, conscious or unconscious, had led these truly religious people to wander far off into the wilderness and there indulge in musings so foreign to their times? How different, too, might have been their history had Penn attempted to constrain them all into conformity with his own belief. Leaving them alone, the world learned in due time that they were not possessors of a perennial stream, but only a shallow brook that soon ran dry.

Since the moulding of the province depended so much on Penn, notwithstanding the exigency of his affairs at home, why did he not stay in his province? This was his intention in the beginning, and he had a beautiful home built for himself and family at Pennsberry, a few miles up the river. An estate of nearly nine thousand acres was laid out, of which a large portion was kept in a natural state as a park. His house stood on a gentle eminence facing the river. It was built of brick, sixty feet long with additional wings, two stories high and a tile roof. The rooms were in suites, connected with folding doors and wainscoted with English oak. A handsome porch and stone steps led into the spacious hall that extended nearly the whole length of the house.

The gardens were the wonder of the province, un-

equaled in extent and beauty. The most beautiful wild flowers were transplanted into the gardens, trees and shrubs were imported from other colonies, while roots and seeds were sent from England.

Mrs. Penn's side-board, table and high-backed carved chairs were of the finest oak. Turkey worked chairs, arm-chairs for ease and couches with plush and satin cushions were among the articles of furniture, and in the parlor stood the great leather chair of the proprietor.

Penn's table was well served; he had a good cook and occasionally remarked in his pleasantry: "Ah, the book of cookery has outgrown the Bible, and I fear is read oftener; to be sure, it is of more use." Penn's cellars were well stocked with Canary, claret and Madeira, also a bountiful supply of cider and ale. Penn had a brewery built, whose foundation may still be seen.

Penn's family had a coach. Fine horses were imported from England, and he often rode around the country on horseback. He usually went to Philadelphia in a handsome boat rowed by six men. Thus for a few short months he lived in the province in a princely manner, the lord and proprietor of a vast estate, directing the destiny of a rapidly growing people.

Penn was deeply interested in the Indians and they soon learned that he was their sincere friend. He made many journeys among them, never fearing to entrust himself to their protection. During one of these journeys, an Indian tried to convince Penn of the superiority of Indian civilization. "See," said the Indian, "when the white man goes away from his home, he locks his door; when an Indian goes away, he only puts a stick of wood against it to keep the wind from blowing it open." The white men who took advantage of the greater knowledge and love for rascality to cheat the easily deluded Indian merited and received Penn's condemnation.

Penn might indeed rejoice over much that he beheld in his fair province. What suddenly broke into this hopeful prospect? News from home that a bill had been introduced into the House of Lords for seizing his province and vesting it in the crown. Penn therefore was obliged to return.

After getting on board his ship at the end of his first visit, he wrote the following farewell letter concerning the city of his heart: "And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service and what travail has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee? My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power."

Of Penn's experiment in America, it may be asserted that it was the most ideal the world has yet known. To found a state in which the military arm was never to be used seemed the most visionary of all political conceptions. At the time of Penn's death in 1718, Philadelphia was seventy-three years old, and the largest city in the colonies. The province was the most generally known of all in Europe, and drew more and more varied people.

And now a closing reflection may be drawn over Penn's Holy Experiment. What would he think were he to revisit his province? Doubtless he would gaze with glad surprise on the millions of acres of smiling fields where once vast gloomy forests overspread the scene. This joy would be lessened in failing to see, wherever he looked, his friendly Indians, for long since every one of them has been crowded off the soil. Great cities have risen as by magic in every part of the province, resounding with the loud noise of men, and the harsher clang, night and day, of machinery. Even silence between the cities and villages is broken by the sharp railway whistle and the grinding railway wheel; while beneath the surface in many places the earth is groaning, struck by the picks of thousands of miners. Most amazing of all, instead of a few thousand persons,—quiet plodders of the soil, content to make an honest living and gather a reasonable store for the future,—is a much larger number, more eager often in amassing wealth than in making a wise use of it. Looking on his experiment today, and contrasting it with his ideal, Penn surely would not call it a Holy one!

Would he despair? Penn who was something of a scholar

and thinker, was still greater as a believer in a Higher Power governing all, and governing well. A century or two is only a small section in the life of a people who imagine their country is to live forever. Ours has safely passed through many a storm, and if men have not learned how to live wisely from hard experience, somehow our country has always righted itself and moved onward. Even the present world-tempest, the most terrible that has ever rocked the earth, will eventually be stilled; and Penn, we may believe, with unshaken faith in God, would calmly wait for the fulness of time, wherein he should see the fulfillment of his Holy Experiment.

THE FRAMING OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

By EDWIN Z. SMITH

The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union adopted by the Continental Congress on November 15, 1777, had, indeed, proved a sufficient bond to link together the rebellious colonies, and carry them triumphantly through their long and arduous struggle for liberty and independence. As long as the War of the Revolution lasted, the absolute necessity for mutual aid and concerted action supplemented the insufficiency of the powers delegated to Congress and counterbalanced the over-looseness of the league of colonies. Yet, at many crucial periods, the cause of the patriots was jeopardized to the point of defeat by the neglect or refusal of the states to answer the requisitions of Congress for men and money, and by the general inadequacy of the executive functions of the central government. After the successful termination of the war and the restoration of peace, the thirteen colonies (now sovereign and independent states leagued together in confederation) addressed themselves with all the vigor of youth and hope to the redressing of the injuries of the war, to the building up of their ruined commerce and trade, and to the development of the magnificent resources of their enormous unopened territories. Then it was that the complete inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation became apparent. The system of government (practically a provisional one) which had barely and by frequent and severe straining of its articles, answered the purposes of the country amid the disorders and stresses of wartimes, failed utterly in its operation upon the now peaceful communities, each immersed in commercial activity and selfishly devoted to its own interests. Not only did the states engage in the most bitter rivalries with each other in matters of commerce and trade, but they paid only the slightest heed to their duties under the confederation; and their legislatures failed to meet the most urgent requirements of Congress for the funds necessary to sup-

port the army, to pay the interest on the debt of the Confederacy, or even to meet the running expenses of the government. Nor was there any means to enforce these requisitions. Many other vital weaknesses in the Constitution developed as time went on. Of them the most serious were the following:

Congress alone had power to declare war; but none to raise, arm or support an army.

It alone could ascertain the revenue necessary to support the government; but could not levy taxes.

It alone could borrow money; but could not repay it. It was the arbiter of all territorial disputes between states; but possessed no power to enforce its decrees. It alone could make treaties; but it had no authority to prevent any state from breaking them. All important measures required the consenting vote of 9 out of the 13 states; and the absence of a state delegation was as effectual as a negative vote. As early as 1780 Alexander Hamilton, then about 23 years old, had detected these and other defects in the constitution and had, in a private letter to James Duane, of New York, pointed out the necessity for their reformation by a convention of all the states. And in May, 1781, Pelatiah Webster, who is described by Madison as "an able but not conspicuous citizen", and who was so inconspicuous that nothing is known of him but this one fact, published a pamphlet embodying the first public proposal for the revision of the Articles of Confederation. The condition of the country during the years that followed the war brought all good citizens to the conviction that such action must be taken if the United States were to continue to exist as such. At home a period of the deepest financial distress supervened, while the discords and rivalries between the states grew even more sharp and bitter. Abroad, the new body politic (not worthy the name of nation) which had won the admiration of foreign powers by its devoted contest against tyranny, had fallen into scorn and contempt by its failure to assert its dignity or respect its obligations. At the close of the war the National debt was $42,000,000.00, of which $8,000,000.00 had been borrowed in France and Holland and the balance at home. The requisitions of Congress upon the states for

interest, from 1782 to 1786, had been $6,000,000.00; and of this only $1,000,000.00 had been paid. The value of the public debt had sunk to 1-10 of its face, and the repeated applications of Congress to the states for the right to levy an impost to meet the federal obligations were as repeatedly refused or ignored. "Every day", says Curtis, "the situation of the country was becoming more and more critical. No money came into the Federal treasury; no respect was paid to Federal authority; and all men saw and admitted that the Confederation was tottering to its fall." Of the condition of affairs at this juncture Hamilton wrote that "no indication of national disorder, poverty or insignificance seemed to be wanting." And Washington in a letter to James Warren, of Massachusetts, in October, 1785, said: "By such policy as this the wheels of government are clogged, and our brightest prospects, and that high expectation which was entertained of us by the wondering world are turned into astonishment; and from the high ground on which we stood we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness."

It was in such a crisis as this, and to a people so desperate of the maintenance of the government under the existing form, that the welcome proposal came from the Annapolis Commercial Convention that all the states should elect delegates to a convention for the purpose of revising and amending the Articles of Confederation. The legislature of New York, in 1782, and the Massachusetts, in 1785, had indeed made similar propositions. But the time was not yet ripe and they did not prevail. Now, however, the urgency and necessity of the situation were clear to all, and no time was lost by the states in taking appropriate action. Congress, indeed, dilatory and perfunctory as usual, delayed its action, and not until its last hope of obtaining from the states the power to levy imposts had vanished, nor until five states, Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Delaware, had already appointed delegates to the proposed convention, did it, on February 21, 1787, pass the resolution, in the following words, calling for such a gathering:—

"It is expedient that, on the 2d Monday in May next, a convention of delegates who shall have been appointed by

the several states, be held at Philadelphia for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein, as shall, when agreed upon by Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union."

Under these circumstances it was that the Constitutional Convention of 1787 convened in the month of May, in the Old State House in Philadelphia.

And now let us glance for a moment at the personnel of this never-to-be-forgotten assemblage. All of the 13 states were represented except Rhode Island, which sent no delegates and took no part in the Convention. The whole number of delegates appointed was 63, of whom 10 failed to attend; but for 2 of these there were substitutes. The actual number of delegates present was, therefore, 55, including almost all the distinguished and influential men of the country, and representing very exactly its conservative intelligence. John Adams was absent as Minister to England, and Thomas Jefferson as Minister to France. Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, the American Cato, and Patrick Henry, of Virginia, the American Demosthenes, were bitterly opposed to revision, and the latter had refused appointment as a delegate. Neither John Jay, of New York, nor John Marshall, of Virginia, was present at the Convention; but both did yeoman service in securing the ratification of its work by their respective states.

"The Convention", says Curtis, "was a body of great and disinterested men, competent, both morally and intellectually, to do the work assigned them. High qualities of character are requisite to the formation of a system of government for a wide country with different interests. Mere talent will not do it. Intellectual power and ingenuity alone cannot compass it. * * * These qualities were preeminently displayed by many of the framers of the Constitution. There were men in that assembly whom, for genius in statesmanship, and for profound speculation in all that relates to government, the world has not seen overmatched."

Of the members of the Federal Convention 39 had seen

active service in the Continental Congress, 31 were lawyers by profession (of whom 4 had studied in the Inner Temple, and 1 at Oxford, under Sir Wm. Blackstone), 10 had served as judges in their own states and 4, at the time, held judicial positions. One had been a Federal judge; 7 had been judges in special courts for the determination of territorial disputes; 8 had assisted in framing the constitution of their various states; 3 had aided in the revision of state laws; 8 had been governors of states; 5 had been delegates to the Annapolis Convention; and 3 who had held no offices were yet universally recognized as authorities on local government as well as public and international law. Only 3, Elbridge Gerry (Massachusetts), Roger Sherman (Connecticut) and Robert Morris (Pennsylvania) had assisted in framing both the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation; while 4 others, Benjamin Franklin, George Clymer, James Wilson and George Wythe, had signed the former document alone, and 2 others, John Dickinson and Daniel Carroll—the latter. Mr. Hampton L. Carson, in his interesting History of the 100th Anniversary of the Constitution, makes the following classification of the more prominent members:

Jurisconsults: Hamilton and Madison.

Practical Jurists: Oliver Ellsworth, George Wythe, David Brearly, John Blair, George Reed.

Orators: Joseph Wilson, Jared Ingersoll, Abraham Baldwin, and Luther Martin.

Experienced Merchants: Robert Morris, Elbridge Gerry and Thomas Fitzsimmons.

Lawyers of Ability: Richard Bassett, Gunning Bedford and Caleb Strong.

Brilliant Men of all round knowledge and attainments: Gouverneus Morris, John Dickinson, Edmund Randolph, John Rutledge.

Statesmen of temperate wisdom and ripened sagacity: George Washington and Benjamin Franklin.

To this list should certainly be added the names of the two Pinckneys' of South Carolina, Rufus King, of Massachusetts, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, William Patterson, of New Jersey, and Dr. William Samuel Johnson, of Massachusetts.

Of those who exercised the greatest influence in the Convention, and are, therefore, to be regarded as having had the principal part in its results, perhaps these nine names could be selected:

Washington: The soldier and statesman, by common consent the first citizen of the Confederation.

Hamilton: brilliant, eloquent and energetic; notwithstanding his youth, the leading federalist.

Madison: able, talented, laborious, of large public experience; an unsullied and devoted patriot.

Franklin: Now 81 years of age, venerable and beloved; full of worldly wisdom and keen insight.

Rufus King: distinguished as a jurist, statesman, orator and diplomatist; safe in judgment and profound in exposition.

Joseph Wilson: Wise, eloquent and scholarly; an able jurist and experienced publicist.

C. Cotesworth Pinckney: Revolutionary soldier and civilian; brilliant and devoted to his native state (South Carolina) yet ready to compromise his convictions for the sake of the common country.

Edmund Randolph: Then governor of Virginia, an eloquent and able lawyer and a statesman of high rank. The champion of the Constitution in Virginia against the redoubtable Patrick Henry.

Gouverneur Morris: The talented and energetic statesman and financier; an orator of remarkable eloquence and a writer of extraordinary power and of elegant style.

The Convention was to have convened on the 14th day of May, but it was the 25th before a quorum was secured. Washington was at once and unanimously elected to the presidency upon the motion of Robert Morris, (of Pennsylvania) seconded by John Rutledge (of South Carolina), and served throughout the sessions of the Convention with serene dignity and marked ability. With the utmost difficulty had Washington been persuaded to accept an appointment to represent his native state in the Convention. After 9 years of storm and stress, of unremitting service and overwhelming responsibility, he had retired to his estate at Mt. Vernon,

to spend, as he hoped, the remainder of his days in peace and repose. Though fully sensible (as his correspondence shows) of the critical state of the country and of the defects of the Constitution, he had, apparently, not fully made up his mind as to what changes should be made in it. He had, moreover, already declined an invitation to attend a bi-ennial meeting of the Order of Cincinnati, to be held at Philadelphia at the same time as the convention. But, as Bancroft remarks, "the doom of greatness was upon him" and he was finally persuaded by Madison and other friends, and coerced by his high sense of duty to his country, into assuming the head of the Virginia delegation, upon which Patrick Henry, Robert Hyde Lee and Thomas Nelson had declined to serve. In the latter part of April he left Mt. Vernon, and journeyed, attended everywhere by public honors, to Philadelphia. At Chester he was met by the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and other persons of distinction, and at Gray's Ferry a military escort, the City Light Horse, was waiting to accompany him to town, while all the church bells rang out a joyous welcome. His first act, after his arrival, was to wait upon the venerable Dr. Franklin, the President of Pennsylvania. It is said that upon assuming the chair, he turned to the Convention, and with "countenance more than usually solemn, his eye seeming to look into futurity" addressed his counsel of warning and exhortation to the delegates: "It is too probable", he said, "that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God!" These words, gloomy and portentous as they may seem, are nevertheless not far from expressing the spirit in which the majority of the delegates approached the great work before them. Absolutely essential as was a revision of the Constitution to the perpetuation of the Union, commercial rivalries and reprisals had become so bitter, territorial conflicts as strenuous, and the idea of state sovereignty so exaggerated, that it was almost beyond hope that the members of the confederation would agree upon a working plan

which would sufficiently curtail the powers of the separate states and strengthen the forces of the central government. Moreover, the smaller states were jealous, to the verge of fear, of the larger, and came into the convention resolved not to accept any measures which would deprive them of an equal representation with their wealthier, stronger and more populous neighbors. Only by the exercise of the greatest wisdom, forbearance and patriotism was it possible that agreement could be reached among such conflicting interests and opinions. But these qualities were magnificently evident through all the sessions of the convention. And although more than once matters came to a deadlock from which there seemed no escape but dissolution, better counsels always prevailed and compromises were effected. Indeed, the story of the convention is a history of mutual concessions, which finally produced an instrument so admirably balanced and yet so powerful, that Winthrop, speaking of its system of counter-checks and its general strength, likens it to "one of those rocking stones reared by the Druids, which the finger of a child may vibrate to its center, yet which the might of an army cannot move from its place."

The debates of the convention were wisely made secret, so that the delegates were free from public pressure from without; and it was not known until after their labors were concluded how difficult it had been to harmonize the discordant elements. The last act of the Convention was a resolution that all its papers be left with Washington, subject to the order of the new Congress, should it ever be organized, under the new Constitution. In 1796 he deposited the record of the proceedings—in 3 manuscript volumes—with the State Department; and the whole was published in 1819. Private notes of the debates were taken by several members, notably by James Madison, who every evening, no matter what the labor or strain of the day, wrote out a minute and detailed account of its discussions, which has proved invaluable to all students of Constitutional history.

"The problem before the delegates," says Hare, "was not to establish the best government, but one which would be best suited to the circumstances, and which the American people would accept." "And this", he continues, "was one of

the momentous problems which Providence sometimes propounds to nations, and hangs their fate on the response; and from its very magnitude and the anxiety it aroused, divided the Convention into nearly equal camps."

Of these two factions one was the nationalizing party, which advocated the effacing, as far as possible, of state lines, and the construction of a strong Federal power; and its leaders in debate were Hamilton, Madison, King, Wilson and Gouverneur Morris. The other was the decentralizing or states-rights party, which was led by Lansing, Yates, Patterson, Martin and Bedford. Gerry, Mason and Randolph began with the former party, but went over to the opposition when they thought it was going too far. Franklin, Johnson, Sherman, Ellsworth and the two Pinckneys were to be found voting on one side or the other, as their anxiety for conciliation and compromise overcame their natural bent.

No single point divided the Convention so long or so dangerously as the question of equal representation in the Senate. This was the occasion of the desertion of Yates and Lansing, delegates from New York, who left the convention saying that they would never have been sent there had their constituents known what things were to be attempted. By their defection only Hamilton remained to represent New York, and he, left without a vote, could only aid by his counsel.

The debate on this subject was most acrimonious, and again and again it seemed as though the Convention was about to go to pieces over it. Probably it was in the course of this discussion that the white-haired Franklin arose and proposed that henceforth the sessions should be opened with prayer, for now there was no hope except from Heaven—the wit of man was exhausted.

The scope of this paper permits of no detailed account of the proceedings of the Convention; but a brief resume of the more important controversies may prove instructive. Hardly had the Convention been organized when Governor Randolph, of Virginia, brought forward on behalf of the nationalists what was known as the *Virginia* plan, designed to establish a more energetic government and reduce the idea of states to a minimum. It was mainly favored by the

large states and consisted of 15 resolutions whose main features were: That congress should consist of two branches, in both cases based on population; that the representatives should be chosen by the people, the senate by the representatives, and the president by the two houses together; that a federal judiciary be formed; that the executive, with part of the judiciary, have a limited veto power over acts of congress; that congress, besides possessing the powers now vested in it by the Confederation, should legislate whatever state legislation might interrupt the harmony of the United States (as, for example, in regard to taxation, commerce and the like); and it should have a veto power over state laws and the authority to coerce delinquent states. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina the same day submitted a draft of a constitution in 16 articles, not radically different from that embodied in the *Virginia* plan. On May 30th, the Convention, in Committee of the Whole, took up the *Virginia* plan, and on June 13th reported it favorably to the convention with some alterations produced by the debate; mainly as follows: That there ought to be a national government; that representatives hold office 3 years and senators 7 years; that the power of coercing the states be not granted; that the executive consist of one person elected for 7 years and thereafter ineligible; and that the executive alone exercise the veto power. The next day a request was made for an adjournment, as a federal, or league, plan of government was in preparation and would be prepared. And on June 15th, the *Jersey* plan was offered by Mr. Patterson of New Jersey, representing the decentralizing, or small-states, party. It contained 11 resolutions, tending principally to retain and amend the Articles of Confederation; to continue the congress of one chamber and the equal vote of each state therein; to cede to congress the powers of raising a revenue, of controlling commerce, of coercing any state which should refuse to pay its quota or obey the laws, and of electing an executive. This plan also went to the Committee of the Whole. While these plans were under debate, Hamilton, objecting radically to the *Jersey* plan as a mere perpetuating of the state sovereignty of the Confederation, and owning to little more preference for the *Virginia* plan as only (so he

said) "pork still, with a little change of sauce", suggested a plan of his own, whose main provisions were as follows: The house of representatives to be chosen by the people for 3 years, the senate for life by electors chosen by the people, governors of states to be appointed by the Federal government and to have an absolute veto on the acts of their state legislatures. This plan, which was surely centralization with a vengeance, was, so a historian writes "praised by everybody, and supported by none." It seems not to have been seriously considered.

On June 19th the Committee of the Whole reported adversely to the *Jersey* plan, and favorably to the *Virginia* plan. Thus two schemes of government had been proposed, whose terms were in almost every salient particular absolutely incompatible; and the war between the factions was on.

Before the *Jersey* plan had been rejected, Dickinson (of Delaware) had proposed a consolidation of the two plans, if possible; and on June 21st, Dr. Wm. Samuel Johnson, (of Connecticut) had struck the keynote of the situation by proposing to give an equal representation in the senate and a proportionate representation in the house. This proposition for compromise he again put forward more strongly on June 29th, and Oliver Ellsworth, (of Connecticut) moved formally that such a provision be made. July 2nd the motion was put and lost. The five large states, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Massachusetts, (New York having no vote) voting against, and the five small ones: Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland and New Hampshire, for it; with one, Georgia, equally divided. The convention had now "got to a point where it could not move one way or the other." The dispute had lasted for three days and was exceptionally bitter and violent. Gouverneur Morris, speaking of the demand of the small states for equal representation, exclaimed prophetically: "This country must be united. If persuasion does not unite it, the sword will!" And Gerry seemed to despair of any solution of the controverted question when he said: "A secession would take place * * * for some gentlemen seem decided on it!" The whole matter was now referred to a compromise committee of one member from each

state, and it, on July 5th, reported Ellsworth's compromise, with two additional provisions; first: that the house of representatives, elected on a basis of 40,000 population, (which the larger states were expected to control) should originate all financial legislation; second: that 3-5 of the slaves were to be included in the estimate of population for representation. The former amendment was intended to placate the large states; the latter to catch the vote of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Like all compromises, it was at first extremely unpopular and hardly found a favoring voice in the convention. But the more it was debated the better it was liked; until finally, it was, with the addition of a power given the senate to propose amendments to money bills, put to a vote and carried. The two propositions (as to senate and house) were voted on separately, the vote on the senate provision being 7 states against 6 and on the house proposition, 5 states favoring, 3 opposed and 3 divided. "The senate, therefore," says Alex. Johnson, "whose conception has received warmer admiration than that of any other feature in the constitution, owes its existence, in its present form, entirely to an unwilling compromise of the conflicting demands of the large and small states." No doubt this is one of the incidents of the convention that furnish Von Holst, one of the most vigorous and unsparing critics of the constitution, his warrant for asserting as a "historical fact that the Constitution had been extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people."

After a similar long and hard fought battle over the granting to congress the right to regulate and control commerce, this absolute and essential power was granted; but not until, by another compromise, the provision was added that no duty or tax should be laid on articles exported from any state. By this, the second compromise, congress was granted complete control over national and interstate commerce, with the exception of the restriction on its power to tax exports.

A third compromise was found necessary when the question of the slave trade was under consideration. Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina, which had previously given notice through Cotesworthy Pinckney that

they would never accept a constitution which did not afford proper protection to the interests of the slaveholders, now emphatically refused to enter the Union unless its congress should be forbidden to stop this traffic, or to tax it excessively. Once more the convention was brought to a standstill, and a compromise committee was again selected, which presently reported the 3rd important compromise of the Convention. Congress was to be forbidden to prohibit the importation of slaves, when permitted by state laws, until 1808; but a tax of $10.00 per capita might be imposed on such imports. Thus the slave made trade was brought at once under the revenue control of congress, and 20 years later, under its complete commercial control. No parts of the Constitution have received more severe criticism and condemnation than those which were the results of the "two compromises of a moral question." But it must be remembered that to but a few members of the convention was slavery a moral question. Only in Massachusetts and New Hampshire had public opinion on the subject so far advanced as to abolish slavery. And had no compromise been attained, the result would have been the erection of two or more separate nations on this continent, with their concomitant armies and inevitable wars; surely an evil to be avoided at almost any cost.

These instances will furnish an imperfect suggestion of the difficulties and crises in the work of the convention in the course of its sustained, but finally successful labors. After a continuous session of 4 months the constitution, in its essentials, was agreed upon and on September 12, 1787, it was referred for revision to a Committee on Style and Arrangement, consisting of Wm. S. Johnson, Hamilton, Madison, King and Gouverneur Morris, to the last named of whom the work of re-drafting was mainly intrusted. "To his pen belongs the merit of that clear and finished style—that *lucidus ordo*—that admirable perspicuity—which has so much diminished the labors and hazards of interpretation for all future ages."

On September 13th, the constitution was reported to the convention in form almost as it is now. Some few changes were made, propositions for new articles were voted down as too late, and a rule was adopted, which seemed

likely to seriously endanger the ratification of the constitution by the states.

This was the negativing of a proposition for a new convention to consider any amendments which might be proposed by the states. It was a direct challenge to the destructive and dissatisfied element in the convention, and imposed on the states the alternatives of unconditional adoption or rejection of the constitution as it stood. Many delegates who had hoped to secure amendments through action of their states, now refused to sign; so that of 55 members who had been in attendance, 16 refused or neglected to attach their signatures. This number included Randolph, Gerry and Mason; Luther, Martin, Lansing and Yates having previously left the convention.

On September 15, 1787, the constitution was agreed to by all the states present, but there were in some of them dissentient minorities; and Hamilton, though he signed, could not cast his state's vote in its favor. On the last day of the session, September 17th, the broad sheet of parchment, on which was engrossed that document, pregnant with the destiny of a great nation, was brought in and placed on a table for signature. Unanimity was regarded as of much importance and Gouverneur Morris suggested its ingenious form of attestation, said to have been devised by the astute Franklin, as one that might be signed without implying approval:—"Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present."

Concerning the formality of its signing, in that twice hallowed chamber in the Old State House in which the immortal Congress of 1776 had assembled, two interesting traditions, among others, are extant.

Dr. Franklin disapproved of many provisions in the constitution, but finally agreed to it, like the philosopher that he was, because he had expected nothing better and was not sure it was not the best that could be secured. "Whilst the last members were signing," writes Madison, Dr. Franklin looking towards the president's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters often found it difficult in their art to distinguish an ascending from a de-

clining sun. 'I have,'—said he—'often and often, in the course of the session and the vicissitude of my fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising sun.'" The second anecdote is of Gen. Washington, who, when about to sign this instrument, arose, and holding the pen in his hand, after a solemn pause, uttered these words: "Should the states reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is that an opportunity will never again offer to cancel another in peace—the next will be drawn in blood."

So, and by such men, was framed the Constitution of the United States of America. "The God of Wisdom," says Carson, "illuminated the deliberations of that hour. The labors of that day preserved for all time the precious fruits of freedom and self-government. Unique in origin, without a prototype in design, of enduring strength and of phenomenal success, in the history of political philosophy the Constitution will always stand alone!"

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

207—Painting, 39x60

"Fort Duquesne 1755." On the evening of Braddock's defeat. Painted by W. C. Wall, 1856.

Presented by the late John A. Harper.

208—Painting 30x36

"Old Smoky Island," used by the Indians during the French and Indian War, as their hiding place for American prisoners. Fort Duquesne was in the background. Painted by W. C. Wall, 1848.

Presented by the Misses Ivy and Laura Cluley.

209—Portrait 39x59

of the Right Hon. William Pitt. Painted by James Kinsella.

Presented anonymously.

210—Engraving 48x50

Henry Clay before the United States Senate, A. D. 1850. Engraved by William Smith, Philadelphia, Penn'a., 1855.

Loaned by Miss H. B. Clark.

211—Photograph 38x55

The wonderful lineup of steam vessels in the harbor at Pittsburgh, Penna., October 31, 1911, during the observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the sailing of the first steamer on the Ohio. A replica of this first vessel (The New Orleans) was christened by Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, and exhibited to the vast multitude of sightseers, including President Taft, the most distinguished guest of the occasion, who sailed down the line in the "Virginia" and reviewed the hundreds of whistling craft.

Presented anonymously.

212—Frame 36x40

Containing the photograph of George Westinghouse, founder of the Westinghouse Works.

Presented by A. G. Holmes.

213—Frame 30½x34

Containing a shield of "Old-Paper-Money."

Loaned by Dr. John L. Phillips.

214—Engraving 28½x34½

Washington receiving a salute on the field of Trenton. By John Faed, R. S. A. and Wm. Holl.

Loaned by Dr. John Phillips.

215—Frame 28½x39

View of the Monongahela River at the Point and photographs of members of the "Eclipse Barge Club."

Presented by Mrs. Robert Milligan.

216—Engraving 27x32

"Washington's Adieu to His Generals." Engraved by permission from the original drawing, in the collection of the late Washington Irving. By F. O. C. Darley, Fecit and George R. Hall, Sculptor.

Presented by Thomas M. Walker.

217—Frame 36x40

Containing photographs of uniforms worn by the "Pittsburgh Washington Infantry" 1808-1913. 1—Pittsburgh Blues, War 1812. 2—Jackson Blues, Mexican War. 3—Washington Infantry, 1853. 4—Washington Infantry, 1858. 5—Washington Infantry, 1861. 6—Washington Infantry, 13th Penn'a. Vol's., 1861, 102nd P. V. V. 7—Washington Infantry, 102nd P. V. V., 1861, "Full Dress." 8—Washington Infantry, 1869. 9—Washington Infantry, 19th Reg't. N. G. P., Railroad Riots, 1877. 10—Washington Infantry, 1878. 11—Washington Infantry Members—Spanish War, 1898. 12—Washintgon Infantry, 1913. 13—Washington Infantry, Winter Uniform, 1913. Photos by J. M. Rosser.

Presented by Capt. John H. Niebaum.

218—Lithograph 25½x20

"Christ's Methodist Episcopal Church." By Wegner & Buechner, Lith., 60 Market Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Presented anonymously.

219—Photograph 22x25

"The Oil Trade of Pittsburgh, 1869." The Dalzell Building, 1869, corner of Duquesne Way and Irwin Street, later Seventh Street, now Sandusky. National Casket Co. now occupies the old site, on the opposite corner "Scott House," "Robinson House," later the Boyer, torn down in 1915 to make room for the Elks' Building. A photograph of 138 members of "The Oil Trade of Pittsburgh 1869" is given.

Presented by the late Stanhope S. Pinkerton.

220—Engraving 27½x35

"The Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776." Painted by J. Trumbull. Engraved by W. L. Ormsby, after Durand.

Presented by T. M. Walker.

221—Photograph 20½x24

"Stephen Collins Foster."

Presented by Mrs. Francis J. Torrance.

222—Photograph 23x26

"Steamboat Francis J. Torrance," of the Monongahela & Ohio River Transportation Co.

Presented by Mrs. Francis J. Torrance.

223—Frame 18x24

Containing a photograph of "The Historical Hartford," Admiral Farragut's Flagship, "The U. S. S. Pennsylvania Most Powerful Super-Dreadnaught Afloat."

Presented anonymously.

224—Photograph 29x31

"The Railroad Riots at Pittsburgh, July 21st and 22nd, 1877." View in front of Malleable Iron Works of McConway, Torley Co., Liberty St., between 25th & 26th Streets.

Presented anonymously.

225—Photograph 29x31

"View From Roof of Malleable Iron Works of M'Conway, Torley & Co." Engines in lower round house and debris of car shops, buildings occupied by Philadelphia troops, Saturday and Sunday, July 21st and 22nd, 1877.

Presented anonymously.

Members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania who died in 1921

Herbert E. Anderson
Mrs. Henry J. Bailey
Frank L. Blair
John Bindley
William A. Clugston
Edwin S. Craig
John D. Fraser
Miss Martha Graham
Miss Priscilla S. Guthrie
John A. Harper
David F. Henry
Julius Hertz
John W. Jordan LL. D.
Philadelphia Penn'a.
William J. Patton
Howard J. Patton
Greensburg, Penna.
Marvin F. Scaife
Mrs. Charles Stewart
William Clyde Wilkins

NOTES AND QUERIES

ON NOVEL READING*

Extracts from a sermon preached in 1850 by the Rev. Charles Cooke, D. D., of the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and published in a volume of sermons, the proceeds of the sale of which went to Allegheny College. The text was from Jonah, Second Chapter, Eighth Verse: "They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy."

The term "lying vanities" is of similar import with the words "a vain show." Such are idols and idol worship. Such also is the world—its honors, wealth and pleasures. Of these, inspiration declares, "all is vanity."

The field is wide, too wide, as now presented, to be explored in a single discourse. I shall therefore confine myself to one point, and invite attention to but one class of "lying vanities." But its name is legion; for who can tell the number of fictitious works, from the "three-volumed" book to the penny pamphlet, with which the world is flooded. The novel is found on the lady's toilet, open at the page over which long after midnight darkness cast its veil.

Again we remark, they are always false, though it is often alleged they are "founded in fact." This is so much like saying a house is a stone house, though built of brick or wood, because its foundation is stone, with a view to getting a better price in the sale of it, that one scarcely knows whether to be most diverted or provoked at this trick of novelists and their publishers to vend such empty ware.

He who reads a book of fiction is as though he sat down to listen to a man manufacturing falsehoods by the yard. When we become men, we should put away childish things; yet this is the very way in which children amuse themselves in a long winter evening. In them it may be borne with, for "children and youth are vanity;" but in men and women, or in those who are verging to maturity, it is unseemly, to say the least, if not criminal.

Will the reader listen to a word of exhortation? Are you a parent? As you would not put the inebriating cup to your child's lips, lest it eventuated in a habit destructive to every interest, and blighting to all your hopes, do not put an intoxicating book in his hands. You would scarcely commit a greater blunder by putting a pack of cards in his pocket. As you desire his mind to be enlightened, his heart to be sanctified, and his life to be regulated by the moral precepts of the Bible, do not give him a moral and intellectual dyspepsia, by ministering to his already vitiated appetite the racy and inflammatory caterings of novelists and romancers. Are you a young husband? Beware

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**Original Sermons*, Pittsburgh, 1850, pp. 296-311.

how you lay upon your wife's table, to amuse her in your absence, such works as could have had no other origin than a heart swollen with passion, or steeped in sensuality. You may thus be sowing to the wind, and will reap the whirlwind. Are you a wife? Do not take advantage of a confiding husband's warmest affections, to compel him to ruin you, by gratifying your appetite for fancy and fiction. You may learn to suspect, and be taught too provokingly to express your unfounded suspicions; and thus the evil you feared may be brought about. Where then will domestic bliss be? And what is the married life without it? A life of disappointment and woe! Are you young? If you desire to live to some purpose—to contribute in some degree to the happiness of the world—to please God, and secure the rewards of a blissful immortality; drink not at the fountain of fiction, however sparkling the stream, and, for the time being, refreshing the draught. There is poison in it—deadly, damning poison. It will first intoxicate, and then, like every other kind of intemperance, kill you with absolute inanity, or plunge you into inextricable labyrinths of folly and crime. To all and every one inspiration proclaims—"buy the truth, and sell it not". It is often more strange than fiction, and always more worthy the time employed in its perusal, and the immortal mind it impresses. And may he who said, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life," guide you into all truth, and bring you to that land of holy realities, where fiction is not known, and God is loved supremely, and enjoyed forever. Amen.

HOW I CAUGHT A BURGLAR

Being a school composition written by Samuel McCain, aged eleven years, the effort being probably inspired by the wave of crime which is sweeping over the country, accounts of which are constantly appearing in the newspapers.

One night about twelve o'clock I got awake in bed. I heard somebody down stairs and I knew everybody in our family was asleep. I got up and dressed and got my air gun and flashlight which were in my room. I stole down stairs very quietly and saw a light in the dining room. I crept into the dining room and yelled "hands up" and he put his hands up. I did not know the man so I said "What is your name?" but he did not answer, so by that time John my brother (aged nine) was up and had his gun. I told him to call up the police while I guarded the burglar. While John was calling up the police the burglar jumped on me and threw me down, but just then John came in and aimed his gun at the burglar and said, "Stand up!" The burglar would not do so and then John got on top of him and pulled him off. The police came just then and arrested him. John and I then went to bed and told the rest of the family in the morning. John and I got ten thousand dollars reward.

86'

Pittsburgh in 1790.
As Sketched by Lewis Brantz.
From Schoolcraft's "Indian Antiquities."

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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FORT PITT

By

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

(Continued from the January number)

CHAPTER V.

Under the Continental Congress

General Hand had been appointed by the Continental Congress to the command of the Western Department, composed of the counties of Westmoreland and Washington in Pennsylvania, and Monongalia and Ohio in Virginia, with headquarters at Fort Pitt (1) because the people west of Pittsburgh had become fearful of an Indian uprising. (2) On June 1, 1777, he arrived at Fort Pitt, escorted by a troop of Westmoreland lighthorse militia. (3) The force under his command consisted of a few regulars, the balance being militia, and with these little could be accomplished against the Indians who were threatening. The boundary controversy between Virginia and Pennsylvania was still on, and Hand was early accused of taking sides with Pennsylvania. Then on March 28, 1778, he allowed the Loyalists, Mathew Elliott, Alexander McKee and Simon Girty, and two others whom he had under surveillance, through too much leniency, to escape from Fort Pitt to the British

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lines, and on May 2, 1778, he was recalled by resolution of Congress. (4)

On May 19, 1778, Washington appointed Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh as Hand's successor. (5) On August 6th he assumed command at Fort Pitt. His greatest achievement was the treaty which he concluded with the Delawares at Fort Pitt on September 19, 1778, whereby they bound themselves to the American cause and agreed to join in the contemplated expedition against the Western Indians. Late in October, McIntosh left Fort Pitt and proceeded to the mouth of Beaver Creek, where many of the regular troops and militia had preceded him, and had begun building a large stockade which was called Fort McIntosh after the General. The main body of the army consisting of twelve hundred men, more than half of whom were militia from northwestern Virginia, proceeded as far as the Tuscarawas, where the Delaware Indians met them. Fort Laurens was built; winter came on; dissatisfaction arose between the officers, the campaign proved a failure and on February 20, 1779, at his own request, McIntosh was recalled by resolution of Congress. (6)

Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who had been McIntosh's second in command, was appointed to succeed him on March 5, 1779. (7) On April 5th, McIntosh surrendered the command to Brodhead. (8) Great plans were in contemplation, but they all ended in a campaign against the Indians on the upper Allegheny River, which began on August 11th. Brodhead proceeded as far as the present boundary of the state of New York, but the Indians had burned their villages and fled before the approaching army. (9) On April 7, 1781, Brodhead left Fort Pitt on his expedition against the Delaware Indians at Coshocton, who had gone over to the British. Completely surprised, the Indians were easily overcome, many being taken prisoners and the remainder dispersed; and their town was destroyed. (10)

It was during this time that part of the ground belonging to Fort Pitt began to be encroached upon by settlers and Colonel Brodhead wrote about the matter to the Secretary of War. On June 22, 1779, he also complained to Timothy Pickering,

President of Pennsylvania: "The inhabitants of this place are continually encroaching on what I conceive to be the rights of the garrison * * *. They have now the assurance to erect their fences within a few yards of the bastions * * *. The block houses likewise, which are part of the strength of the place, are occupied by private persons to the injury of the service.". (11) On November 22, 1779, he again wrote to Pickering, "I hope the Hon. Congress has come to a determination what extent of clear ground to allow this garrison. The inhabitants on this side the Alleghany Hills profess a great law knowledge, and it would be exceedingly disagreeable to me to be pestered with their silly courts, and therefore the service will suffer until the pleasure of Congress is known respecting it." (12)

At Fort Pitt provisions were obtained with difficulty. The inhabitants of the neighboring country refused to accept the depreciated Continental currency. At Pittsburgh the troops marched in a body to the commandant's house and protested against their lack of rations. Force was resorted to to obtain the needed provisions. Charges were made against Brodhead that he was taking advantage of his position to further his private interests. (13) On May 5, 1781, Washington summoned Brodhead to Philadelphia, and on May 6th, Brodhead turned over the command to Colonel John Gibson and the next day left for that city. (14) On September 24th, Brigadier General William Irvine was appointed by Congress to the command of the Western Department.

Leaving Philadelphia on October 9th, (15) Irvine probably reached Fort Pitt in the middle or latter part of the month. At Yorktown, Virginia, on October 19th, Cornwallis had surrendered the flower of the British forces in America to the allied American and French armies, and the war was practically over. The news of the great victory reached Fort Pitt shortly after Irvine's arrival and his first important act was on November 6th to issue a proclamation congratulating the troops on the surrender, and ordering thirteen pieces of artillery be fired at one o'clock in the fort, at which time the troops were to be under arms, with their colors displayed. He further directed the commissary to issue "a gill of liquor extraord-

inary to the non-commissioned officers and privates on this joyful occasion." (16)

During the administration of both McIntosh and Brodhead at Fort Pitt, the works had been sadly neglected and at the close of Brodhead's command the fort was said to be almost in ruins. This policy was immediately changed under Irvine. On December 3, 1781, he wrote to the Board of War: "Any person to look at the place and be told that a number of artificers were employed, I believe they would rather imagine they were pulling down than building up or repairing. Such a complete heap of ruins to retain the name of a post, I believe cannot be found in any other place." (17) And in the summer of 1782, Irvine made extensive repairs. On October 29th he wrote to Washington about them: "A new row of picketing is planted on every part of the parapet where the brick revetment did not extend, and a row of palisading is nearly finished to the ditch—above all a complete new magazine, the whole arched with stone—some parts of the ramparts and parapets are much broken down, a new main gate and drawbridge are wanted and some small earthworks are necessary to be erected." (18)

It was during this time that the British planned an attack on Fort Pitt, and a force of three hundred soldiers and five hundred Indians with twelve pieces of artillery, was sent from Canada for the purpose. They reached Lake Chautauqua and had already embarked in canoes for the further journey when word was received from spies, that the fort had been repaired and much strengthened. In consequence of this information the campaign was abandoned and the soldiers returned to Canada. Detachments of Indians, together with numerous Tories, were, however, sent out in different directions to harass the settlements on the borders of Pennsylvania. One of these bands, consisting of three hundred Indians and sixty Tories, under command of Kiyasuta, the Seneca chief, who had been so conspicuous in the Indian war of 1763, fell upon Hannastown on July 13, 1782.

The county court had just adjourned and those in attendance had gone to their homes, and many had resumed their labors in the fields when the foe appeared. The object

of the attacking party seemed to be to surprise the inhabitants and make them prisoners, rather than to attack them, but at the first alarm the settlers had hastened into the blockhouse. Thereupon the Indians and Tories began a vigorous attack on the building. Being unable to reduce the structure they commenced plundering the houses in the village, finally setting them on fire. This accomplished, the force withdrew, carrying with them their booty and the few prisoners they had taken.

Large areas, both in New York and Pennsylvania and to the westward of both states, were still owned by the Indians. The country across the Allegheny and Ohio rivers from Fort Pitt was all Indian territory and was forbidden to white men, and on February 25, 1783, Irvine issued an order regarding the same. (19) "Persons ferrying, either men or women, across the Allegheny River, or who shall be found crossing into what is generally called the Indian Country, between Kittanning and Fort McIntosh, without a written permit from the commanding officer at Fort Pitt or orders for that purpose—until further orders, shall be treated and prosecuted for holding or aiding others to correspond and give intelligence to the enemy."

The Revolution being over, Irvine, on October 1, 1783, left Pittsburgh finally (20), Captain Marbury assuming the command in his place.

Peace was declared by a preliminary treaty between Great Britain and the United States on November 30, 1782, the definitive treaty being signed at Versailles on September 3, 1783. Immigration to the West was now resumed and soon reached dimensions hitherto unknown. Also travelers came for purposes of pleasure, trade, or to inspect the lands in the Western country, who either made Pittsburgh the end of their journey, or tarried there in order to prepare for a continuation farther west. Among the earliest of the foreigners to arrive was Dr. Johann David Schoepf, who had been chief surgeon of the Anspach troops, a contingent of the German auxiliaries who fought on the British side in the Revolution, (21) accompanied by an Englishman named Hairs. The two men arrived in Pitts-

burgh on September 6, 1783, and remained seven days. Speaking of their reception, Dr. Schoepf relates: "Not we, but our vehicle, had the honor of being the first object of their curiosity, for we had come the whole way in a two-wheeled chaise." The place, he said, "numbers at this time perhaps sixty wooden houses and cabins, in which live something more than a hundred families * * *. The first stone house was built this summer. * * * Of public houses of worship or justice, there are none as yet. The state of Pennsylvania, as is customary in this country, sends hither a judge once or twice a year to administer the law * * *. However little to be regarded the place is now, from its advantageous site, it must be that Pittsburgh will in the future become an important depot for inland trade." He expressed his gratitude for the reception accorded him by the men to whom he had been opposed in the war just closed. "I should not fail to mention the courtesies and assistance rendered us by the officers of the garrison, and I must especially acknowledge our obligations to the commander of the fort, General Irvine, and to Colonel Bayard."

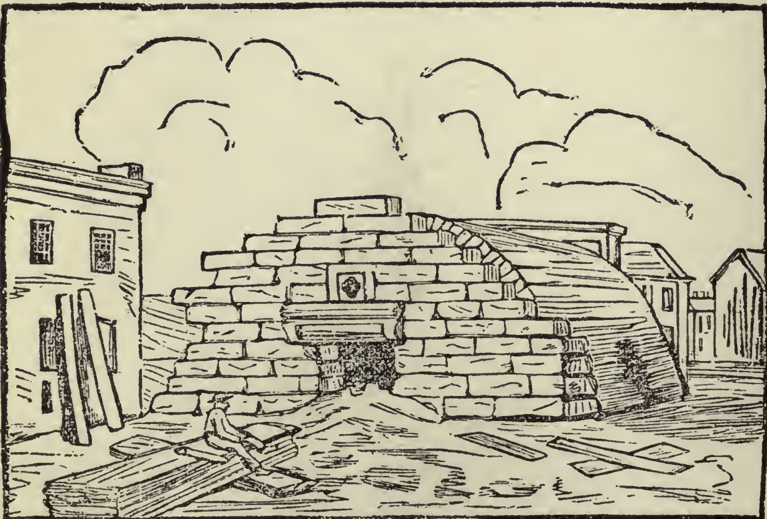
Another distinguished stranger who came to Pittsburgh shortly after the Revolution, was General Peter Muhlenberg, the former pastor of the German Lutheran Church at Woodstock, whose services in the Revolution had enabled him to attain the rank of major general. He remained for three weeks while on his way to the Falls of Ohio, now Louisville, having been appointed by Virginia one of the Superintendents to locate lands intended for the officers and soldiers of the Virginia line in the Continental service. (22) He was accompanied by his friend, Captain Paske', and records that he reached "Fort Pitt" in the afternoon of March 10, 1784. He must have attracted attention even in this frontier settlement as he rode into town, having, as he relates, a "perfect resemblance to Robinson Crusoe." He states that he had "four belts around him, carried two brace of pistols, wore a sword and had a rifle slung over his shoulder, and carried a pouch and a tobacco-pipe, which was not a small one." He concludes his description: "Add to this the blackness of my face, which occasioned the inhabitants to take me for a

92'

TWO RELICS OF FORT PITT.

From Sketches made by Russell Smith in 1832.

The Old Redoubt.



The Powder Magazine.

traveling Spaniard." General Muhlenberg spent his time while in Pittsburgh in preparing for the further journey, his leisure being employed in "trying to catch some Ohio fish, which, according to report, are very large; but hitherto I have been unsuccessful, as the river is too full of ice."

When the boat on which General Muhlenberg and the party with which he was now traveling left Pittsburgh, was passing Logstown, where his grandfather, Conrad Weiser, had held his conference with the Indians in 1748, it ran aground on an island. It was near sunset, and as the boat could not be floated, they were compelled to stay all night. The occupants of the boat became uneasy. On the north side of the river was the Indian Country, and they were fearful of an attack. The Indians, although at peace with the whites, could probably not "withstand the great temptation of plundering a boat so richly laden as ours," Muhlenburg writes. The company was therefore divided into four watches and placed under his orders. He admits that he felt anxious. "For I must confess that I did not hear the noise of the wild fowl, the screaming loons, the hooting owls, and the howling wolves, which continued around us all night, with total indifference."

Early in 1784, Congress appointed three commissioners to meet the Six Nations on the northern and western frontiers, and purchase their western lands. On February 3, 1784, Pennsylvania also appointed commissioners to acquire the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, (23) who were to meet with the United States commissioners. All the commissioners met the Indians at Fort Schuyler (more generally known by its former and subsequent name of Fort Stanwix), beginning on October 3, 1784. The treaty was signed with the United States commissioners on October 22nd and with the Pennsylvania commissioners the next day, (24) and all the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, north and west of the Allegheny River, except certain lands at Erie, were ceded to Pennsylvania. One of the United States commissioners was Arthur Lee, of Virginia, who, together with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane, had been joint commissioners of the United States to the Court of France during the Revolution. Lee kept a journal from Philadelphia to Fort Schuyler, and after the conclusion of

the treaty with the Six Nations, continued the journal through Western Pennsylvania while on the way to Cuyahoga, now Cleveland, where a conference was to be held with the Western Indians. The party came by way of Sunbury and Carlisle and consisted of the United States commissioners, George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, and arrived at Fort Pitt on December 2, 1784. (25)

On December 5th a conference was held with Colonel Josiah Harmer, who commanded the Pennsylvania troops on the frontier, in the Indian Country on the opposite side of the Allegheny River from Fort Pitt, where he was encamped, with a force of soldiers intended as an escort for the commissioners on the further journey. Here it was decided that owing to the lateness of the season and the difficulty in securing supplies, the conference should be held at Fort McIntosh, thirty miles distant. After a stay of several weeks at Fort Pitt, the commissioners proceeded to Fort McIntosh, where the Pennsylvania commissioners met them, and where the conference was finally held and the deeds granting the lands to the United States and to Pennsylvania were signed on January 21, 1785. (26)

During his stay in Pittsburgh, Lee wrote down his impressions of the place: "Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland and Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on, the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per hundred weight from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops, money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys and two doctors." He also expressed the opinion that the place would "never be very considerable." In this respect the subsequent history of Pittsburgh has shown that his judgment was of far less value than that of Dr. Schoepf.

Religion also had begun to reassert itself in Pittsburgh in the bosoms of those who, owing to the vicissitudes of their new life, had neglected its outward observance. Wandering clerics came and preached in the fort or in some public house in the town, but house of worship there was none. The strain of the Revolution being over and the

stress of adverse material circumstances being lessened, the people began yearning for the spiritual life which they had led in their old homes in the East, and a desire for a church home developed. The majority of the people in Pittsburgh and its vicinity were either Scotch-Irish or German. The former were Presbyterians, while the latter were divided in their church affiliations between the Evangelical and Reformed faiths. The Germans were the first to organize a congregation, their church dating from 1782. (27) The Presbyterians claim 1784 as the natal year of their church. When Dr. Schoepf was in Pittsburgh, as he relates, a German preacher was living there who ministered to all the Germans. (28) Arthur Lee, on the other hand, tells that there was not in Pittsburgh "a priest of any persuasion, nor church nor chapel; so they are likely to be damned without the *benefit of clergy*." (29) Mr. Lee probably did not know that the Presbyterian church was in process of formation, and he may have closed his eyes to the fact that the German church had been in existence for two years, in order that he might elaborate his witticism about being "damned without the *benefit of clergy*."

John Wilkins, who removed from Carlisle to Pittsburgh in October, 1783, and who subsequently became one of its leading citizens, being an associate justice of the common pleas court of Allegheny County upon its erection, a chief burgess of the borough of Pittsburgh, and county treasurer for many years, has left a graphic, but rather dark account of the social and religious conditions prevailing in Pittsburgh at the time he settled there. (30)

"When I first came here I found the place filled with old officers and soldiers, followers of the army, mixed with a few families of credit. All sorts of wickedness were carried on to excess, and there was no appearance of morality or regular order. * * * There appeared to be no signs of religion among the people, and it seemed to me that the Presbyterian ministers were afraid to come to the place lest they should be mocked or mistreated."

He then relates that he had "often hinted to the creditable part of the people that something ought to be done toward establishing a Presbyterian church." The result of his suggestions was the organization of the Presbyterian

church and a building was commenced at which he says he worked "with his own hands."

The Episcopalians in Pittsburgh comprised only a small proportion of the population, but included some of the most prominent and influential citizens of the village. They were mainly emigrants from Virginia and Maryland, where the Episcopal, or Church of England as it was commonly called, had been the state church, being disestablished during the Revolution. The church as a whole had fallen into disrepute, notwithstanding the fact that more than two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Episcopalians, the principal reason being that the majority of the clergy had remained Loyalists during the Revolution. But at this time the movement for the reorganization of the church on American lines was well under way. In September, 1785, a convention of delegates from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina had been held in Philadelphia and the Protestant Episcopal Church as a national body organized, and a provisional constitution adopted. On September 14, 1786, the Rev. Dr. William White, the rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia, the friend of Washington, who had been chaplain of the Continental Congress, was elected Bishop of Pennsylvania, and on February 4th of the following year, he and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost, Bishop-elect of New York, were consecrated in London by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of Both, Wells and Peterborough. And now the Episcopalians of Pittsburgh were looking forward to the formation of a church of their own, which, however, was not to be accomplished until many years afterward.

All the Penns were devout Christians and John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, at this time the proprietarys of the manor and town of Pittsburgh, were not exceptions to their forebears. Regardless of how they were affected by the Revolution in which they were staunch Loyalists, they set aside land in Pittsburgh at the time their plan of the town was laid out, for all the religious denominations to which the residents of Pittsburgh belonged at least nominally, upon which to erect houses of worship. This

land they donated to trustees for the use of the congregations which had either been formed or were in process of formation. The first deed given for such purpose was to the German congregation and was dated June 18, 1787. Two other donations were made, both deeds for the same being dated September 24, 1787, the one being to the Presbyterian congregation, whose building had already been erected on the ground so conveyed, and the other being for the use of the Episcopalians; but for almost forty years after this land was conveyed to the Episcopalians it remained bare of a church building, being used solely as a burying ground.

And the German church and the Presbyterian church were the pioneers in the reawakening of the religious life of Pittsburgh. The crudeness of the frontier was wearing off and the people yearned for a broader life, one of their desires being for a newspaper of their own. This new condition coming to the ears of two adventurous young printers in Philadelphia, John Scull and Joseph Boyd, they determined to meet it and establish a newspaper. The two men removed to Pittsburgh, bringing a printing outfit with them, and the *Pittsburgh Gazette* was born on July 29, 1786, and was the first newspaper to be published in the entire Western country, and has had a continuous existence to this day. The community was no longer isolated from the rest of the world. The paper mirrored the happenings in the Eastern parts of the United States and in Europe; and the only regret of the modern readers of the files of this old newspaper is the fact that the publishers did not deem it necessary to give publicity to local events. The people of Pittsburgh were now on the highroad to culture.

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98'

The Old Redoubt as it Appears Today.

CHAPTER VI.
Last Days of Fort Pitt.

The days of Fort Pitt's usefulness were over, although it remained a landmark for a number of years longer, and the Penns began to sell lots in the town of Pittsburgh. On November 27, 1779, by enactment of the Pennsylvania Assembly, all the lands of the Penns in the state, except certain manors, etc., which had been surveyed and returned to the land office prior to July 4, 1776, were forfeited to the Commonwealth, and they were granted as compensation, the sum of 130,000 pounds sterling. The manor of Pittsburgh in which Fort Pitt and the town of Pittsburgh were located, having been surveyed and returned to the land office in 1769, remained the property of the Penns.

Neville B. Craig, in his, *Life and Services of Isaac Craig*, relates: (1) "The army being disbanded, it at once became necessary for these officers who had no fortunes to retire upon, to embark in some business to sustain themselves, and to prevent the waste of what means they may have accumulated before the war." Accordingly Major Craig and Colonel Stephen Bayard, both of whom until recently, had been officers at Fort Pitt, formed a partnership to carry on the mercantile business, with the design to deal in lands and lots. Their first venture was to purchase from the Penns by agreement dated January 22, 1784, "a certain tract of land lying and being in a point formed by the junction of the rivers Monongahela and Allegheny, bounded on two sides by said rivers, and on the other two sides by the Fort and the ditch running to the Allegheny; supposed to contain about three acres." This was the first land sold in Pittsburgh.

The Penns employed Colonel George Woods, an engineer residing in Bedford, to make a survey of the town and lay out a plan of the same, which was completed on May 31st, and which embodied Colonel Campbell's plan of 1765. Thereafter by deed dated December 31, 1784, they conveyed to Craig and Bayard thirty-two lots in the new plan, which included the land sold to them by agreement. These

thirty-two lots comprised all the lots between the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and Marbury and West streets, and included all the land occupied by Fort Pitt. While the deed was made to Major Isaac Craig and Colonel Stephen Bayard, they by a deed dated January 4, 1785, acknowledged that the purchase had been made on their own account and for the account of John Holker, William Turnbull and Peter Marmie of Philadelphia, they having entered into partnership with those gentlemen in June, 1784. These five men comprised the firm of Turnbull, Marmie and Company, formed to engage in various enterprises in Pittsburgh, including dealing in real estate and operating a distillery; (2) and later they also applied for a license to trade with the Indians. (3) At subsequent dates they added to their enterprises a sawmill up the Allegheny River and a salt works on the Big Beaver.

Fort Pitt had been in possession of the Continental Congress since General Hand was placed in charge on June 1, 1777, but for some years the garrison had been dwindling in numbers. In 1784, it consisted of a lieutenant and twenty-five men. (4) It was at this time that Major Craig and Colonel Bayard made a claim to the land on which the fort was located. In a letter of Major Craig dated July 25, 1784, Craig and Bayard made a request to use some of the buildings, their request being refused, both by Captain Marbury and by his successor, Lieutenant Lucket. That Craig and Bayard fully expected to obtain possession of Fort Pitt at this time, is evident from the fact that the materials for the erection of the distillery which they expected to establish, had already been ordered, Craig stating in this letter that on the refusal of the officers at Fort Pitt to allow him to occupy any of the buildings, he had provided a house for their reception when they arrived. (5)

In 1785, there were at the fort, only the commander, Lucket, now risen to the rank of captain, and six men, whose duty seemed to be to guard military prisoners awaiting trial. (6) An incident occurred at this time which created considerable excitement

in Pittsburgh. On May 11, 1785, a Delaware Indian named Mamachtaga, while intoxicated, killed a white man and wounded three others on the north side of the Allegheny River opposite Pittsburgh. (7) He was apprehended and taken to Fort Pitt and confined in the dungeon. The feeling of the whites against the Indian was strong. They were particularly incensed against Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the leading lawyer of Pittsburgh, who was to appear for the Indian, and against Joseph Nicholas, the interpreter, who had been with Brackenridge in his interview with Mamachtaga. They proposed to hang the interpreter and exact an oath from Brackenridge not to appear at the trial. It was, however, finally decided to go to the garrison and demand the surrender of the Indian. Two attempts were then made by parties of Washington County militia, Washington County then extending to the south side of the Monongahela River opposite Pittsburgh, to take the Indian out of the custody of the military and tomahawk him. In their first effort the militia took possession of the garrison, but were persuaded by Captain Lucket, to retire, which they did, firing their guns as they passed through the town. The next attempt was made two days later when they made a prisoner of Captain Lucket and were marching him off, when, through a hastily organized party of Pittsburgh citizens and five or six soldiers, they were overpowered, and the prisoner released, and several of the militia taken into custody. Thereupon Colonel Harmar sent Captain McCurdy with a number of soldiers to reinforce the garrison.

Major Michael Huffnagle, a justice of the peace of Westmoreland County, reported the occurrence to John Armstrong, the Secretary of the Council, and closed his communication as follows: "I wish for a special commission to be sent for the trial of the prisoner at this place, and a *"blank death warrant."* To the honor of the Council, however, it should be remembered that they were not as complaisant as Major Huffnagle imagined they would be, and did not send a *blank death warrant,* but waited until the Indian had been tried and found guilty, the trial taking place at Hannastown, when on November 25, 1785, a warrant was directed to be issued, whereupon Mamachtaga was duly hanged. (8)

Now Craig and Bayard instituted legal proceedings by bringing a suit in ejectment against Captain Lucket for the possession of the fort. The commander, however, was not to be intimidated by the service of a Pennsylvania writ, and declared that he would remain at his post until he had received orders from Congress to surrender the possession. (9)

That the fort was to be given up by the United States was generally understood in Pittsburgh. The state of Pennsylvania claimed that the effects purchased by William Thompson and Alexander Ross from Captain Edmonstone now belonged to Alexander Ross who had been attained of treason during the Revolution, and it made preparations to sell them. Major Huffnagle, who in addition to being a justice of the peace, was one of the agents for the sale of confiscated estates in Westmoreland County, (10) on May 6, 1785, wrote to Secretary John Armstrong in regard to the proposed sale. He reported that the greater part of the property purchased by Alexander Ross and William Thompson from Captain Edmonstone, had remained in the fort and had been made use of, and inquired how to proceed * * *. He also stated that in his opinion it would be necessary to have an order from Congress that possession be given to such person or persons as Council should direct. (11)

In accordance with the suggestion of Major Huffnagle, John Dickenson, the President of Pennsylvania, wrote on June 28th to the Pennsylvania delegates in Congress asking them to obtain from Congress directions to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, upon its abandonment by Congress, to deliver the possession to John Ormsby, Michael Huffnagle, John Proctor, Thomas Galbraith and Robert Galbraith, citizens of Pennsylvania. (12)

General Arthur St. Clair, learning of the matter, addressed a letter to President Dickenson, on July 16, 1785, in which he complained of the contemplated sale, and claimed that no part of the buildings left standing on the evacuation of Fort Pitt by the British belonged to Ross. Part of them, he said, belonged to him and part to other persons. (3) In compliance with this request the Council on July 11th, ordered the sale to be postponed until further

order of Council. (14)

Turnbull, Marmie and Company, in addition to the ejectment brought by Craig and Bayard for the land on which Fort Pitt was erected, had also presented a memorial to Congress setting forth their claims and asking that they be given possession. (15) To the letter of President Dickenson, Charles Pettit, a Pennsylvania delegate to Congress, (16) replied in a communication dated August 12, 1785. He stated that he believed the garrison would shortly be removed, and said, "as it is understood that possession of the fort was taken on behalf of the United States without any treaty or contract, it seems to be the intention of Congress to relinquish it in the same manner." He added, "I have therefore advised Turnbull, Marmie and Company to make their application to your Excellency and the Council on the subject." On August 15, 1785, President Dickenson addressed a letter to the commissioners appointed to take possession of Fort Pitt upon its relinquishment by Congress, in which he stated, that as it was probable that the United States would soon relinquish the possession of Fort Pitt, which he called "Pittsburgh," he thought it proper to direct, that upon such relinquishment, they should take possession in the name and behalf of this Commonwealth, and that the possession taken should be without prejudice to private property rights. (17)

It was some time after August 15th that Turnbull, Marmie and Company received possession of a portion of Fort Pitt, a small garrison being maintained there for some years longer. In 1786, the garrison consisted of twelve men. Doctor Hildreth, of Marietta, Ohio, who passed through Pittsburgh as late as April, 1788, related that there was still "a small garrison of troops at Fort Pitt." Major Ebenezer Denny, writing on July 10, 1791, stated that he found two battalions of levies at Fort Pitt. (18)

Colonel John May of Boston, a former Revolutionary officer, was in Pittsburgh from May 7th to May 24th, 1788. (19) He stopped at the tavern of Marcus Hulings on the south side of the Monongahela River, in Washington County, opposite the foot of Liberty Street, and directly across the river from Fort Pitt, because, as he complains, the same lodgings would have cost him in Pittsburgh seven

times as much as Hulings charged, and added, "Such is the odds between the counties of Westmoreland and Washington.

"Pittsburgh is in plain sight," he continued, "at half a mile distance. It is an irregular, poorly built place. The number of houses, mostly built of logs, about one hundred and fifty. The inhabitants (perhaps because they lead too easy a life) incline to be extravagant and lazy. They are subject, however, to frequent alarms from the savages of the wilderness. The situation is agreeable and the soil good."

He tells that Hulings informed him that more than two hundred and fifty boats of twenty to thirty tons filled with people, live stock and furniture had passed the place since early spring, going down the river, the destination being to the settlements farther south and west. He records that General Harmar called on him, crossing the river in a barge called the Congress, rowed by twelve men in white uniforms and caps, and took him to the north side of the Allegheny River where they visited some Indian graves at the head of which tall poles were fixed daubed with red. Later General Harmar also took him up the Monongahela River where they visited Braddock's field. Of this he said, "The bones of the slain are plenty on the ground at this day. I picked up many of them which did not seem much decayed."

The constantly rising tide of immigration into Western Pennsylvania required more subdivisions of territory. Westmoreland County had been reduced on March 28, 1781, by the creation of Washington County, and was further reduced by the erection of Fayette County on September 26, 1783, but was still inordinately large, and on September 24, 1788, Allegheny County was formed out of Westmoreland and Washington counties, and the county seat located at Pittsburgh; and the village assumed a new importance.

In 1790, John Pope undertook a journey from Richmond to Kentucky and the region farther south, stopping on the way at Pittsburgh. In October he had crossed the Alleghany Mountains. He relates: "I passed through the shadow of Death—saw George Washington's intrenchments at the Meadows, and undismayed rode over Braddock's

Pittsburgh in 1796.
From General Collot's *Voyage Dans L' Amerique Septentrionale,*

grave." (20) While in Pittsburgh he made the acquaintance of Hugh Henry Brackenridge and he has much to say about that gentleman's recent marriage to the daughter of a German farmer. He even writes verses on the event. He tells that the lady whom Brackenridge married was named Wolfe, and that after the marriage Brackenridge sent her to a school in Philadelphia, where "she now is under the governance of a reputable female, whose business will be to polish the manners, and wipe off the rusticities which Mrs. Brackenridge had acquired whilst a Wolfe." He tells of viewing Fort Pitt and the neighboring eminences in company with Brackenridge, and says the fort "will one day or other employ the historic pen, as being replete with strange and melancholy events." His characterization of the people of Pittsburgh is the reverse of flattering. "The town at present is inhabited, with only some few exceptions, by mortals who act as if possessed of a charter of exclusive privilege to filch from, annoy and harrass their fellow creatures, particularly the incautious; many of whom have emigrated from various parts to Kentucky and can verify this charge—Goods of every description are dearer in Pittsburgh than in Kentucky," and he places the blame on the former Revolutionary officers who conducted the mercantile establishments, by adding, "which I attribute to a combination of pensioned scoundrels who infest the place."

Neville B. Craig relates in his life of his father, that Colonel Bayard withdrew from the firm ot Turnbull, Marmie and Company in the spring of 1788, and that his father, Major Isaac Craig, left it in October, 1789. (2) The deed by which Major Craig conveyed his interest in the lots purchased from the Penns, which was made to William Turnbull and John Holker, two of the partners in the firm of Turnbull, Marmie and Company, is, however, dated September 8, 1795.

In February, 1791, Major Craig was appointed Quartermaster and Military Storekeeper at Pittsburgh, (22) and while holding this office wrote a number of letters to his military superiors which throw some light on conditions at Fort Pitt. His letter of March 25, 1791, is of more than usual interest. "In consequence of a number of

people killed and several taken prisoners by the Indians in the vicinity of this place, within a few days past," he writes, "and frequent reports of large parties of savages being on our frontier, the people of this town have made frequent applications for arms and ammunition to me, and I have been forced to lend them one hundred muskets and bayonets and cartouch boxes."

The two following letters show that Turnbull, Marmie and Company were still excluded from a portion of Fort Pitt, and indicate that while Major Craig retained an interest in the land purchased from the Penns, he was no longer on friendly terms with his old partners. The first letter is dated May 12, 1791, and in it he says, "Turnbull and Marmie are now in this country and have directed their lawyers to prosecute their ejectments in the Supreme Court—they are confident of being put in possession of the fort by the sheriff." The other letter is dated October 6, 1791, and in this Craig complains: "Turnbull and Marmie continue to pull down and sell the materials of the fort, and have lately been so ill-natured as to institute a suit against me for pointing out a piece of ground between the fort and the Allegheny River to Captain Buel for encampment."

In the next letter the requiem of Fort Pitt is sung. The new fort farther up the Allegheny River had been completed and the garrison was withdrawn from Fort Pitt and on May 13, 1792, Major Craig wrote to General Henry Knox, the Secretary of War: "Captain Hughes, with his detachment has occupied the barracks of the new fort since the 5th instant * * * the works, if you have no objection, I shall name Fort LaFayette." (23)

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CHAPTER VI.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE OLD REDOUBT.

I.

Location and Date of Erection.

The only relic of Fort Pitt remaining in Pittsburgh today is the Old Redoubt, also known as the Block House, situated at the Point. It is the oldest building in Pittsburgh, and next to Trinity Churchyard, the oldest landmark in the city. It is a place of great interest, not only locally, but to students of history all over the country. That it was connected with Fort Pitt is beyond question, yet the claim has been made that it was part of Fort Duquesne. Russell Smith, the artist, who studied his art in this city, was guilty of this error. In 1832 he made a sketch of the Redoubt, and of the Powder Magazine of Fort Pitt which, until sometime prior to 1844, stood on the northerly side of Liberty Street about midway between Marbury and Water streets. In *The Pittsburgh Dispatch* of Sunday, January 11, 1885, cuts of these sketches were published, along with others of local interest, together with the statement that the artist had presented the originals to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on the preceding Thursday. In these cuts the Redoubt, as well as the Powder Magazine, are represented as having been part of Fort Duquesne. The date on the tablet on the Redoubt is given as 1755, which would bring it within the period of the French occupation; and Colonel Bouquet's name is omitted. Today unfortunately the whereabouts of these two sketches are not known. However, subsequent to the date of the sketches, paintings were made from them by the artist, that of the Redoubt being now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, a copy being printed in John Martin Hammond's, "Quaint and Historic Forts of North America," and an engraving of the painting of the Powder Magazine having been published in *Gody's Magazine And Lady's Book*, for September, 1844.

A writer in Watson's Annals who saw the Redoubt in

1804, (1) and to whom it was known as the Guard House, also credits it as belonging to Fort Duquesne.

Attached to the bill of sale by which Captain Edmonstone sold certain property, being part of Fort Pitt, to William Thompson and Alexander Ross, was a schedule of items, one of which was for "two redoubts." Nothing is said about any blockhouses, except "a square log house fifty feet long." (2) General Irvine in 1782, complained of trespassers on the fort. He tells of Major Edward Ward having a house in the King's Orchard which was formerly a redoubt and had been removed from its orginial location and taken there and "built house fashion." (3) He complains further, about "Irwin's house" and states that this was also formerly a redoubt, "but is now environed by the other houses of the town of Pittsburgh." This Irwin was undoubtedly, Captain John Irwin, who was at the time deputy commissary-general of issues. (4) Here there are two redoubts accounted for. Ward's could hardly have been the Old Redoubt, as it was located in the King's Orchard, and the Redoubt still standing, must therefore have been the one occupied by Captain Irwin.

The Old Redoubt is located one hundred and fifteen feet north of Penn Street and six hundred and sixty-seven feet west of Marbury Street. It is a five-sided structure, the side facing the city being twenty-three feet in width; the two sides at right angles with the front, as well as the two rear angling sides being each about sixteen feet. It has a stone foundation standing about five and a half feet above the level of the ground; the upper part of the building which is about eight and a half feet in height, is constructed of brick. It has two ranges of loop holes for musketry cut into sticks of timber which are let into the walls on every side of the building and are a foot thick, one row being placed a short distance below the roof and the other immediately above the foundation. In the easterly front facing the city, immediately under the eaves, is a stone tablet bearing the following inscription:

"A. D. 1764
COLL. BOUQUET."

The whole is surmounted by a high sloping roof covered

by wooden shingles.

Since March 15, 1894, the old relic has been the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution, having been conveyed to that organization by Mrs. Mary E. Schenley who had been the owner for many years, having inherited it, together with the entire block bounded by Penn Street, Duquesne Way, Marbury and Water streets, from her grandfather, Colonel James O'Hara. Turnbull, Marmie and Company having acquired the land on which Fort Pitt stood, probably obtained possession of the Redoubt before securing control of the rest of the fort, as Neville B. Craig says Turnbull, Marmie and Company built an addition to it in 1785, with bricks taken from the walls of the fort, thus constituting a dwelling house. He also tells that this was occupied by Mr. Turnbull for a year, and by his father for the three following years, and that he was born there in 1787. (5)

There is no evidence that either Mr. Holker or Mr. Marmie ever resided in Pittsburgh, but Mr. Turnbull for a number of years after he removed from the Redoubt, lived in a stone house on Second Street, now Second Avenue, west of Market Street. He was a prominent citizen and was noted for the lavish manner of his entertainments. Major Samuel S. Forman of New Jersey was in Pittsburgh in the latter part of November, 1789, accompanying his uncle, General David Forman and his famliy, who with a large number of negro slaves were on their way to settle in the Natchez country, then under Spanish authority. He records in his diary about the party being entertained by Mr. Turnbull, "late of Philadelphia," whom he calls Colonel Turnbull. He tells of an "elegant" dinner given in their honor by Mr. Turnbull which was attended by several Pittsburgh gentlemen, and that the Pittsburghers accompanied them to the boat as they left Pittsburgh. (6)

For perhaps two score years the Redoubt was the habitation of refined and cultured people. In 1831, according to *The Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 19th, of that year, it was occupied by a French engineer, presumably Jean Barbeau, who with Lewis Keyon had made a plan of Pittsburgh which was published the year before. After the engineer left the Redoubt, it was allowed to become dilapidated, grow-

FORT DU QUESNE, THE FIRST FORT PITT, AND FORT PITT.

Isaac Craig's Revision of Hon. Richard Biddle's Copy of Lieut. Ratzer's Plan of Fort Pitt.

ing more shabby with each passing year until it became the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This organization tore down the addition and restored the Redoubt to its original state.

The histories of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, where they refer to the Redoubt at all, state almost unanimously that it was located outside of the fort, and a short distance west of it. In the light of the latest investigation, however, it appears beyond question that it was really a part of the old stronghold and most likely stood on the north bastion. To William McConway of this city, belongs the credit of calling attention to this fact and causing an investigation to be made.

Mr. McConway has long been interested in the early history of Pittsburgh, and particularly in that of the old fort at the Point. He made himself thoroughly familiar with the published accounts, and when doubt arose in his mind of their correctness, he examined the matter for himself. He knew of the existence of Lieutenant Ratzer's plan of the fort, and in the year 1909, he sent to London and had a copy made of it, and from his knowledge of the subject and a study of this plan reached the conclusion that the Redoubt was not located outside of the fort, but was part of the structure itself, and that it stood on the north bastion.

That Mr. McConway's copy of Ratzer's plan is an exact reproduction of the plan of Fort Pitt as preserved in the Crown Collection of Maps and Manuscripts in the British Museum, is apparent from a careful comparison, with the copy of Ratzer's plan as published in 1905 by The A. H. Clark Company of Cleveland. The writer became impressed by Mr. McConway's conclusion and made an independent investigation, becoming so deeply interested that he studied the entire history of Fort Pitt, the result being the present article.

The Redoubt is said to have been the headquarters of Colonel Henry Bouquet while at Fort Pitt and to have been erected by him in 1764. (7) In his day Bouquet was the most prominent figure in the British army in the West. He was at the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers many times, and was there several times during the period

from 1763 to and including 1764. There is no record of the date on which he left Fort Pitt at the conclusion of the Kiyasuta and Pontiac War, but it was no doubt before the end of 1763. When the Indians became troublesome again the next year, he was in Philadelphia, (8) and from there was summoned to lead an army against the Indians on the Muskingum River, as has already appeared. On September 17, 1764, he arrived at Fort Pitt preparatory to entering upon this campaign on which he started on October 3rd, returning to Fort Pitt at its conclusion on November 28, 1764. The regular troops were immediately sent to garrison the different posts farther East, and the Provincials to their homes, Bouquet proceeding to Philadelphia, where he arrived early in January, 1765. (9) If the Redoubt was erected in 1764 by Colonel Bouquet, it must have been sometime between September 17th and the end of that year.

History has demonstrated that Colonel Bouquet was the best Indian fighter who up to his time had engaged in Indian warfare. Is it likely that such a seasoned campaigner so soon after having driven the besieging Indians of Kiyasuta and Pontiac from Fort Pitt, and having met the Muskingum Indians and forced them into making a lasting peace, would erect a building outside of the fort as his headquarters, or for any other purpose? Not even the merest tyro in military affairs would be guilty of such a violation of military science. Nor would an experienced military officer erect a redoubt between two bastions, the Redoubt being close to the north bastion and between that and the south bastion. Also would a Redoubt be erected in this location with loop holes facing in the direction of the fort, from which the enemy, if it captured the building, could fire on the fort? The fact that the Redoubt was loop-holed on all sides would indicate that it stood above the level of the rest of the fort, and that the purpose of the loop-holes was to enable the occupants to fire over the fort in all directions.

Zadok Cramer, Pittsburgh's first publisher, in his *Navigator* for 1808, writing of the ruins of Fort Pitt as they appeared at that time, says * * * "within the embankment are still some of its barracks and a strong stone powder

magazine, the only remains of the British buildings." Nothing is said of any remnant of the fort being located outside of the fort. In the article on the Redoubt already referred to, published in *The Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 19, 1831, of which paper Neville B. Craig was the proprietor and editor, no claim is made that the Redoubt was located outside of the fort. This statement was not made until more than a decade later. In 1830, the Honorable Richard Biddle of Pittsburgh procured a copy of Lieutenant Ratzer's plan of Fort Pitt. This came into the possession of Neville B. Craig and his son, Isaac Craig, then twenty years of age. The two men published articles on the subject of the fort and the Redoubt in the *American Pioneer* of June, 1842, a monthly publication emanating from Cincinnati. (10) The article written by Isaac Craig was illustrated with Biddle's copy of Ratzer's plan, and on this several of the present streets were located. On this plan the Redoubt appears outside of the fort and just west of the north bastion and beyond the moat. In his description of the Redoubt, Neville B. Craig also states that it was located "on the outside of the ditch of the fort."

The descriptions of Fort Pitt and of the Redoubt as they were printed in these two articles, including the map, were followed in 1869 by A. G. Haumann, who drew and published a plan of Pittsburgh as it was supposed to be in 1795. In this plan even the mistake made in Ratzer's name was followed, being given as "R." Ratzer instead of "B." Ratzer, and the gardens as laid out by Ratzer east of the fort, were omitted. Haumann's plan with only slight variations has been republished many times since 1869, and has always been given out as if it were an original picture of Pittsburgh, instead of having been laboriously built up, mostly from data obtained from Neville B. Craig's *History of Pittsburgh.* The Craig articles and the Haumann plan have been religiously followed by all subsequent historians, except only by George H. Thurston, who said the Redoubt was erected within the fort. (11)

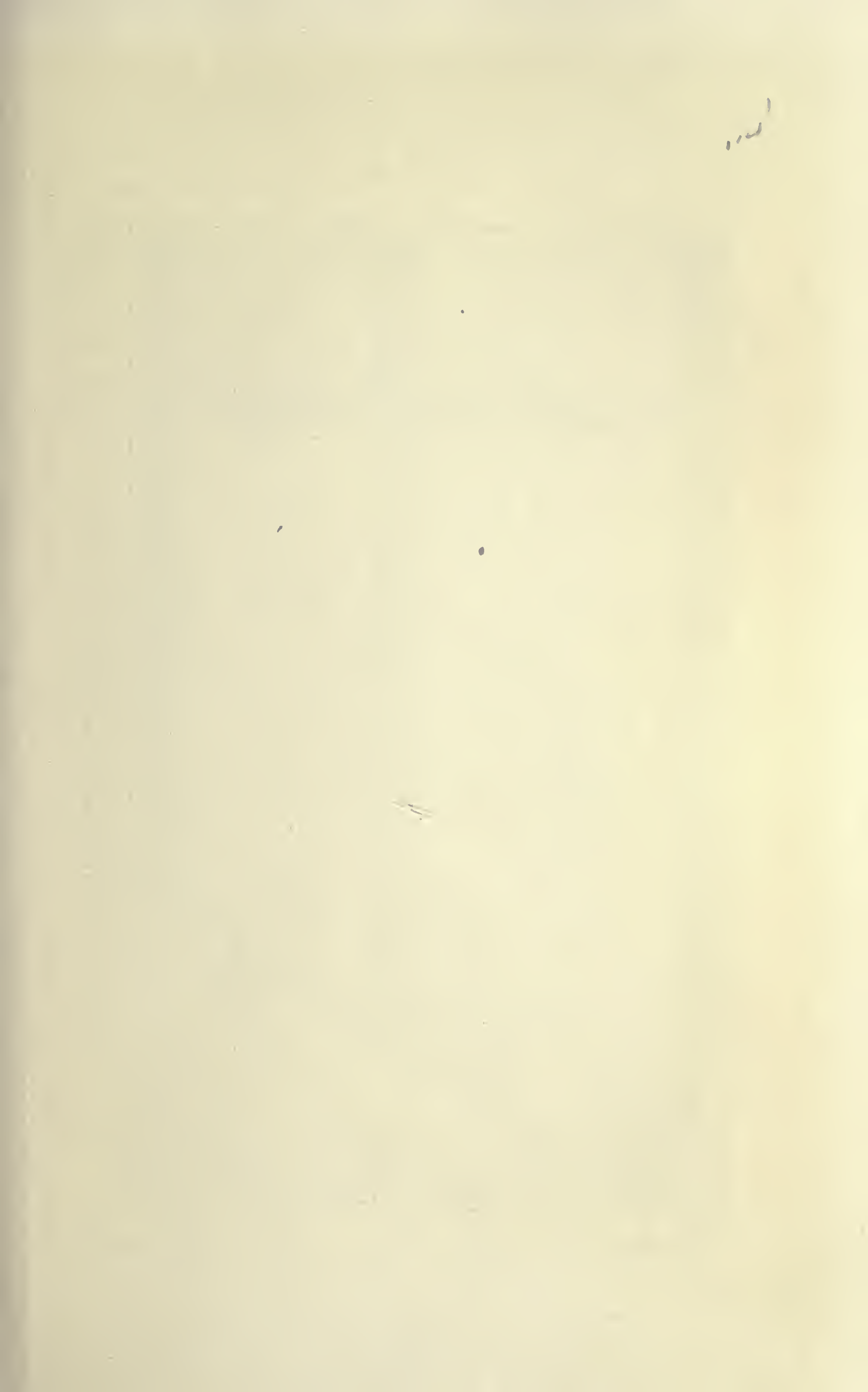
Neville B. Craig will always remain Pittsburgh's most eminent historian. To him the city is indebted for the preservation of much of the material relating to the early history of this community, and he is quoted oftener than

any other writer on the subject, yet he must be charged with error, unimportant though it may be, in approving the placing of the Redoubt outside of Fort Pitt. As Ratzer's plan, made in 1761, could not have had on it the Redoubt which is supposed to have been built at a later date, nor the Pittsburgh streets which came into existence in still more recent times, the question is, were these landmarks placed on the plan by Biddle or by Isaac Craig, with whose article the plan was published. The inference is, from a careful reading of the article, that the Redoubt, as well as the streets, were placed there by Isaac Craig with the approval by his father, Neville B. Craig.

No authority is given for placing the Redoubt outside of the fort and it must have been done, either because of a wrong construction of the plan, as for instance that the sally port of the fort led in the direction of the spot where the Redoubt was placed, or by reason of a mistaken recollection of Neville B. Craig of something which he had heard many years before.

The plan as published by Isaac Craig gives the scale as three hundred feet to the inch. Measuring from Marbury Street, the distance to the Redoubt is about nine hundred feet, while the actual distance as appears by the survey in the Deed Registry Office of the City of Pittsburgh, is six hundred and sixty-seven feet. The distance from Marbury Street as placed by Mr. McConway on the copy of the plan procured by him in London, to the center of the north bastion of the fort, is six hundred and sixty feet, which closely approximates the distance from Marbury Street to the location of the Redoubt as appears by the records in the Deed Registry Office of Pittsburgh. Any variation in the distance can be easily accounted for by the fact that the line of Marbury Street as placed by Mr. McConway, in conjunction with the fort, may be slightly different from Marbury Street as located on the ground. From this it would appear that Mr. McConway is right in assuming that the Redoubt stood on the north bastion of the fort.

That the bastions of the fort were above the level of the remainder of the fort is beyond doubt. The profile attached to Ratzer's plan shows the highest part of the



Colonel James O'Hara's Brewery in 1805.
From William Masson's Plan of Pittsburgh

fort to have been the parapet, which was about fifteen feet above the ground. This fact will not change the contention that the Redoubt was on the bastion, the bastion being merely an extension of the parapet. The contour of the ground at the Point has been much changed since Fort Pitt was erected. At that time the ground was low, and was subject to overflow from the Allegheny River. John McKinney in his description of Fort Duquesne, where he was a prisoner in February, 1756, said, "the waters sometimes rise so high that the whole fort is surrounded with it, so that canoes can go around it." (12) In many places the distance from Penn Street to the ground subject to overflow did not exceed one hundred and fifty feet and nowhere two hundred and fifty feet. (13) As late as 1807, Zadok Cramer, writing about the former location of Fort Pitt, stated that on part of the ground there stood a large brewery and two dwellings, and added, "the situation is too low for general building." (14) The brewery referred to was the Point Brewery, then conducted by Colonel O'Hara. The writer in *Watson's Annals* speaking of this brewery, (15) said, "a part of the brew-house premises fills the place which was a bastion. At a little distance from it there is still a small brick five-sided edifice called the Guard-House, erected by the British after the capture from the French." This was the Redoubt. There is in existence an old plan of Pittsburgh made in 1805, by William Masson (15a) and owned by Mr. Joseph B. Shea of this city, on which the names of the owners of the property are given, (mainly those of the grantees of the Penns) and on which pictures of a few of the more prominent buildings appear. Twenty or thirty feet north of Penn Street and about seven hundred feet west of Marbury Street, there is shown the brewery, a large, two-story structure surmounted by a belfry. It was the north bastion that was located north of this part of Penn Street, and it was the easterly end of the brewery which stood on the site of the bastion, if the writer in *Watson's Annals* was correct in his statement. Brewery Alley was laid out easterly of the rear line of the brewery and led to it. It was a narrow alley nine feet in width running parallel with Penn Street and about ninety-eight

feet north of it. Eight feet north of the location of this alley is the Redoubt.

The depth of the lots in Wood's plan which ran to the Allegheny River, is given as four hundred and ten feet. Therefore from one hundred and sixty to two hundred and sixty feet must have been the lowlands which overflowed. Since that day there have been great changes in the contour of the ground, it having been raised from eight to seventeen feet. A number of excavations have been made and timbers of the old fort uncovered, buried from twelve to fifteen feet underground. The width of the ground between Penn Street and the Allegheny River has not only been widened to four hundred and ten feet, but the Penn Street lots have been increased to a depth of four hundred and twenty feet. In 1836, two acts of the Assembly were passed authorizing the councils of the City of Pittsburgh to lay out Duquesne Way at not less than four hundred and twenty feet north of Penn Street and to establish a grade for the same and to fill up the ground. In pursuance of this authority, in 1839, councils laid out Duquesne Way and it was entirely outside of Wood's plan and ten feet beyond Wood's line; and the land at the Point now extends several hundred feet beyond even Duquesne Way. The north bastion was no doubt built on the ground subject to overflow and was fifteen feet or more above the then level of the ground. If the level of the ground at this place has been raised only ten or twelve feet, what is more reasonable than that the Redoubt, the foundation of which is something over five feet above the present level of the ground, might have been part of the north bastion of the fort?

That the north bastion was the most important part of the fort was apparent to military eyes, there can be no doubt. It was the nearest point to the Allegheny River. Across that stream all was Indian country, and from there the attack would occur if at all. This was made plain by General Irvine while commanding here. In December, 1781, when there was talk of abandoning Fort Pitt and building a new fort at the mouth of Chartiers Creek, he wrote that in such case all of the fort but the north bastion should be destroyed, and on this there should be placed a strong blockhouse. (16) The belief that there were Re-

doubts on the bastions is strengthened, when it is borne in mind that the word Redoubt and Block House, then as now, were used interchangeably, and that Neville B. Craig says there were two or three block houses on the bastions, (17) which undoubtedly meant that they were what we know as redoubts. Nor is it certain that the building was erected in 1764. It is more likely that it was built with the fort and that the tablet with the date was placed in the structure to commemorate the fact that it was occupied by Colonel Bouquet in 1764.

There are extant two views of early Pittsburgh, the first being that made by Lewis Brantz, the young German, who was in Pittsburgh in 1785, as has already been related, and who was there a second time in 1790, the picture bearing that date. This shows that the ground about Fort Pitt was quite low. The fort is seen, and surmounting the easterly side are two small stack-like projections, which are undoubtedly redoubts, one being on what was apparently intended to represent the north bastion and the other standing on what seems to be the east bastion. Brantz Mayer, the biographer of Lewis Brantz, tells of the remarkable accuracy which the artist displayed in this picture. "Every house at the fort is minutely delineated * * * and forty-five years afterward I saw him point out every place of historical interest in a landscape which art and trade has so transformed." (18)

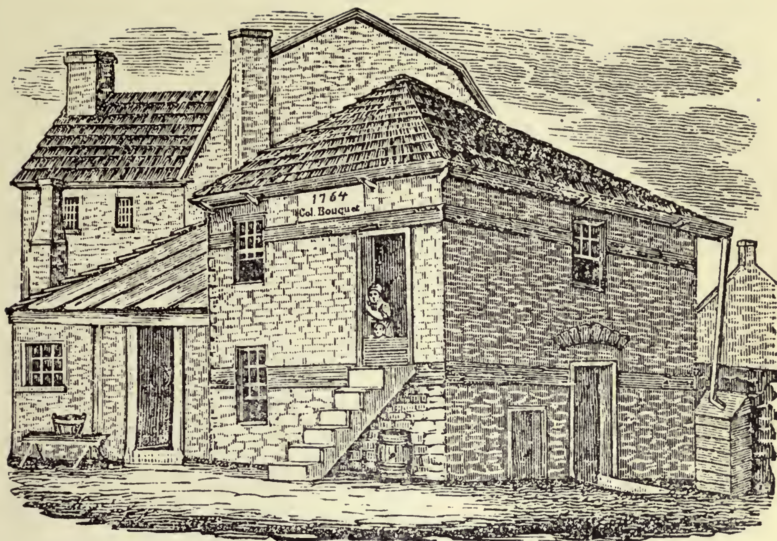
The other view of Pittsburgh is the one appearing in the book of General Henri Victor Collot, a French army officer, who was in Pittsburgh in 1796, having been sent out by the French government at the request of M. Adet, the French Minister to the United States, for the purpose of obtaining minute details of the political, commercial and military state of the western part of the continent. (19) In this picture also a structure is seen which appears to be the fort and here there are redoubt-like buildings rising above the main structure. The fort of course, had been abandond at this time, but Collot said "one still sees the remains of it. It is a regular pentagon of which today the parapets have fallen into the moat, and it is neither surrounded nor covered, either by stone or by palisades, and it is open on all sides."

II.

In Later Days.

The Redoubt was acquired by new owners, going early into the hands of Colonel O'Hara. It was rented to tenants, became surrounded by manufacturing establishments, and the character of the tenants changed from year to year and the building deteriorated. W. G. Lyford has left an extended account of the Redoubt as he saw it in 1837. (20) "A part of this fort, however, so far as houses constitute a part, must yet be remaining; or a block house and officers' quarters must have been erected on or near the same spot, soon after the period last mentioned; for such buildings exist—they are of brick and two stories high; the former low pitched, adjoin each other, and carry in their appearance everything of a military feature. The heavy timbers, in which the loop-holes are mortised, are on the side next the city, about half the height of the building, and probably serve at this time to support the floor of the second story.

"I asked permission of the occupant, a pleasant looking German, whose name is John Martin, to enter his citadel, which he readily granted, and found the lower room tastefully finished and furnished; but he could give me no further information, than that he had a lease on it at $40 a year. I suggested to him the advantage he might derive, by opening the room (which is about 20 feet square), during the season of travel, for the accommodation of strangers, and have in preparation some light cakes, lemonade, ices, fruits, etc., for that numbers would be pleased to visit the military relic, if they could do so under circumstances other than intrusive, and while he obliged such, he would profit liberally by the pleasant speculation. His wife just at this moment entered the room, laughing, from an adjoining shed, and wiping her arms (for she appeared to have been washing) said, 'Darė Jon, didn't I tell de so, ofden? hear vat de man sa.' John laughed likewise, and replied, 'ah, I'ms doo old now; and pesides, yoo nose I cot vork petter dan dat.'



The Old Redoubt in 1843.
From Day's "Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania."

The Old Redoubt in 1893.

"These buildings are located in the midst of lumber yards and workshops, very near the point at which the two rivers unite; but as it is difficult finding them, from the nature of the materials with which they are surrounded, some of which appear as ancient as the edifices themselves, it is probable that few other of the inhabitants are acquainted with their existence than those whose vocations call them into that section. It is a subject which at present does not interest business men."

William Ferguson, an English traveler, visited the Redoubt in 1856, and said it was "a small brick house with arched windows and doorways, now inhabited by the 'lowest class.'" (21) Only at rare intervals during these later years while the Redoubt was used as a dwelling, was it occupied by families of the character of those living there in its early days. Among these were the parents of Professor Michael J. McMahon, the Pittsburgh educator, who was for many years Principal of the First Ward Public School. The family resided in the Redoubt during the last years of the decade beginning in 1850, and in the decade beginning in 1860, and it was during this time that Professor McMahon was born there.

What is now called the Old City Hall, situated on Smithfield Street, was dedicated on May 23, 1872. During the course of its construction, the stone tablet was removed from the Redoubt and placed in the rear wall of the building, opposite the main entrance on Smithfield Street, at the top of the first flight of stairs, and immediately beneath the window containing a representation of the seal of the city. After the Redoubt became the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the stone was taken from the City Hall and replaced in its old location on the Redoubt.

The writer recalls visiting the building in his boyhood when it was occupied by an Irish family, who besides living there had adopted, very likely unconsciously, Mr. Lyford's suggestion, and in addition to showing the place to visitors, were selling candy, lemonade, cigars, etc. The Redoubt was also occasionally used for less legitimate purposes, an instance occurring after the passage by the Legislature of the Brooks High License Law in 1887, when the building

was used as a "speakeasy," as drinking houses were called where liquor was sold illegally.

Brewery Alley had been abandoned for more than half a century, and as the Redoubt was in an obscure location, it was difficult of approach. It could be reached either from First Street, vacated by the city when the Pennsylvania Railroad took possession of the block in which the Redoubt is located, or by way of Point Alley, also vacated at the same time. It was surrounded by poorly constructed, shabby brick and frame houses, with a frame stable or two close by. Hemming it in on all sides were manufacturing establishments, forges, foundries, boiler works, planing mills, lumber yards and machine shops.

The settlement about the Redoubt was unique in Pittsburgh. The owner of the land lived in England, and leased it in small lots for long terms of years to persons who built their own dwellings, or released the ground for manufacturing purposes. It was the most densely populated district in the city, and according to Rev. Dr. A. A. Lambing, who had an intimate knowledge of conditions in that locality, being pastor of the Roman Catholic "Church of Our Lady of Consolation," (22) located on the east side of First Street only a short distance from the Redoubt, who, writing in 1880, said: "It would not be exaggeration to say that it would not be difficult to find at least a hundred families who each occupied a single room, and that perhaps not more than twelve by fourteen feet." The Redoubt was as crowded with tenants as the other houses. The people were with very few exceptions, Irish Catholics from County Galway, who had settled there about twenty-five years earlier, and Gaelic was the language generally spoken, even by children born there. The people were poor and earned their daily bread and little more. From 1868 on, they had a church and a school of their own, the "Church of Our Lady of Consolation," located in a remodeled dwelling on First Street. And in the church a priest preached sermons in Gaelic, and the district had another attraction in addition to the Redoubt. (23)

All this had vanished; the shabby settlement has disappeared. The Irish are there no longer. The oldest among them are long since dead, and their children and grand-

children have scattered over the city and to more distant points. The houses, the stables, the manufacturing establishments have gone, the very contour of the ground has changed and now along Duquesne Way one sees a huge brick warehouse extending along the entire length of the block; a long low freight house runs parallel with it, and leading to the buildings are railroad tracks, some low on the ground, others elevated high in the air. Nestling among these marvels of modern industrial life, sole reminder of the life that was, there still remains the

OLD REDOUBT.

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CHAPTER VII.

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12. *Olden Time.* Pittsburgh, 1846, Vol. I, p. 40.
13. James Ross. *Colonel George Wood's Plan of Pittsburgh,* P. B. Recorder's Office of Allegheny County.
14. *The Navigator,* Pittsburgh, 1808, p. 33.
15. John F. Watson, Supra.

15a. Note.—William Masson, who prepared this plan, was apparently the sailmaker who in the early part of the Nineteenth Century resided on Water Street, between Smithfield Street and Cherry Alley. The Pittsburgh Directories for both 1815 and 1819 have him as residing at this place, and according to a deed filed in the Recorder's Office of Allegheny County he had purchased the property in 1813. The belief that he was the author of the plan is strengthened by the fact that the plan contains pictures of eleven sailing ships of various classes, all of which are labeled as having been built at Pittsburgh or in the vicinity, and about which hardly anyone could have had knowledge, unless he was intimately connected with shipbuilding.

16. C. W. Butterfield. Supra, p. 78.
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122'

Birthplace of United States Senator Knox,
Brownsville, Pennsylvania.

Pittsburgh Home of Senator Knox.

HON. PHILANDER CHASE KNOX.

By

EDWIN W. SMITH.

The boy, who was afterwards known as Philander Chase Knox, was born on the 6th day of May, 1853, at Brownsville, Fayette County, Pennsylvania. He was a son of David S. Knox and the grandson of the Rev. William Knox.

His grandfather came from County Tyrone, Ireland, to the United States in the year 1797. He was a Methodist preacher and when he came to this country joined the Baltimore Conference of that Church. The Western part of Pennsylvania was within this Conference. It is said that he had, at one time, charge of the Smithfield Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh. He was married three times and had twelve children. Miss Mary Smith of Connellsville was his second wife. At the time of this marriage he was preaching at Connellsville. Later the family moved to Cadiz, Ohio. He died there in 1851 being eighty-four years old.

David S. Knox was the son of his father's second wife, Mary Smith. He was born at Connellsville on the 19th day of May, 1805, and was seven years old when the family moved to Cadiz. He left school when he was fifteen years of age. He came back to Connellsville to visit relatives and stayed there. In 1829 he married Sarah Francis, a daughter of Dr. James Francis, who was a surgeon in the army of the Revolutionary War. It is said that Dr. Francis was a close friend of Washington and was with him through the winter at Valley Forge. There were three children of this marriage: William F. Knox, afterwards Dr. Knox of McKeesport; Sarah J., afterwards Mrs. Miller, and Isabella, who died in infancy. David Knox's first wife died in 1833 and about three years later he married Miss Rebecca Page of Connellsville. The children of this marriage were Thomas, Samuel, Richard, Mary, Caroline, Alfred, Narcissa,

Philander and Harriette. Thomas was afterwards a druggist at Santa Barbara, California; Samuel, a physician at the same place; Mary was Mrs. Graff of Omaha, Nebraska; Alfred is a Vice President of the Mellon National Bank, and Harriette is living at Brownsville. David Knox moved with his family to Brownsville in 1836. He first lived in a house which he rented on Front Street but afterwards bought another house on Front Street where Philander and Harriette were born and where Harriette still lives.

David S. Knox was of Scotch-Irish descent. He had learned the printing trade when a boy, had taught school and had been for a time editor of the *Uniontown Democrat*. Shortly after his second marriage, he moved to Brownsville. It is not known whether, at that time, he knew that there was a vacancy in the Monongahela Bank. He learned of it and made an application for the position. He was called before the Board of Directors and was asked for his recommendations. His answer was: "I am the son of a poor Methodist preacher and have made my own way in the world since I was fifteen years old. This is my only recommendation." He was employed as teller and held this position for six years. Not seeing much chance for advancement, he resigned and made preparations to return to Connellsville. All of his household goods were packed on wagons and just about the time that he was to start he was sent for to appear before the Board of Directors of the Bank and was offered the position of cashier, which he accepted and remained.

A characterization taken from a newspaper account published at the time Knox was appointed Attorney-General is somewhat as follows: For many years, David S. Knox was the bank itself. Everybody had implicit confidence in him. He knew all the people in that part of the country. He was strong and self reliant. He was a kind man with pleasant manners although rather stern of face. He was the friend of every man in Brownsville and the financial adviser of nearly all the people. It is said when the first war loan was offered to the people of the United States, at the time of the Civil War, the bonds went begging. The people were afraid that the country was going to be wrecked in the conflict that was to follow. David S.

Knox's advice was sought and he told everybody to take the bonds and stand by the government. As a result, the people of Brownsville and vicinity subscribed for over $2,000,000 of the bonds.

The Monongahela Bank was one of the earliest banks west of the mountains. It was the depository for a very large part of Fayette County and it is said that it never suspended specie payment.

David S. Knox died in 1872. In best of spirits and in apparent good health he retired and before morning he was dead.

It would be interesting to know something more about Knox's grandmother than we do. She had the good sensible name of Mary Smith. At least, this we know. Rebecca Page, her mother, was of English descent and the daughter of Jonathan Page and Rebekah Budd. She was a woman of extraordinary force of character, very well read, with a great love of poetry which she was fond of committing to memory and repeating to her children.

Philander Chase Knox received his name from a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His father and mother were both members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and adhered to that Church all their lives. The boy showed the precocity that many children possess. He is said to have made a little speech in public at a church entertainment when he was five years old. In this connection a part of an interesting letter to his sister, Harriette, may be quoted:

"April 6th, 1901.

Dear Duchess:

I will pull your ears when I see you for furnishing fairy tales and pictures to the reporter.

Mrs. Charlie Speer called me up this morning and said she wanted me to be sworn in on a Bible Louisa Dawson gave me as a prize for repeating 900 verses of the Bible. I don't remember a thing about it and told her so, but she said you probably had it about the house or the little one Mother used to use. Now don't say anything about this to any one as I have no desire for further youthful brilliancy to be exploited, but if you have either of the Bibles send them here so I

can have them by Monday."

His first instructor was George Osborne in the public school at Brownsville. One winter he attended the private school of Joshua Gibbons, who had a great reputation as an educator and some fame as a mathematician. Knox's brother, A. C. Knox, writes:

> "One of his teachers was old Joshua Gibbons, who was a teacher for many years in Brownsville. He taught every one of our family from the oldest to the youngest—10 children.
>
> "He was also at one time the teacher of James G. Blaine.
>
> "One time when Phil. was with him and he was misbehaving, he went over and picked him up by the nape of his neck holding him up at arms length carrying him across the school room setting him down and saying nothing—giving Phil., of course, a good fright. Gibbons was a very large man and powerfully built."

Robert Fulton was another of his teachers and later another was a man named Gilchrist.

After he went through the public school at Brownsville, he went to Morgantown, West Virginia. This school has since become the University of West Virginia. There is a tradition that Knox left Morgantown at the request of the faculty. A life-long friend of his, from college days down to the time of his death, said that Knox had told him that he was expelled because he played billiards which was against the rules. At any rate, he went to Mount Union College, which is located at Alliance, Ohio. He spent two years there and graduated in 1872.

There is one characteristic of Knox that seems to appear in all that is written and said about him now in connection with his life as a boy and that is his quality of leadershp. Everywhere he went he carried an unusual influence. When at Morgantown, it is told that he was put forward in the case of some conflict between the faculty and the students and that by the force of his argument changed the attitude of the faculty. His standing in his studies seem to have been good wherever he went to school. He was popular with his fellows and had the respect of his teachers. He seems to have been given to pranks.

There is a story that one winter, during the skating season, at Brownsville, he dressed up like a girl, but after a time of attention and flirtation from the boys he was discovered and had difficulty in making a safe escape, climbing over a fence with skirts and skates on being a hazardous task.

His father died soon after his graduation. The fall and winter after his father died, Knox was in the Monongahela Bank on a small salary. He had early made up his mind to study law. It is said that he told his parents that he intended to do so when he was not more than ten years of age. At that time he probably knew nothing about the practice of the law but he had been a great admirer of Hon. John L. Dawson, Congressman from that district, a friend of his father, who was one of the leading members of the Bar of Fayette County, and lived just across the street. It was his father's wish that he should be a lawyer. In August of 1873, he went to Albany and entered the Law School there. He was taken sick before the end of the first week and came home. One account says that he was homesick but this was not likely the reason. When he got home he found two of his sisters sick with the typhoid fever. He was stricken, and Rebecca and Caroline died from this disease.

He studied law in Brownsville, for a time with Seth T. Hurd, a lawyer and editor and owner of the *Brownsville Clipper*. In November of 1873, he came to Pittsburgh and entered the office of H. Bucher Swope, the United States District Attorney, upon the recommendation or by the influence of Judge William McKennan of the United States Circuit Court. Mr. Swope was a man of striking appearance, great ability, wonderful oratorical power and splendid voice. Knox's associate in this office was George C. Wilson, who is now one of the leaders of the Allegheny County Bar. Mr. Swope died on the 15th day of February, 1874. The records of the county courts show that Knox was registered as a student of law on April 14, 1874, with David Reed, who had been appointed to succeed Mr. Swope as United States District Attorney. He was admitted to practice in the county courts on January 14, 1875. This was less than a year from the date of his registry. George C. Wilson says that both he and Knox had studied law be-

fore they came to Pittsburgh and that upon the petition of their preceptor, David Reed, they were given credit for the time they had studied before they were registered, by Judge James P. Sterrett, who was the President Judge of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County. On February 27, 1875, Knox was admitted to the United States Courts before Judge William McKennan of the Circuit Court and Judge Wilson McCandless of the District Court. This must have been by a special allowance because at that time the rules of the United States Courts required that a lawyer should have been admitted to practice for two years in the county courts and be a member of the Supreme Court of the state before he could be admitted to the United States Courts.

On March 3, 1875, Wilson and Knox were appointed Assistants to the United States District Attorney. Mr. Wilson says that they alternated during the sessions of the Court—one week one of them would take the work before the grand jury and the other would help the District Attorney in the jury trials, and the next week they would change. In June of 1876, David Reed was succeeded by H. H. McCormick as District Attorney. Knox resigned at this time and took an office on Fifth Avenue in the first story of a building standing where the Carnegie Building now is, four doors from Scrip Alley. Wilson and Knox had formed a partnership to carry on their civil law business and this kept up for a time but was dissolved about the time of Knox's resignation.

James H. Reed, a nephew of David Reed, and a student in his office, had been helping to look after his uncle's private business, although he had not yet been admitted to practice law and was thus thrown into close relations with Knox. David Reed died in 1877 and the firm of Knox & Reed was formed shortly after his death. The nephew held some of his uncle's clients. Knox, as Assistant United States District Attorney, with offices in the Federal Building adjoining the United States Clerk's offices, had built up an admiralty practice representing the seamen who came for redress into the United States Clerk's office, who sat as Commissioner in those cases. In this way he met many of the owners of the boats, and among the most

valuable clients of those early days were these steamboat-men. Both of these young men had influential connections which brought them business. They won and acquired success from the start. With them there was not the long period of waiting for clients. Their practice grew and it was not many years until there were enrolled on the list of their clients many important men and corporations. It is not strange that they should have won success which was continuous and that year by year the volume of their business increased. They were both industrious and capable.

The record of lawyers cases is not very interesting—even not always to other lawyers. A lawyer's methods, however, may be interesting. Knox was a student of his cases, not so much a student of the law generally. He knew the importance of the facts of every controversy. His application of the law to the facts was usually unerring. He did not care to give much attention to the details of his office practice. He liked rather to select cases which were important and interesting to him. On them he worked. He had help but the final results were his own. He studied carefully the authorities upon which he relied and understood them. When the case was ready for trial no lawyer was ever better prepared than he. It is doubtful if he ever was taken by surprise by anything that occurred in the trial. His influence upon judges was quite remarkable. The clearness of his thought and the correctness of his judgment were recognized by them. He tried a case well before a jury, but his strength was really in the argument of questions of law before a court. Until 1901 he was in active practice, but after he went to Washington he was engaged in very few cases. He closed up some litigation which was in the office by an argument in the Supreme Court of the state soon after his appointment as Attorney-General. His last case was one for his old friend, H. C. Frick, in which he appeared before the Public Service Commission and in the Superior Court with his former firm on the other side. This case was ready for argument in the Supreme Court when he died.

Knox's personal characteristics were interesting. He was very companionable and a most delightful office asso-

ciate. He was never captious and seldom irritable. He was rich in humor. It is safe to say that he enjoyed and got a great deal of pleasure out of his life. He had many intimate friends. He was easily approachable. Those who knew him stood in no awe of him. He was a big man in his relations with others, generous and ready to grant indulgence and to give credit. His amusements were varied. He liked reading and music and the drama. He was fond of the outdoor sports, a good fisherman and a fine horseman. He kept fine horses and owned at one time a pair called Dr. Leek and Wert. With this team he broke the amateur record at Brunot Island driving himself in a light wagon. There is an incident in connection with this. A case, to which reference has been made before, was brought into the office by a new client, who, it was said, did not care so much about Mr. Knox as a lawyer, but he wanted the man who had broken that record.

One day a party went to Sewickley to take dinner with a lawyer friend. Among them was Knox. During the afternoon there was a drive out over the Sewickley Heights in a four-horse drag. Knox was on the box seat with the driver and after awhile was given the reins. At a very sharp turn on a steep grade he asked the driver to take the lead lines. The driver, an Englishman, and, of course, a professional, was asked afterwards by the host what kind of a driver Mr. Knox was. The answer was: "Very good for an amateur."

On July 9, 1896, Knox was elected President of the Pennsylvania Bar Association. He was the third President. His predecessors were Judge John W. Simonton of Harrisburg and Samuel Dickson of Philadelphia. He presided at the meeting of the Association held at Cresson, Pennsylvania, beginning on June 30, 1897. His annual address was upon "The Law of Labor and Trade" with the text "The right to labor is a necessary consequence of the right to live" and "the freedom of contract is inviolable." This address was an extremely good one and is found in the report of the Association for the year 1897. In it he advanced the thought that was frequently the subject of his talk that the common law was sufficient to protect the rights of labor and to restrain all unlawful combinations of

either labor or capital.

Knox's political career was remarkable. Never openly active in politics and probably never a delegate to any political convention, he had never held any office but that of Assistant to the United States District Attorney until he was appointed Attorney-General of the United States by President William McKinley on April 9, 1901, near the beginning of his second term. While at Mount Union, Knox had met and known McKinley, who was the District Attorney for Stark County, Ohio, and the friendship had been maintained.

After the assassination of President McKinley, Knox was again appointed Attorney-General by President Roosevelt and served until June 30, 1904. On June 10, 1904, Governor Pennypacker appointed him Senator to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Senator M. S. Quay, and he was afterward elected for the term from 1905 to 1911. In 1907 he resigned his seat in the Senate to become Secretary of State in President Taft's cabinet, which position he retained until the end of the administration on March 4, 1913. In 1916, upon the retirement of Senator George S. Oliver, he was again elected to the United States Senate for the term from 1917 to 1923. Thus it was that he held seats in the cabinets of three successive Presidents and was once appointed and twice elected Senator.

His work as Attorney-General was most useful and effective. Perhaps the most important case that he had was what is known as the Northern Securities Case. The Northern Securities Company had been organized as a holding company to take over the stocks of certain railroad companies evidently in an effort to evade the provisions of the Acts of Congress. Under Knox's direction, a bill in equity was filed in the District Court of Minnesota. It was there heard by a full bench of three Circuit Judges particularly designated to hear the case. Knox retained David T. Watson, Esq., of the Allegheny County Bar, to try this case in the Circuit Court and it was won. Upon appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, Knox argued the case and it was again won. The effect of this decision was extremely important. It sustained the power of the government against the strong unlawful com-

binations of corporations. During Knox's term as Attorney-General, he had charge of the business involved in the acquiring by the United States of the ownership of the Panama Canal from its French owners. The transaction involved a consideration of $40,000,000, and Knox, without the aid of any outside lawyers, carried that transaction through. After having sent some of his subordinates to Paris, he followed them, passed upon the title of the French ownership and completed the transaction.

In a book called "Mirrors of Washington," published anonymously, it is said by the author:

> "Mr. Knox began his public career by attacking the Northern Securities merger, against the judgment of some of the highest paid lawyers of the country. The Supreme Court sustained him. It was the greatest victory the government ever won under the Sherman law. Thereafter Mr. Knox, who had been labeled a corporation lawyer, was proclaimed a trust buster. By the time he was fifty he had become the greatest Attorney-General in a half century. Certainly the mark he set has never been reached by any of his successors."

A very interesting incident in relation to his appointment as Secretary of State by President Taft is told by the Honorable James Francis Burke in a speech which he delivered at a memorial meeting of the Allegheny County Bar Association upon the death of Knox. After it had been announced by Taft that Knox would accept the position of Secretary of State in the cabinet, a Washington correspondent called upon Knox and, during the conversation, suggested to him that under a constitutional provision he was not eligible to the office as the salary of Secretary of State had been increased while Knox was in the Senate. Knox said with a smile: "You are right. I am ineligible and I confess that you are a more alert constitutional lawyer than either the President or myself, because neither one of us have thought of it." Mr. Taft was notified and sent the following telegram to Mr. Burke:

"New Orleans, La., February 11, 1909.
9:47 P. M.

HON. JAMES FRANCIS BURKE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

I sincerely hope that Congress will pass bill to remove any doubt of Knox's eligibility. I have no doubt that an act to repeal the bill increasing the salary of the Secretary of State will effect this purpose. I sincerely hope that it will pass. I should regard the loss of Senator Knox from the first place in my cabinet as a public misfortune.

WM. H. TAFT."

Mr. Burke in his address said:

"The suggestion in that telegram was carried out and the Congress reduced the salary of Secretary of State to the former level, in order that Mr. Knox might be made eligible for the highest place in the Cabinet. Thus the constitutional obstacle was removed and two unprecedented situations arose.

"For the first time in the history of the American Government, the Congress had virtually legislated a man into the President's Cabinet, and second, for a long time thereafter the highest ranking officer in the President's Cabinet received the lowest salary of them all."

There would be no purpose in attempting to enumerate the things that he did as Secretary of State. His administration was recognized as most useful. He tried to organize a body in the diplomatic service of the United States of men who were young enough and capable enough to make the service efficient and respected. Along this line he did something that was worth while.

As a Senator, he was early recognized as one of the ablest men and as one of the best constitutional lawyers in the body. It is said that he drafted the declaration of war against Germany. He originated the idea that Congress had the right to make peace with Germany after the failure of the adoption of the League of Nations, and this

idea was subsequently made effective by an Act of Congress. His attitude against the participation of the United States in the League of Nations was irreconcilable. He is reported to have said that if he was the only man in the Senate to do so he would vote against the approval of the Treaty of Versailles which included the League of Nations. He early took the position that it was futile to impose upon Germany such indemnities as would be destructive of that nation. These views did not make for his popularity. Probably no man cared as little for popularity as he did. Right or wrong, the people of the United States later came to adopt his principles in relation to the League of Nations.

It is said that he twice was offered and declined the position of Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Twice he was seriously mentioned as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

The University of Pennsylvania gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1906, Yale University in 1907 and Villa Nova in 1909.

He died suddenly at his home in Washington on the evening of October 12, 1921, in his sixty-ninth year. He left to survive him his widow, Lillian Smith Knox, the daughter of Andrew G. Smith of Pittsburgh, whom he had married on February 29, 1876, three sons and a daughter.

He had established a beautiful home at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania, which he left by his will to his daughter, Mrs. Rebecca Knox Tindel.

This is the short record of a useful and successful life. In recent years no son of Pennsylvania has left a record so marked by the luster of personal ability and by the splendor of achievement.

TEN YEARS ON HISTORIC GROUND.

Early and Later Days at the Pittsburgh Point.

By

REV. MORGAN M. SHEEDY, D.D.*

Down at the corner of Third Avenue and Ferry Street, Pittsburgh, stands the Catholic Church of Saint Mary of Mercy. It is one of the few, if not to-day, the only down-town church in that part of the city. It has an interesting history, chiefly because within the limits of the parish the first religious service in Western Pennsylvania was held during the French occupation of Fort Duquesne, as will be noted later on in this paper. It is also interesting to note that the present site of this Catholic church was the original site of the leading Presbyterian Church of the city which was destroyed in the great fire of 1845, and afterwards the Ames Methodist Episcopal Church occupied the site. In May, 1876, it became the property of the Catholic congregation at "The Point." The present building was erected and dedicated on Trinity Sunday, May 28, 1893. One cannot fail to note the significance of these religious changes. Not only in Pittsburgh, but in all our large cities the down-town churches are abandoned, leaving those people who are forced to live there without any moral or spiritual ministration.

For ten years (1885-1895) the writer of this paper was Rector of the St. Mary of Mercy Church. He had, as we shall see, a strenuous time. He succeeded the late Dr. A. A. Lambing, the well-known local historian, sometime President of this Western Pennsylvania Historical Society and always deeply interested in its work.

Immediately after taking charge of the parish I discovered two important things: First, that I was on historic ground; that in the early days two great nations, France and England, fought here for supremacy; and secondly,

*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on November 29, 1921.

that there was here an inviting field of labor for social and civic betterment. The First ward of Pittsburgh in those days had an unenviable reputation. It was the "red-light" district of the town; what is known as "the underworld" had its habitation there.

That I might know something of the early and stirring days I became a member of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society which met then in a room of the Carnegie Library, Allegheny City, now the North Side, Pittsburgh, and I read all the local history I could find. As a result this is what I found:

Both the French and the English laid claim to the territory embracing the Western part of Pennsylvania, the former by right of La Salle's discovery, and the latter as forming a part of her colonies; and about the middle of the eighteenth century both prepared to assert their claim by force of arms. The French had already built small fortifications at Presqu'isle, on the headquarters of French Creek and at its mouth, but these principally with a view to further movements. Late in the fall of 1753, Major George Washington, whose illustrious name the reader will be pleased to find so early mentioned in the history of Pittsburgh, was appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, the bearer of dispatches to the commander of the French at these posts; and on the strength of his report a small body of men was sent out under command of Captain William Trent, to throw up a fortification at "the Forks," as the land at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela was then called, a name which was soon after changed to that of "the Point," which it still bears. He arrived on the seventeenth of February, 1754, and with this date begins the permanent occupation of the site of Pittsburgh. Prior to that time it had been known among the Indians by the name *De-un-da-ga.* He commenced a small fortification, but before its completion the French and Indians suddenly appeared to the number of about one thousand, with eighteen cannon, in sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, under the command of Captain Contrecoeur, having descended the Allegheny. Contrecoeur summoned Ensign Ward, who commanded in the absence of Captain Trent, to an immediate surrender. Having but

forty men in his command, nothing was left but to comply. The next day he was permitted to retire with his men up the Monongahela. The French then built a fort at the Point, to which they gave the name of Fort Duquesne, in honor of Marquis Du Quesne, Governor-General of New France. But only the garrison occupied the fort; the Indian allies and many of the French lived near it in cabins, and only retired within the enclosure when menaced by an enemy.

The following description of the fort as given by a prisoner detained there in the fall of 1756, will convey an idea of the appearance and strength of this, perhaps the most important French post at that time in the country: "It is four square, has bastions at each corner; it is about fifty yards long and about forty yards wide. About half the fort is made of square logs, and the other half, next the water, of stockades; there are entrenchments cast up all around the fort, about seven feet high, which consist of stockades driven into the ground near to each other and wattled with poles like basket-work, against which the earth is thrown up, in a gradual ascent; the steep part is next the fort, and has three steps all along the entrenchment, for the men to go up and down, to fire at an enemy; these entrenchments are about four rods from the fort and go all around, as well on the side next the water as the land; the outside of the entrenchment next to the water joins to the water. The fort has two gates, one of which opens to the land side, and the other to the water side, where the magazine is built; that to the land side is, in fact, a drawbridge which in day-time serves as a bridge for the people, and in the night is drawn up by iron chains and levers. The water sometimes rises so high as that the whole fort is surrounded with it, so that the canoes may go around it. The stockades are round logs, better than a foot over, and about eleven or twelve feet high; the joints are secured by split logs; in the stockades are loop-holes made, so as to fire slanting toward the ground. The bastions are filled with earth, solid, about eight feet high; each bastion has four carriage guns, about four pound; no swivels, nor any mortars. They have no cannon but at the bastions. The back of the barracks and buildings are

of logs about three feet distance from the logs of the fort; between the buildings and the logs of the fort it is filled with earth about eight feet high, and the logs of the fort extend about four feet higher, so that the whole height of the fort is about twelve feet. There are no pickets nor palisades on the top of the fort to defend it against scaling. There are no bogs nor morasses near the fort, but good dry ground, which is cleared for some distance from the fort, and the stumps cut closely to the ground. There are about twenty or thirty ordinary Indian cabins about the fort." ("The Olden Time," vol. I., pp. 39, 40.)

To return to the early history, the English immediately adopted measures for retaking the place, in which General Braddock was met by the French and Indians and defeated at what is now Braddock on the Monongahela, ten miles from the fort, on July 9, 1775. Major Grant met a similar fate within the present city limits on September 15, 1758. But the French seeing it impossible to resist the army advancing under General Forbes, set fire to the fort and adjacent buildings, November 24, of the same year, and withdrew to Lake Erie. The English took possession of the ruins the following day, and soon after commenced the erection of Fort Pitt from which the city was in time to take its name. The French posts in the Northwest of Pennsylvania were soon after abandoned, and the French power was destroyed in Western Pennsylvania.

I shall now turn to the religious history of these early times. It is well known to every student of American history that the French soldiers and generally their Indian allies also were Catholics; and that on all their expeditions they were attended by an army chaplain, who said Mass daily in the camp, not only when there was no danger of surprise, but also in the face or in pursuit of the enemy, when haste and vigilance were necessary. We have a striking illustration of this religious custom in our own locality and at the precise period of which we are now treating. When M. De Villiers was marching against the English, who were encamped at a place within the limits of the pres-

ent Fayette County, he kept a journal of the expedition, in which we read: "The 29 (June, 1754) Mass was said in the camp, after which we marched," etc. ("The Olden Time," vol. II., p 211.) There can be no doubt that a chaplain attended the important expedition that descended the Allegheny to take possession of "the Forks," and that Mass was celebrated the morning after the arrival; for now the French were undisputed masters, and no enemy was near to menace them. It was Friday in Easter week, April 17, 1754.

During the French occupation at Fort Duquesne religious services were regularly held. The Reverend Charles Baron, a native of France and a member of the Franciscan order, who in religion had taken the name of Denys, was chaplain to the French forces. He was ordained September 23, 1741. After serving several different parishes in Canada, he was appointed chaplain of this expedition, and took up his residence at Fort Duquesne. Sometime before the abandonment of the fort another chaplain succeeded him, and Father Denys was transferred to the chaplaincy of Fort St. Frederic at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, where he died November 6, 1758, a few days before the fall of Fort Duquesne.

There is in existence a record of the baptisms and interments that took place at the fort from the arrival of the French till October, 1756. This record was rescued from oblivion in the archives of Canada and one hundred copies were printed by Mr. John Gilmary Shea in 1859. It is an octavo volume of fifty-two pages, in old French, of which the translation of the title is: "The Register of the Baptisms and interments which took place at Fort Duquesne during the years 1753, 1754, 1755 and 1756." The Register is divided into three parts, each duly authenticated by M. Contrecoeur, commander of the fort, and contains fifteen baptisms, of which two only are French, eight Irish, two English and three Indians, one being that of Jean Baptiste Christiguay, "great chief of the Iroquois," who was then in the ninety-fifth year of his age. The number of interments were forty-two—thirty-four from Fort Duquesne and eight from the posts on and near Lake Erie—all of which were French, except two English and four Indians. The first entry from Fort Duquesne is dated

June 5, 1754, and the last October 10, 1756. What became of the register of the last two years is not known. The entries from Fort Duquesne are all signed "fr. Denys Baron, chaplain," except one which has in connection with his name that of "fr. Luc Collet, chaplain of Presqu'isle and French Creek." The title in the entries till August 6, 1754, is merely "Fort Duquesne of the Beautiful River."

So much for the early history, military and religious, that centres at " the Point" when it was known as Fort Duquesne. When the English got possession the name was changed to Fort Pitt which in time gave us the name of Pittsburgh. Passing over the intervening years during which the city began to grow, year by year, to larger proportions until it became the great industrial and commercial centre it is today, I come to the decade to which reference was made in the early part of this paper; the period from 1885 to 1895—a most interesting period in the local history of "the Point" as well as in the general history of the city.

As stated already the writer was Pastor of St. Mary's church during those years. The position was not an enviable one. The First ward, which comprised the historic places that clustered round "the Forks" or "the Point," did not bear the best reputation for good order and the highest type of citizenship. It was a battle ground in which was a warfare between the forces of good and evil for higher and better social and civic ideals. And this fight went on unceasingly during the decade from 1885 to 1895.

I shall be pardoned, I trust, if in dealing with this part of the subject, I am somewhat personal. This cannot well be avoided. The evil forces at work in the down-town district may be grouped under three heads: the abuses of the liquor traffic, the social evil, and corrupt politics. Before the enactment of the Brooks' high license law (May 18, 1887) almost any one who had the price could secure a license to sell liquor, with the result that in this district the lowest saloons were found in great abundance. These places were the haunts of criminals and were known all over the city. Within a few months of the first year I had charge of St. Mary's church three murders were committed

in these low "dives," scarcely a stone's throw apart. When the high license law went into effect a large number of these places were weeded out. The late Judge White presided over the first session of the High License Court. He was a stern opponent of the liquor traffic. When he handed down the license list of that year it was found that less than a hundred licenses were granted for the whole city. There was a great outcry from the supporters of the liquor traffic and the judge was roundly denounced by those who were refused license and their friends. Just as at the present time, especially in our large cities, an attempt is made to set at naught the Volstead law, so was it sought in this state, and especially in this down-town district of Pittsburgh to evade the high license law by running what was known as "speakeasys." Heavy fines and imprisonments, however, by the Courts soon put an end to the "speakeasys."

We had a large temperance society in the parish that was doing effective work in saving especially the young people from the evils of intemperance. It was a not unusual thing to find a Catholic clergyman, the Rector of St. Mary's, present every year at the opening of the license court to protest against the granting of a liquor license to unworthy applicants from the First ward. And it is worthy of note that for ten years not a single applicant received a license against whom he had protested. And thus the number of saloons was greatly lessened and the liquor traffic brought under restraint in the down-town district. This obviously made for civic betterment.

With the social evil and low politics I must deal lightly. The subject is an unpleasant one. This much, however, may be said: It was the policy then, perhaps it is so still, of the public safety department of the city to confine the inmates of "the underworld" to a certain district. Unfortunately for those forced to live there, that was the down-town district, from Market Street to Penn Avenue and from First to Fourth Avenue; this was the "red-light" quarter of the town, turned over largely to these unfortunate people. It was said to be controlled by a certain disreputable character, who shared the profits of the vile trade with certain "higher ups" of the police department for the protection given him. From time to

time there was carried on a crusade, led by some clergyman, against the social evil which made a great stir for awhile, but little or nothing came of it. One of these notable crusades took place during Mayor Gourley's administration. The "red-light" houses were closed and the inmates driven to the streets or to other parts of the city. But when the storm blew over, they found their way back to the old haunts and things went on pretty much as before. It was a hard and constant fight to save the young people from the immoral contagion that prevailed in this part of the town.

Of the character of the fight, let me recall here the saying of the late Reverend Dr. Allison, then editor of the *Presbyterian Banner*, which summed up the situation: "The fight down there in the First ward is between Father Sheedy and the Devil; in such a fight I am, heart and soul, with the good Father." And so he was. So, too, was the Reverend E. R. Donehoo, a broad-minded, liberal clergyman, pastor for thirty years of the West End or Eighth Presbyterian Church, whose splendid public service in every good cause was felt in the community. He was known as the "reporters' friend," for no newspaper man in need of a "story" was ever known to go to him and fail to get one.

But the strongest influence was that of the late Reverend Dr. George Hodges, the Rector of Calvary Episcopal Church, East End. One day, when things were at the worst, Dr. Hodges said to me: "Let us build a bridge (he meant a social and civic bridge) between the East End and the 'Point.'" That was the invitation this good man gave me more than thirty years ago. It was an urgent call to duty and I was glad to have the co-operation and active support of this efficient social worker. We at once set to work. He looked after the building of the bridge at one end and I at the other. The bridge was soon built. Dr. Hodges brought the people of the East End in great numbers down to the "Point." The recent opening of the Exposition building was an attraction—and I urged very strongly the people of the Point to move out to the wide spaces beyond Schenley Park and mingle with those more happily situated there.

This joint work for social and civic betterment went on for ten years, Dr. Hodges by voice and pen and practical organization doing a very large share of the work. Here I may state that I have met few men more resourceful in social welfare ideas and the practical means in carrying them out than Dr. Hodges. He was a great Christian social democrat and he loved the common people. In those days there was no stronger and far-reaching influence for good in Pittsburgh than his. Today social service is accepted everywhere. Thirty years ago it was a new idea but it soon took hold of the public mind, the practical results of which are felt today in the congested parts of all our large cities.

Putting the idea into practical shape we established down'town a social settlement, known as the Kingsley House. I should have wished that the name of Newman was coupled with that of Kingsley, calling it the Newman-Kingsley House, thus linking the two famous English clergymen, who, whilst they differed widely in doctrine, were in perfect accord in social work. In this way I thought the admirers of both would be made to forget the bitter controversy carried on by Cardinal Newman (then Dr. Newman) and Rev. Charles Kingsley. We interested the best people of Pittsburgh in the work of the settlement house, and I trust, that its work goes on to the present day.

Another project of those days that met with popular favor and had the best results was the Sunday afternoon concerts that we inaugurated in the Exposition building down at the "Point." This, too, was the outcome of the civic bridge-building. The concerts were a tremendous success. The strict "Sabbatarians" were violently opposed to them. The press and public, however, applauded, and the Sunday afternoon concerts were a great success. Today when Sunday golf and Sunday motoring are the fashion, one wonders at the opposition to Sunday sacred concerts a little over a quarter of a century ago.

Thus does time work its changes. We had to explain how the Lord's Day, called by some "the Sabbath," was to be properly observed. Today Americans very generally have come to accept, I believe, the view of the proper observance of the Lord's day or Sunday then set forth.

I have here set down rather hurriedly and imperfectly an outline of the social and civic conditions that prevailed in and near the historic ground where old Fort Duquesne, afterwards Fort Pitt, stood during the decade from 1885 to 1895. I have also noted the fight that went on during those years for the social and civic betterment of the downtown community. Today things are very different. The pressure of business has crowded out many of the residents of this part of the city, and of those who still remain the writer learns that they are honest, upright, model citizens of Pittsburgh.

Perhaps the fight for higher and better civic ideals on this historic ground, like the struggle between the two great nations, France and England, for supremacy, was not in vain. At any rate the period covered by this paper (1885-1895) makes an interesting chapter in the history of Pittsburgh, to which the future historian may turn in dealing with his subject. If so what is here set down may prove to be worth while.

THE LIFE AND TIMES
of
ROBERT KING
REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOT.

By

HENRY KING SIEBENECK*

Robert King, the subject of this sketch, was born in Donegal County, Ireland, on January 3, 1747. (1) Little is known of his ancestry beyond the fact that it was Scotch-Irish, and, of course, Presbyterian. His forbears, at the time of the Ulster Plantation, in the reign of James the First, doubtless migrated with hundreds of others from the Lowlands of Scotland. That stock, historians generally agree, had as little Gaelic blood in it as any in the northern half of Great Britain.

The aim of Sir Francis Bacon and other Jacobean statesmen in the Ulster Plantation was to establish a permanent garrison to protect British interests in Ireland against the encroachments of the native Celts, always a source of worry to the government in England. The memorable defenses of Londonderry and Inniskilling in the Revolution of 1688 showed how well the Scotch-Irish colonists were fitted for the purpose of their "plantation." Yet, both before and after the overthrow of the Stuarts, these Ulstermen received but scant courtesy from their British overlords. Irish shipping was restricted to narrow bounds by the Navigation Acts. The export of Irish wool, the staple industry of the island, was totally prohibited; and the Dissenters (three-fifths of the Protestant population) were excluded from holding any office, civil or military, above the lowest grade. (2)

*The writer contemplates an additional publication on the subject of Robert King, and anyone having papers or other information about him, not contained in the above article, will confer a favor by communicating with the writer.

These measures brought about an extensive migration from Ireland to America, and mainly to Pennsylvania. Two authorities, separated from each other by a half century of time, Archbishop Boulter in 1728 (3), and Arthur Young in 1776,, agree that this exodus was confined almost entirely to Scotch-Irish Presbyterians engaged in the linen trade. When that business was brisk, says Young, emigration was slack, and *vice versa*. Linen making was a cottage-industry, and linen manufacturers were capitalists in a small way. When business prospects were bad, the linen maker sold his equipment, and paid his and his family's passage to the New World. (4)

Under conditions such as these, it may be surmised, Thomas King broke up his home in Donegal and sailed for Pennsylvania in the year 1753, bringing with him his six-year-old son, Robert. (5) Of the latter's education nothing is known, and all that can be inferred with certainty is that he learned to compose a good letter, and to spell far better than many of his superior officers.

Robert first appears in the records as a grown man. In a letter of his written to Judge Charles Huston, he explains that in the year 1769 he was hunter for the surveyors in what is now Centre County. To appreciate his surroundings and activities, it is necessary to delve into the colonial history of Pennsylvania.

In 1768, the Penn family made their last Indian purchase. It had always been their boast that they had never forcibly deprived the Indian of his hunting-ground, but had taken only what they had bought. Thus, the vicinity of Philadelphia had been acquired through the famous Treaty, made by the Founder with the Lenape under the Great Elm at Shackamaxon. And so, before 1760, the Penns had purchased from the Redmen all the lands in their province that lay East of the Alleghany Mountains and South of Penn's Creek (near the centre of Pennsylvania) and a line drawn from the Susquehanna to the confluence of the Lackawaxen and Delaware rivers. After Pontiac's conspiracy had been crushed, the whites and the Indians met at Fort Stanwix, New York, and there on November 5, 1768, the "Proprietaries," as the Penns were called, negotiated the

purchase of a belt of land running from the Northeast corner of their province to its Southwest corner. The "New Purchase" was bounded to the North and West by the New York line, by Towanda and Tiadaghton creeks, the West Branch of the Susquehanna, by the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, and by the Virginia line. This irregularly shaped tract, resembling on the map a crude dumbbell, includes the whole of twelve of our present counties and parts of thirteen others. It contained nearly fourteen thousand square miles of land, overlying the greater portion of the coal, anthracite and bituminous, on which the present prosperity of the State is based. The price paid by the Penns to the Indians for this Golconda was $10,200.00. (6) If one-fifth, only, of its area had been available for farms, the rates at which it was immediately offered to the public would have made that fifth worth $448,000.00.

The first step taken by the Proprietaries in this real estate operation was to reserve one-tenth of the land as "Manors," or private estates. Then came the turn of Bouquet's officers who had overcome Pontiac's Indians at Bushy Run. These veterans had planned to form a military colony, somewhat on the model of the Ulster Plantation. (7) To them were allotted 24,000 acres, partly on Bald Eagle Creek, near the present site of Bellefonte. Then 1,500 acres were set off to Dr. Francis Allison, the Schoolmaster of the Revolution, another native of Donegal. And then on April 3, 1769, the Land Office was opened to the general public. Any citizen might buy 300 acres for fifteen pounds sterling, and one penny per acre, a year, quit-rent; but a survey had to be made on each "application" within six months and the full price paid within twelve. (8) A wild fever of land-speculation at once seized the Province, a craze never since surpassed in intensity. Pennsylvania then had 240,000 inhabitants, of whom about 39,000 were taxable persons. (9) Before August 31, 1769, no less than 4,000 applications for land in the "New Purchase" were entered (10), nine-tenths of which were for acreage on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. The proceeding was simple. Captain Grant, "a pirticular friend" of Robert King, paid a dollar for the privilege of applying for 300 acres "just above the Pro-

prietaries' land at Muncy Creek, including Wolf Run". (11) On each "application," thus loosely expressed, a warrant issued to the deputy-surveyor of the district to locate and run the lines of the tract applied for; and when the survey was returned and the purchase price paid, a deed, or patent, was delivered to the applicant or his assigns. Surveys cost a considerable sum, and probably were never made on half of the applications, although the Land Office regularly extended the six months period allowed for surveying. On the other hand, some of the most desirable lands would be surveyed half a dozen different times on as many applications. The rule was always to find some tract to suit the application. It became quite an art to locate the best acreage in this land of mountain ranges and fertile valleys, and required the services of expert woodsmen and explorers, such as Hawkins Boone (a cousin of Daniel Boone), who will be encountered later.

The whole territory was uninhabited and uncultivated, without roads in most places, and to enable the surveyors to perform their labors it was, of course, necessary to supply them with provisions. To do so, in a region teeming with game, the hunter became an adjunct to the surveyor. Robert King, then twenty-two years of age, followed this calling. Many years later, when interrogated about a disputed land-title he wrote that in 1769, 1770 and 1771 he was hunter for the surveyors, and that, incidentally, he himself had entered an application for a tract on March Creek, on the north side of Bald Eagle and adjoining the "Officers Survey," (12) near the present village of Milesburg, Centre County. King wrote, "I should be one of the most ungrateful wretchs on earth, if I did not do everything in my power to serve Mr. Grant, as I know him to be my pirticular friend"—but adds that in the suit against Gunsaulus he can be of little assistance. He remembers that the agent of Samuel Wallis, the "land king" of the day, got a number of surveys made in that vicinity, but he is uncertain of their exact location—"as I did not carry the chain the whole of the time. I was hunter for the surveyors." And then he mentions another man who might be a good witness in the pending suit of Captain Thomas Grant, Sheriff of

Northumberland County in 1785.

William Maclay, Charles Lukens and William Scull were deputy-surveyors for these districts, and John Lukens was the Surveyor-General. When Robert King says, "I was along with Messrs. Lukens, I think in the year 1769-1770 and perhaps 1771," he implies that he was working in Charles Lukens' district including the Bald Eagle Valley. Between the 3rd of March and the 16th of May, 1769, these "Officers' Surveys" were made (13). The surveyors' work can be followed, day by day, in the records of their field notes. On May 12, 1770, they surveyed the Thomas Sutherland place in Dry Valley, now in the Township and County of Union, ten miles west of Northumberland Town. The surveyors noted on their maps—"This land Robert King has bought." This was his first residence. He sold part of the tract in 1773 to David Emerick, who, with his wife, was captured there by marauding Indians in 1781. They killed and scalped Emerick and carried his wife off to the wilds, where she married one of her captors. Years afterward, the mixed couple came back, and received the widow's share of the estate of this Hamlet of the Susquehanna, slain by this Iroquois Claudius . (14)

At this period of his life, King was a true frontiersman, hunter and settler, clad in a costume part Indian, part European. His hunting shirt was a loose frock reaching half-way down his thighs and so wide as to lap over a foot or more behind. Its cape was fringed with cloth of a color different from the shirt itself. Its bosom served as a wallet where food or tow for wiping his rifle might be kept. The belt, always tied behind, held the bullet bag, and from the right was suspended the tomahawk, from the left, the scalping knife in its leathern sheath. Breeches and leggins enclosed his thighs and legs, and his feet were supplied with moccasins. (15)

Philip Fithian, a Presbyterian missionary, visited the "New Purchase" about this time and has left a graphic account of his journey, picturing the diversity of living conditions in the same neighborhood. First, he tells of his visit to the home of Andrew B. ——— on Bald Eagle Creek:

"We dined there on fish—suckers and chubs—and veni-

son. Two Indian boys came in with a gift of seven large fish. In return, Mrs. B.——— gave them bread and venison. Down they sat, stirred up the coals and laid on their flesh. When it was roasted they devoured it with the greatest rapacity.

"This house looks and smells like a shambles—raw flesh, fish and deer, mangled, wasting on every shelf. Hounds licking up the blood from the floor. An open-hearted landlady, naked Indians and children, and ten thousand flies and flees!

"Four Indians come in, each with a large knife and tomahawk. Bless me! they are strapping fellows! all stand dumb before us.

"Some of these Indians have the outside rim of their ears slitted and it hangs dangling strangely. Some have rings, others drops of silver in their noses and ears; ruffled shirts, but many of these very greasy. On the trees, near their camps, are painted in red and black colors, wild and ferocious animals in furious gestures."

Next day the missionary came into Penn's Valley and stayed at Colonel Potter's. "A neat house, an elegant supper, all expressions of welcome, and—not a flea! * * * Colonel Potter has Blackstone's Commentaries, Pope's Works, Harvey's Meditations, and many theological tracts." (16)

As the surveyors proceeded with their tasks, settlers flocked into this part of the "New Purchase," and the County of Northumberland was erected by the Act of March 21, 1772, for their convenience. The new county extended as far west as Lake Erie, as far east as the head of the Lehigh River, to the Indian land on the north, and Mahantango Creek on the south. Col. Francis, late of Bouquet's army, Dr. William Plunket, and other prominent residents, were appointed Justices of the Peace. On April 9, 1772, they held a court of "Private Sessions" at which this new county, as large as many an old state, was cut up into provinces, or townships. Buffalo Township began at the mouth of Penn's Creek and ran west to Millheim, now in Centre County, then north to Lock Haven, and down the Susquehanna. It included the whole of the present

Union County and parts of Snyder, Centre, Clinton and Lycoming counties. Its area exceeded six hundred square miles. The first peace-officer, charged with maintaining order in this huge bailiwick, was Robert King, then in his twenty-sixth year, appointed April 9, 1772. (17)

Other distinctions followed. On August 14, 1772, the Proprietaries, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, by letters patent, granted to Robert King, his executors and assigns, the franchise of operating a ferry over the Susquehanna River at Sunbury, the new county seat. This franchise he sold November 30, 1773, to Adam Haveling. (18)

At May Term of Court in 1773 Robert King and others were appointed viewers to lay out a road from the site of Lewisburg through Buffalo Valley. (19)

The family Bible shows that he married Elizabeth McCullough, born on June 26, 1756, in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, but omits the date of their wedding and the Christian name of her father. There were McCulloughs listed as tax-payers in West Pennsboro and Middleton Townships, Cumberland County, in 1762 (20) and the name appears many times in the later records of the Carlisle Presbyterian Church. But no relationship with any of them can be traced.

His first child, Eleanor, was born June 1, 1774, in Northumberland County, the family Bible records. Soon afterwards, the young couple moved to the new village of Northumberland at the forks of the Susquehanna. In the first assessment of that township, made before 1775, he and Hawkins Boone are each accredited with the ownership of a house and lot, being two of only eighteen such householders. (21) King's lot was No. 18 in the new town-plan. The original proprietors of the town, John Lowden and William Patterson made him a deed for it on September 9, 1776, subject to a quit-rent of two shillings and six pence. (21 a)

And it was here that his first son, John, was born September 14, 1775—the family Bible notes the event as having occurred in the "Town and County of Northumberland."

To this little settlement came the missionary Fithian

in the stirring month of June, 1775. After drinking a friendly bowl of toddy with the "pleasant Dutchman," he crossed the river to Northumberland. "This infant village," he says, "seems busy and noisy as a Philadelphia ferry-house. I slept in a room with seven boatmen and in bed with one of them. He was clean and civil. * * * Going up and down the river are many boats, canoes, etc., plying about. * * * I stayed with Mrs. Scull, who has a pleasant and valuable garden with a neat summerhouse. She has a well furnished parlor with four paintings of Hypocrates, Tully, Socrates and Galen. * * * She took me into Mr. Scull's library. It is charming to see books in the infancy of this remote land. I borrowed for my amusement Critical Review No. 44. * * * Mr. Haines, the proprietor of the town, took me to see a lot he is going to give to the Presbyterian Society. * * * I dined with Dr. Allison and Mr. Barker at Mrs. Scull's. It has been entertainment worthy of royalty * * * books and literary improvement were the subjects of conversation." (22)

Fithian, the Presbyterian, was deeply interested in this section of Pennsylvania, because it had been peopled largely by men of his denomination, driven from Ireland by the rapacity of their landlords or by commercial oppression; men who, as Lecky puts it, had left their old homes "with hearts burning with indignation." In that critical epoch there were no more zealous advocates of American Independence than these sons of Erin. Generals Robertson and Lee of the opposing forces, and the Tory, Speaker Galloway, agree that one-half of Washington's army were Irish. (23) The British officers, who wintered at Philadelphia, called the Revolution a "Scotch-Irish Rebellion." (24) And on the Upper Susquehanna the Scotch-Irish controlled the situation.

One manifestation of their attitude in politics is often cited by local historians, but does not seem to have found its way into the general literature of the period. It is known as "The Pine Creek Declaration of Independence," and is fairly comparable to the Mecklenburg Declaration. It seems that the whites were doubtful whether the boundary stream, called by the Indians in the Treaty of 1768,

"Tiadaghton," was the Lycoming or Pine Creek. With Quaker prudence, the Proprietaries adopted the former water course as the Indian boundary, and so reduced the salable area of their purchase by some five hundred square miles. Between these creeks no land titles could be lawfully acquired, and white settlements were forbidden under severe penalties. Nevertheless, this no-man's land was settled by the hardy Scotch-Irish of the frontier, who became, literally, a law unto themselves. They elected "Fairplay men" to be their judges (25), and in all respects governed themselves without leave or license from the Penns. These adventurous souls issued a call for a meeting to discuss public affairs at Great Isle, two hundred miles northwest of Philadelphia, and many days distant from news of the Continental Congress. By a curious coincidence the meeting took place on July 4, 1776, and then and there these liberty-loving pioneers adopted a set of resolutions declaring their own independence of Great Britain, and absolving themselves from all allegiance to George III. (26)

Breathing such an atmosphere, it is no wonder, that notwithstanding his family ties, Robert King presently joined the patriot forces. On April 19, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in the First Battalion of Northumberland County Associators (or patriot militia) under Colonel Samuel Hunter (27), another native of Donegal. This appointment was made by order of the Pennsylvania Assembly, of which John Morton was speaker. (28) The tide of battle had not then reached the Middle States, and this body of soldiery, apparently, was not called into active service. But before many months had passed, Congress authorized the Twelfth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line to be raised in Northampton and Northumberland counties. William Cook, delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, was selected as its colonel, on September 28th, and the Supreme Executive Council on October 4th appointed Hawkins Boone one of its captains, and Robert King one of its second lieutenants.

The greater portion of the regiment was recruited on the West Branch of the Susquehanna in that gloomy autumn. (29) On December 1st, the Committee of Safety

offered a bounty of ten dollars to each man in Northumberland County, who, on or before the eighteenth of that month, should march to join General Washington. (30) But this inducement does not seem to have been essential, as Colonel Cook, on the 2nd, reported to the Committee that his officers had been very successful in recruiting and most of his companies were nearly full. What kept him back was lack of "guns, cloaths, blankets, etc.," he said. $2,000.00 had been sent to him, but that fund had been completely exhausted and more was needed before he could obey the orders he had received to move on New Brunswick. (30 a) Whether he got the needed "cloaths" or not the Archives do not reveal. The country was then miserably poor in what Bagehot calls "disposable wealth." The coast towns had for some years been cut off from most of their sea-borne commerce, and the interior was too newly settled to have much to spare for the army. However, the worthy Colonel did get his regiment off in boats from Sunbury on the 18th, equipped or not equipped—the latter more likely. (31)

Washington's fortunes were then at their lowest ebb. His army had been beaten in the battle of Long Island and at Fort Washington, and he had been driven through the Jerseys to Pennsylvania. Almost in despair he wrote to his brother at this time: "If every nerve is not strained to recruit the army with all possible expedition, I think the game is nearly up." (31 a)

"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman," wrote Thomas Paine on December 19, 1776, as the Twelfth Pennsylvania were floating down the Susquehanna, or disembarking on the Lancaster Road for their march to the Delaware. General Mifflin had then come back to Pennsylvania, and had gone as far West as Lancaster to arouse the citizens to a realization of their danger, and to hurry forward recruits to Washington's dwindling army. (31 b)

And then the tide turned. Washington took the offensive: crossed the Delaware on Christmas night, and in the Battle of Trenton captured whole regiments of Hes-

sians. Lord Cornwallis' arrival made his position perilous, although on the 29th Mifflin brought into New Jersey some 1500 Pennsylvania recruits (31 c), of whom, it may be presumed, the Twelfth Regiment formed a large part. On the second of January, Washington had his "raw levies" on one side of the Assanpink Creek, a hundred and fifty yards away from Cornwallis with his veterans. Back of the Americans ran the Delaware, full of floating ice, impossible to cross. "If ever there was a crisis in the affairs of the Revolution, this was the moment," said General Wilkinson. At dark, a council of war was held and the decision reached to turn the enemy's flank and attack the British garrison at Princeton. Washington ordered working-parties to intrench, the campfires to be redoubled and everything to be done to indicate his intention to defend that position to the last. Then the troops were silently withdrawn and by daybreak reached Princeton. (31 d) Wilkinson followed their course for miles by the bloodstained tracks which their half-shod feet left in the snow. (31 e) At dawn, General Mercer in the van encountered the British near Stony Brook Bridge, and to support him after the first onset, Washington, himself, led the Pennsylvania militia. Encouraged by the irresolution of these new levies, the British charged; but other regiments coming up, and the militia gaining confidence, the enemy halted and then fled, as the Americans in turn advanced on them. The British soon retreated full tilt to Brunswick, after making a show of defending Princeton. (32) It was here, the college tradition relates, as the American guns were battering the walls of Nassau Hall, that the portrait of George III was shot from its frame, never to be replaced. This was the last battle of the campaign of 1776—a triumphant ending of a chequered twelve-month, that earned Washington the ungrudging admiration of European critics, and crowned him with the title of the American Fabius and Camillus. (33) He now went into winter quarters on the Heights at Morristown, and no engagements of sufficient moment to warrant the attention of historians of the Revolution took place for several months.

The Twelfth Pennsylvania, with headquarters at the Five Cross Roads, near Metuchin, New Jersey, were de-

tailed under General Conway on picket and skirmish duty. General St. Clair, writing on February 10, 1777, said: "The enemy are still in Jersey, but they have little rest. We give them a brush every other day, and we are certain that they are in great want of forage and provisions." (33 a)

The Twelfth had its full share of this outpost work in the skirmishes of Bound Brook, Bonhamtown and particularly in the "bold enterprise" of Piscataway, where on May 10th Robert King received a wound in the skull—so painful that he remembered it for forty years. (34)

Piscataway is now a suburb of New Brunswick, which was the extreme point held by the British. At Bonhamtown, Raritan Landing, and Perth Amboy, they had posts supporting each other; while Washington's cantonments extended from the neighborhood of Metuchin (five miles inland from Perth Amboy) northwardly through Dismal Swamp, Chatham and Ash Swamp, some twenty miles to the Heights at Morristown. General Stephens on May 10th ordered some 800 Pennsylvanians, Virginians and Jerseymen to collect at the "quarters" of Col. Cook of the Twelfth, then about nine miles from Metuchin Meeting House. The Americans had learned the enemy's dinner hour and, after marching over Dismal Swamp, "gave them time to take a drink" (wrote a participant) and then made a sudden attack, "about half an hour after four," on the pickets of two regiments of Royal Highlanders. Stephens' advance guard engaged some 300 of the enemy, and after making a feint retreat over a narrow causeway, "turned suddenly and repulsed them with great slaughter." The British were then reinforced by six companies of light infantry and the 33rd Regiment of Foot. The skirmish became general—"was pretty warm for a time, and the enemy gave way," until a large body of their artillery from New Brunswick came into action. Stephens then fell back in good order to a hill where "they did not dare to pursue us."

"We had a number of good marksmen well posted in the woods and other suitable places and the enemy [were] in the open field frequently in confusion," wrote a Continental officer, accounting for the disparity in the losses of the contending forces. The American casualties were:

two killed; and one captain, three subalterns (including Lieutenant King), and eleven privates wounded; one subaltern and 23 privates, mostly wounded, made prisoners. The British Highlanders, "obstinately brave, were too proud to surrender, which cost them dear,"—Major McPherson, six officers and 60 privates were killed; Major Frazier, Captain Stewart and 120 privates were wounded. "This great advantage gained over the best troops of the enemy has compelled them," wrote an American, "to send from New York one battalion of Hessian Grenadiers, the 10th and 55th British Regiments to reinforce their posts." (34 a)

The Twelfth Pennsylvania suffered more than any other Continental unit—22 of its members were taken prisoner. One of them, Joseph McHarge, later escaped and returned to Northumberland, where he reported that he had been so badly treated while in captivity, that his eyesight had failed. On that account he was discharged in 1779 from the service by a Court of Quarter Sessions, his regiment having then ceased to exist. (34 b) Another private, Wendell Lorenz, made his escape at Piscataway by hiding among a flock of sheep, till the enemy had withdrawn. (34 c)

Skirmishes, such as this, in their aggregate effect did not lack importance. The markmanship of the frontier riflemen of the Twelfth and its sister regiments, if uniformly as effective as at Piscataway, must have produced a fine crop of casualties among General Howe's stragglers, foragers and outposts armed with muskets only. Galloway, the Tory, estimated that from this source alone the Royal Commander's losses were greater than he would have suffered in surrounding and defeating, or starving out Washington's main army in the Highlands of North Jersey. (35)

These losses, and Howe's inability to maneuver Washington from his strong defensive position, were weighty factors in altering the British plan of campaign. Their strategy aimed rather at taking Philadelphia, the capital of the Confederation, than at the destruction of the Continental Army. And so Howe consumed the summer of 1777 in executing the astonishing *coup de main* of moving his whole command by sea to the head of Chesapeake Bay. From his landing place, there, the distance to the Capital

was no less than from New Brunswick. But this line of march now lay through Chester County, whose almost unbroken surface (35a) afforded little natural protection to a commander defending, in that quarter, the approaches to the American metropolis. It was on this Southern route that the two armies met in the Battle of Brandywine September 11, 1777. And here General Howe was able to reap the advantage of his superior numbers.

In that battle the Twelfth Pennsylvania formed part of the American right commanded by General Sullivan. To meet Lord Cornwallis' flanking movement, "the Twelfth came on at double quick, as the cannon balls were ploughing up the ground, and the trees were cracking over their heads the branches riven by the artillery and the leaves falling as in autumn by grapeshot. They had scarcely time to obey the stentorian order of Colonel Cook, 'fall into line', when the British made their appearance. The Twelfth fired sure and fast, and many a Royal officer leaped forward in death after the sharp crack of their rifles. As the fight grew furious and the charge of gleaming bayonets came on, other troops, that had not had time to form, reeled before the burnished rows of steel. But the Twelfth stood firm, as Lieutenant Boyd fell dead before his captain. * * * The day ended in disaster to our arms, and the Twelfth quit the field nearly cut to pieces" (36).

At this juncture the Marquis de Lafayette, who had acted as a volunteer, while rallying the troops was wounded in the leg (37). His aide-de-camp, Gimat, helped him to mount a horse, and, "as General Washington arrived with reinforcements, Lafayette started to join him, when loss of blood compelled the young Frenchman to stop and have his wounds bandaged by Dr. Cochran, so that he barely escaped capture as the fleeing soldiers, the cannon and the army wagons were thrown back, pell mell, on the Chester Road" (38).

It is a legend, in the family of Robert King, whatever foundation the story may have, that their ancestor helped Lafayette off the field of battle. A great-grandson of the Lieutenant told this tale to the Marquis' grandson some forty years ago, adding that it was an honored tradition in

the American's family. The Frenchman hastened to reply, "I need not tell you, it is the same in our family." When the Marquis visited this country in 1825 he recognized King at a distance, and when he came up, threw his arms around the old man's neck and kissed him on both cheeks, saying, "How do you do, my venerable friend" (39).

After the defeat at Brandywine, Washington reformed his shattered forces, and in the following month fiercely attacked the outer lines of the British at Germantown. The Twelfth were among the leaders on the left wing of the American advance, and lost heavily in men. Later, the regiment endured the privations of the trying winter at Valley Forge. At the last general engagement fought against the British on Northern soil, the victory of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, the remnants of the organization were nearly destroyed (40). This was the end of the Twelfth as a fighting unit. The Assembly had previously directed that its surviving members should be incorporated in the Third Pennsylvania, and on July 1st, King and other officers were ordered to be transferred to that regiment (41). Before this he had been commissioned first lieutenant and that was his rank thereafter (42). But, almost at once, he and Captains Brady and Boone were detached from the Third by General Washington, and ordered to their homes on the Susquehanna to assist Colonel Hartley in the defense of the frontier (43).

The British plan of campaign in 1777-8 had three objects: First, an attack on Washington's army and Philadelphia; second, Burgoyne's attempt to sever New England from the other Colonies; and third, an onslaught on the American sources of food supply in central New York and Pennsylvania. The second failed, the first and third only partially succeeded. Major John Butler commanded the British Provincials, Tories and Indians, who carried death and destruction to the patriots of the Upper Susquehanna. That region had sent its able-bodied men to Washington's army, and its protection was left to old men and boys (44). In July, 1778, Major Butler's command, eight hundred strong, fell upon Wyoming Valley, near Wilkes-Barre, overcame its defenders and massacred all but five of those who were not killed in battle. The night after

their victory, the Indians built fires and formed circles around them and "ran amuck" among their prisoners, stripped stark naked; while on occasions a squaw, Queen Hester of Tioga, tomahawked her chosen victims. 227 scalps were taken in the fray and afterward paid for by the British at ten dollars apiece. A thousand houses, mills and forts were plundered and burned, and the surrounding country laid waste (45).

The news of the calamity spread like wildfire—down the North Branch, past Northumberland Town and up the West Branch, striking terror to every heart. Then ensued a wild, precipitate fight, known locally as "The Great Runaway." The whole frontier with one accord abandoned their homes. Covenhoven, the scout, describes the part of the Runaway that he saw:

"At Lewisburg I met the whole convoy from all the forts above. Such a sight I never saw in my life. Boats, canoes, hog-troughs, rafts hastily made of dry sticks, every sort of floating article, had been put in requisition and were crowded with women, children and plunder. * * * Whenever any obstruction occurred at shoal or ripple, the women would leap out into the water and put their shoulders to the boat or raft and launch it again into deep water. The men of the settlements came down in single file on each side of the river to guard the women and children. The whole convoy arrived safely at Sunbury, leaving the entire range of farms along the West Branch to the ravages of the Indians." (46)

The Commander at Sunbury, Colonel Hunter, wrote to the State authorities: "You may figure to yourselves men, women and children butchered and scalped, many of them after being promised quarter; people in crowds driven from their farms, most of whom have not money to purchase one day's provisions" (47).

Prothonotary William Maclay wrote: "I never saw such scenes of distress. The river and roads leading down to it were covered with men, women and children flying for their lives. In short, Northumberland County is broken up" (48).

It was to meet this situation that Colonel Hartley's command was ordered to the frontier. It reached Sunbury

on July 28th and established posts as far west as Lock Haven (49). Hartley planned a retaliatory expedition against the savages as the best means of preventing more inroads. He had some seven hundred men, all told, under his orders, but after leaving detachments to guard the several blockhouses of the district, less than two hundred remained for the expedition. Of this little army Robert King was assistant quartermaster (49a). It started on September 21st from Muncy and went up Lycoming Creek and across the mountains to Tioga (50). The troops carried two boxes of ammunition and twelve days' supplies.

They waded or swam the Lycoming twenty times. Hartley related that the difficulties in crossing the Alps could not have been greater than they encountered on these Appalachian ridges. An advance party met and defeated a band of the savages on the 26th and killed their chief. At the Indian town of Tioga they beheld the log "castle" of the notorious Queen Hester, and the huts where her tribe "dried and dressed the scalps of the helpless women and children who fell into their hands"—and applied the torch to the whole village. On the 28th they reached the North Branch and went down it to Wyalusing—the men "much worn, their whiskey and flour all gone." Here they stayed till they had killed and cooked some beef-cattle and laid hands on some canoes for their return trip. This delay enabled the Indians to bring down a war-party from their stronghold at Chemung, New York.

Hartley's forces went down the Susquehanna in three divisions, mostly afoot, but seventy of the weary veterans made use of the canoes they had picked up. Captain Sweeny was in command of the rear-guard and kept strict watch against surprise. The Indians attacked him. The infantry faced about ready for the encounter. Hartley observed a hillside commanding the Redmen's position and sent some of his men to occupy it, and others toward the enemy's rear. The doubtful point was whether his rear-guard would hold against the assault. At this critical moment the canoeists hove in sight, paddling rapidly up stream. "Captains Boone and Brady and Lieutenant King with a few brave fellows landed from their canoes, joined Sweeny and renewed the action there. The war-hoop was

given by our people below and communicated round. We advanced on every side with great shouting and noise. The Indians conceived themselves nearly surrounded and fled with the utmost haste by the only passes that remained" (51). So Hartley reported the action. The expedition arrived safely at Sunbury on October 5th after making a circuit of 300 miles in two weeks, having defeated the enemy, wherever met, destroyed his towns, and recovered much property of the whites (52).

The Supreme Council expressed its thanks to Colonel Hartley for this successful exploit, and requested him to transmit to his officers and men the Council's appreciation of their courage and zeal (53). The Colonel, writing from York on May 10, 1779, to General Hand commended Captain Boone and Lieutenant Robert King as "brave soldiers and good woodsmen" (54).

Hartley's force consisted of some two hundred regulars, and its effort to cover the far flung chain of blockhouses on the Northumberland frontier was not always successful. The case of "Fort" Freeland illustrates the weakness of these outposts. It was defended by only twenty-one men, and so poorly supplied with ammunition that when danger threatened, Phoebe Vincent and other women in the stockade had to melt their pewter spoons and plates into bullets. Robert King brought down word to this Fort before July 19, 1779, that Ferguson's party of haymakers on Lycoming Creek had lost three men in an Indian attack (54a). On the 20th three hundred British and Indians laid siege to the little stronghold. It soon capitulated (55). The Indians' leader, Hioketoo, who had married a Scotch-Irish lass, Mary Jemison, captured many years before, was unexpectedly merciful and allowed the women and children to depart unmolested for Northumberland Town, while the men were made prisoners. Next day Captains Hawkins Boone and Samuel Daugherty arrived with a relief of thirty men. They supposed that the fort still held out, and made a dash across Warrior's Run to reach it, but were at once surrounded by the savages and the two leaders and half their followers were killed (56). The remainder, among whom, from his constant association with Boone, it may be inferred, was King, escaped with

their lives.

General Sullivan's expedition to Central New York is rated as one of the great achievements of border warfare. It left Wyoming July 31, 1779, and after destroying many flourishing Iroquois villages and ripening cornfields, and making a round trip of 450 miles, without a wagon-road in its whole course, returned to its base October 7, 1779 (57). General Hand, to whom Hartley had in the previous May commended Lieutentant King, held a subordinate position under Sullivan in the campaign (57a), but it is not known whether King was of the expedition or not.

The Indian retaliation for this invasion was scattered, but effective. At many points attacks were made by them in 1780, 1781, and 1782 (58). The town of Northumberland was abandoned and not re-occupied till 1784 (59). The settlers north and west of the river left their habitations in the winter of 1779-80, and the history of this section of Northumberland County is a blank till 1784—the assessment-books for Bald Eagle, Potter and Muncy Townships in 1782 show that there were no inhabitants in those districts at all. In fact, Armagh Township, Cumberland County, became the new frontier (60). South of the river, the remaining inhabitants of the county met at Sunbury in 1782, and decided that there was nothing to do but seek safety from the Indians in flight (61). Many residents went beyond the Blue Mountains to the neighborhood of Carlisle in Cumberland County, among them Lieutenant John Boyd, formerly of the Twelfth (King's companion in arms). Boyd commanded the Frontier Rangers until his capture by the Indians in a foray on the Raystown Branch of the Juniata River (61a). King, likewise, took his family to Carlisle, where he, too, joined the Frontier Rangers—the service for which Washington had dispatched him and his ill-fated captain. And until the end of the war in 1783, he did duty on this force (61b).

His name appears as a taxable in West Pennsboro Township, Cumberland County, in the years 1780-1782 (62); and it was in or near Carlisle, in that county, that his son, Thomas, was born October 24, 1780 (63).

In 1784, peace being restored and the Indians quieted, he returned to his home in Northumberland Town, and

there his next child, Samuel, was born June 2, 1784 (64).

On July 1st of that year three hundred acres of land in the "Last Purchase" from the Indians were surveyed for him; and on February 22, 1785, an additional tract of four hundred acres (65). Then he seems to have started to clear one of these tracts, for his name is found in 1785 among the taxpayers residing in Bald Eagle Township, marked as a tenant of John Fleming (66), and in 1788 he is in Lower Bald Eagle Township, above the head of Great Island, at Parr's (67), and again in 1793 (68). In 1794 his name is set down as a warrantee of four hundred and two and one-half acres of land in the Last Purchase (59). While he was living on or near Great Island, a daughter, Elizabeth, was born April 19, 1788 (70).

It was in this neighborhood that the "Walker Tragedy" occurred, which was to alter the course of his life. The savages had killed and scalped John Walker in 1781. Nine years later, in the month of June, Walker's three sons met a couple of Seneca Indians at Stephenson's Tavern near the mouth of Pine Creek, where the Redmen got drunk. The older of the two threw himself on the floor of the inn, and went through some outlandish performances, making the most horrible grimaces and contorting his face in a sickening way. Then he got up and said to the Walkers: "*That* is the way your father acted when I scalped him." The Walkers were, naturally enough, outraged. But the presence of their neighbors kept them from resenting the affront then and there. The same evening, however, in company with a friend named Doyle, they tracked the Indians up the creek to their camp, murdered them in cold blood and sank their bodies in the stream, from which a freshet soon afterwards washed them ashore. Robert King lived hard by, and made information of the crime before a magistrate. Warrants were issued for the murderers; but the Walkers, forewarned, fled the country. Doyle was arrested. His trial caused great excitement among the frontiersmen. Crowds of his partisans, who justified the homicide, attended Court and threatened to rescue him if he were found guilty. Of course he was acquitted.

When the news of the killing of their fellow-warriors reached the Senecas beyond the mountains, they were

greatly incensed, and began to put on their war-paint, and get ready for a raid on the white settlers in Pine Creek valley (71). It was in some such way as this, that Indian "wars" often started; and the more cool-headed among the whites, who felt they had already suffered a-plenty from the depredations of the savages, made up their minds to put a stop to further hostilities. Some half hundred of the settlers, including Robert King, met at Great Isle on Independence Day, 1790, and drew up a petition to the State authorities. They told in it of their failure to arrest the Walkers and the fears of the neighborhood of Indian reprisals—fears so great, that for a score of miles round frontier families were then abandoning their homes. And they besought the Supreme Council to make a new treaty with the Senecas, and in the meantime to give them military protection.

President Mifflin of the Council was much exercised by the disturbance; he laid the matter before that body on July 9th, and they offered a reward of $800 for the arrest and conviction of the Walkers, and decided to make an earnest effort to conciliate the Senecas. They ordered dispatches to be sent to the Indians expressing the Government's utter condemnation of the crime, and their fixed resolution to punish the guilty. And with these dispatches they sent a copy of the Proclamation offering the reward for the apprehension of the accused (72).

To carry these tidings through the wilderness to a tribe of savages roused to the point of fury by the murder of their kin, was a task fit for a "brave soldier and good woodsman." The Council had directed that a "trusty and intelligent man" should be engaged, says Mifflin. The choice fell on Robert King. And he, comments Mifflin, "Notwithstanding the obvious hazards, undertook the charge with cheerfulness and performed it with such alacrity, propriety and success, that he may be considered a Principal in preventing a war." (73)

King with his relatives, Captain Lee, (73-a) traveled over a hundred miles through the virgin forests to the Indian town of Canandaigua, which they reached on August 14th. Here King delivered Mifflin's dispatches to the chiefs of the nation, and made intercession with the famous Chief, Corn-

planter, to head off the threatened war party (74). In his pow-wow with the Sachems, tradition relates, he asserted that the whites were the true friends of the Indians; and when a chief asked to be informed when any of the Palefaces had ever done a kindness to a Redman, King arose and told how once, when he was out hunting, he had run across a young Seneca, lost and almost starved to death, and how he had divided his stock of food with him and guided him back to the Indian's camp. A messenger was sent to fetch in this young Indian; when he arrived, he at once recognized King as his deliverer; and then the warriors made great demonstrations of respect and goodwill, and acceded to the white men's plea for peace. (75) And King went back to Mifflin at Philadelphia bearing the wampum-belt of friendship and messages of amity. (75-a)

Some of his neighbors seem to have been more implacable than the Indians. Walkers' and Doyle's adherents and relatives were numerous, and their resentment was bitter against the prosecutor of the murderers and the preventer of Indian reprisals. Mifflin says (76) King's life was "menaced, and through the dread of assassination, after the loss of a crop, and the dispersion of his family", he was obliged to quit his home on Pine Creek.

When, however, the first General Assembly under the Constitution adopted in 1790, met in February, 1791, Mifflin, now become Governor, took occasion to call their attention to King's services and sufferings in the cause of peace and to recommend the propriety of remunerating him. (77) And accordingly an act was passed, "To Compensate Robert King" (3 Smith's Laws, p. I.): it was signed by William Bingham, first Speaker of the House, and by Richard Peters, first Speaker of the Senate, and approved by Governor Mifflin on March 21, 1791.

The statute tells briefly of King's actions, and directs the Governor to draw an order on the State Treasurer for one hundred and thirty-nine pounds, three shillings and ten pence, to be paid to King for his services from July 18th to October 3d, 1790. Then it empowers the Governor to grant a patent to King and his heirs forever for a tract of land situate in the Ninth District of Donation Lands, adjoining the South end of a tract reserved for the State on

the East branch of French Creek, the tract to contain 400 acres, and to be "granted in him clear of all expence."

The money grant, if regarded as compensation only for time spent, is equivalent to rate of nearly forty shillings a day. As the ordinary unskilled laborer was, in that age, considered well paid at two shillings a day (77-a), the State's appropriation meant, then, as much as an allowance of $60.00 per diem would now. The gift of the land evidenced the appreciation of the Commonwealth in being saved from an Indian War.

The Ninth District of Donation Lands lay along the Southern tier of townships in what is now Erie County. It was bounded to the North by the Triangle purchased from the United States in 1792 to give Pennsylvania access to a Lake Erie harbor. On the tract next King's, reserved for the State, Fort LeBoeuf was to be built and garrisoned with a small troop of soldiers, nearness to whom would afford the settlers some protection against the Indians and therefore add to the value of his lands.

Nor were the Senecas forgotten by the State. The Walkers had not been apprehended. And the State now gave the sum of money offered for their conviction—eight hundred dollars—to the tribe whose members the fugitives had slain. By the Act of February 1, 1791, that amount was granted to Cornplanter, Halftown and Big Tree, their chiefs, in trust for the Seneca nation, and these Sachems, a week later, left Philadelphia, expressing their satisfaction with the Government's liberality. (78)

It was not till four years had passed, however, that the Governor had occasion to complete the grant to King. For the grantee had to have his tract surveyed before the patent could issue. And as the United States were at war with the Ohio Indians, and the Erie lands lay close to the scenes of their activity, white settlements in that country were taboo. General St. Clair's defeat—a disaster second only to Braddock's—on November 4, 1791, checked all plans for migration. (79) The Supreme Court judicially ruled that it was totally unsafe to move families west of the Allegheny River until the year 1796. (80) But General Wayne's great victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794 cleared the way for the pioneer; and on March 4, 1795, King re-

ceived from Mifflin's hands the State's patent for four hundred and seventeen acres of land in what is now Le Boeuf Township, Erie County—which was duly enrolled in Patent Book No. 17 page 382 in the Rolls Office of the Commonwealth.

Before this he had made all his preparations for departure, first selling the Northumberland lands he held to George Eddy on March 24, 1794 (81): then, to have a survey made of his land-grant he set off in the summer of 1794 on a three hundred mile trek through the woodlands of the Northwest. His journey started near Lock Haven, and ran for half its course along the line afterward appropriated by the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad—up the Susquehanna to the Sinnemahoning, up that creek and the Driftwood Branch, over the Indian trails a few score of miles across the foothills of the Alleghany Mountains to the Ohio watershed. Sometimes, at his camps, his surveying habits would assert themselves, and with a marking-iron he would cut his name and the date of his encampment on beechtrees. While making the first exploratory survey for the railroad, forty-four years later to the day, his grandson (who wrote an account of this journey) (82) on July 17, 1838, found, near the town of Sheffield, Warren County, one of these blazes—"Robert King, July 17, 1794." At this camp the voyageur made a canoe out of a pinetree, and in it he and his "attendant man" paddled down the Tionesta River to the Allegheny, up that stream to French Creek, and then up it to a point afterwards known as "King's Bridge," a short distance South of the present Borough of Waterford, Erie County. From there he went over the French Road to Fort Presque Isle, now the City of Erie, and found the Deputy Surveyor, Thomas Rees, in a tent, with a squad of soldiers to guard him against the Indians. With Rees' instruments, King himself made his survey, marking the lines by blazing the trees, and having plotted his grant, back he went to Northumberland County, this time varying his route by going down the Allegheny, up the Kiskiminetas (where, in August, 1794, he again left his autograph on a beech tree) and over the Hollidaysburg Portage. His patent granted according to survey, in March, 1795, he moved West

again with wife and children by the Kiskiminetas route and arrived at Fort Le Boeuf May 15, 1795, escaping all the dangers which (as the Court afterwards found) then rendered settlements unsafe. Here, on his own land, he built a log cabin, generally believed to have been the first permanent home of a settler in Erie County. Here he was soon joined by Amos Judson and others, and here in 1797 came John Wilson, formerly of Newtownards, near Belfast, Ireland, whose daughter, Sarah, in the year 1800 married Thomas, son of Lieutenant King. (83)

In that year King dated his letter to Judge Huston from "King's Garden, to be put in the post-office at Pittsburgh." He seems to have been fairly prosperous. Waterford became a busy place. Salt was then carted over the land portage from Erie, and near King's Bridge loaded on bateaux and floated down French Creek and the Allegheny to Pittsburgh. Before 1820 salt wells were opened on the Kiskiminetas, and this trade fell off and Waterford's decline set in. (84)

King sold 60 acres of his land grant to John Simpson in 1814 for $150; 82 acres to his son, Samuel, the same year, and in the following year 40 acres to his son, Thomas. In 1817 he and his wife conveyed 86 acres to their son, John, in consideration of an annual payment of $50 during the lives of the parents. (85)

On April 18, 1818, he appeared before Judge Moore of the Common Pleas Court at Erie and made affidavit to his application to the Federal Government for a pension, reciting his services in the Twelfth and under Col. Hartley. The application was granted, and he is listed as a pensioner in 1820 and 1825 (86), and a pension was paid to his widow, Elizabeth, till her death in 1840.

A leaf of his daybook is now in the possession of a greatgranddaughter. The entries in it seem to be principally of transactions with his sons and son-in-law. They illustrate the range of prices a century ago.

On March 4th, 1820, Peter Ford, a son-in-law is
given credit "by 1½ bushel of oats__________47c
"George W. King to one gallon of Whiskey__75c
and half pound tea________________________87½c
Robert King, Jr., to one pair of shoes______$2.50

Brown, farmer, to use of my canoe--------25c
3 July, 1820, "George W. King cr. at a settlement in full of all acc'ts that stand charged against him in this book twenty-four Dollars and ninety-six cents--------------------------------$24.96
Robert King."

He died in 1826 and was buried on his own land. The tombstone that for many years stood over his grave designated him as "Captain." There is no evidence that he ever held such a commission. But doubtless he was often addressed by that title, like other leaders in the new settlements, and so he is commonly spoken of by his descendants.

No better epitaph could be found for his final resting place than the commendation of his colonel:

"Robert King
Brave Soldier and Good Woodsman". (87)

REFERENCES AND NOTES

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(2) Froude's The English in Ireland: Lecky's Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, passim.
(3) C. A. Hanna's The Scotch-Irish, p. 177 et seq.
(4) H. J. Ford, Scotch-Irish, pp. 202-204.
(5) Papers of Mrs. Chas. Himrod.
(6) Jenkins' Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal. Vol. II p. 568.
(7) Linn's Annals of Buffalo Valley, p. 26.
(8) History of the West Branch Valley by J. F. Meginness, pp. 39-40.
(9) C. A. Hanna, Scotch-Irish, vol. I, p. 82.
(10) Meginness' History of Lycoming County, p. 61.
(11) History of the West Branch, p. 43.
(12) Linn's History of Centre County, p. 12.
(13) Annals of Buffalo Valley, p. 30.
(14) Buffalo Valley, pp. 35, 201.
(15) Doddridge's Notes, Chap. XI and I: Beveridge's John Marshall Vol. I., p. 74.
(16) Linn's History of Centre County, p. 16.
(17) Buffalo Valley, p. 42.
(18) Buffalo Valley, p. 44.
(19) Buffalo Valley, p. 51..
(20) Warren's History of Cumberland County, pp. 28-29.
(21) Bell's History of Northumberland County, p. 519.
(21a) Deed Book "H" page 338 Northumberland County.
(22) Bell's History of Northumberland County, pp. 88, 89, 95.
(23) M. J. O'Brien's Hidden Phase of American History, p. 135. This writer has figured the percentage of Irishmen in that army at 35.83 per cent.
(24) Jenkins' Penna. C. & F. Vol. II, p. 28.
(25) When the State Courts assumed a jurisdiction over this district many years later, Chief Justice McKean inquired about the Fair

Play system from an old Irishman, Peter Rodney, who answered, "All I can say is, that since your Honor's Courts have come among us, fair play has ceased." Meginness History of Lycoming County, p. 205.

(26) History of the West Branch, p. 192. Frontier Forts, Vol. I, p. 407.
(27) Penna. Archives, 5th Series, Vol. VIII, p. 35.
(28) Pension Application.
(29) Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. X, p. 775.
(30) Pennsylvania Archives, 1st Series, Vol. V. p. 81.
(30a) Pennsylvania Archives, 1st Series, Vol. V, p. 84.
(31) Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. X, p. 775.
(31a) St. Clair Papers, p. 29.
(31b) Winsor's Hist. of U. S. Vol. VI, part 2, p. 370.
(31c) Winsor's Hist. of U. S. Vol. VI, part 2, p. 376.
(31d) Winsor's Hist. of U. S. Vol. VI, part 2, p. 376.
(31e) St. Clair Papers, p. 37.
(32) Winsor as above, p. 376.
(33) H. R. Johnston's Campaign of 1776.
(33a) St. Clair Papers, p. 382.
(34) Pension Application.
(34a) New Jersey Archives, Vol. I, pp. 383-6.
(34b) Linn's Buffalo Valley, p. 167.
(34c) Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. X, p. 757.
(35) S. G. Fisher's True History of the American Revolution p. 328.
(35a) Egle's History of Penna. Chester County, p. 523.
(36) J. B. Linn in Notes & Queries, Vol. II, p. 129.
(37) Winsor as above, p. 381.
(38) Lafayette-Sparks Mss., transcribed through the courtesy of W. C. Lane, Harvard Librarian, June 27, 1921.
(39) Letter of Wilson King, Jr., May 5, 1921.
(40) Penna. Archives as above.
(41) Do.
(42) Do.
(43) Do.
(44) Winsor as above, p. 634.
(45) Jenkin's Penna. Col. & Fed., Vol. II, p. 65.
(46) Linn's Buffalo Valley, p. 217.
(47) Meginness' West Branch, p. 217.
(48) Buffalo Valley, p. 155.
(49) Bell's Northumberland, p. 124.
(49a) Pension Application.
(50) Shimmell's Border Warfare in Penna. p. 99.
(51) Bell as above, p. 124.
(52) Do.
(53) Colonial Records, Vol. VII, p. 640.
(54) Penna. Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. XI, p. 453.
(54a) Egle's History of Penna, p. 1001.
(55) Buffalo Valley, p. 177.
(56) Frontier Forts of Penna., Vol. I, pp. 381-5.
(57) Winsor, as above, pp. 639, 643.
(57a) Jenkins, as above, Vol. II, p. 69.
(58) Shimmell, as above, pp. 118, 131, 139.
(59) Bell as above, p. 518.
(60) Linn's Centre County, pp. 20, 21.
(61) Shimmell as above, p. 139.

(61a) Bell, as above p. 519.
(61b) Penna Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. XXIII, p. 260.
(62) Do. Vol. XX, pp. 375, 406, 540.
(63) Family Bible.
(64) Do.
(65) Penna. Archives, 3rd Series, Vol. XXV, pp. 202, 203.
(66) Linn's Centre County, p. 478.
(67) Do. p. 479.
(68) Do. p. 480.
(69) Penna. Archives, 3rd Series, Vol. XXVI, p. 762.
(70) Family Bible.
(71) Meginness' West Branch, p. 361.
(72) Meginness' Lycoming County, p. 208.
(73) Penna. Archives, 4th Series, Vol. IV, p. 165.
(73a) Letter Wilson King, Sr., Apr. 7, 1875.
(74) Meginness' Lycoming County, p. 209.
(75) Letter Wilson King, Sr., Apr. 7, 1875.
(75a) Meginness' West Branch, p. 201.
(76) Penna. Archives as last above.
(77) Do.
(77a) McMasters' United States, Vol. I, p. 96.
(78) Penna. Archives as last above.
(79) Note to 2 Smith's Laws, p. 205.
(80) Scott vs. Anderson in above note.
(81) Northumberland County Deed Book "I" pp. 321, 322.
(82) Letter Wilson King, Sr., Apr. 7, 1875.
(83) This John Wilson was a son of Hans Wilson who was the son of Nathaniel Wilson, all of Ireland, where the family had lived since the reign of Charles I. They were no kin to one, Woodrow Wilson, whose family came from Carlisle, England. An unusual story is told of John Wilson's wife's family: In the 17th century a certain William Warnick and Jane, his wife, at a watering place met another William Warnick and Jane, his wife, no known relatives of the first couple. Together they agreed that, if they had children, one a son, the other a daughter. the parents would bring them together; and so in time it happened that their children, William Warnick, Jr., and Jane Warnick, Jr., married. They had a daughter Elizabeth who married Hugh Bailey (an Englishman) and they had a daughter Elizabeth, born in 1740, who married John Wilson and was the mother of Sarah Wilson, who married Thomas King, and was the mother of Josiah, Wilson, and Alfred King and others. Papers of Mrs. Charles Himrod and the two Wilson Kings.
(84) Sherman Day's Historical Collections, p. 327.
(85) Erie County Deed Book "B" p. 602 and "D" pp. 582, 342, and "B" p. 696.
(86) Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd Series, Vol. XV, pp. 696 and 725.
(87) Considerable confusion has arisen because of the existence of another Robert King, a native of Ireland, a resident of Northumberland County and a Revolutionary soldier. "John of Lancaster" writing in "Notes and Queries" (Harrisburg) 4th Series, Vol. I, p. 179, asserts that this other Robert King—here termed the "Lycoming King"—was on Hartley's expedition and died in Lycoming County aged 90. This is incorrect, although W. H. Egle, in speaking of the 12th Regiment Lieutenant Robert King, repeats this error. This Lycoming King, was

the grandfather of the wife of J. F. Meginness, the local historian so often cited above (see his History of Lycoming County, p. 1153), and whose son lived with Meginness when the latter wrote; the Lycoming King's grandson, Robert King Jr., was the subject of a biographical sketch in one of those histories. The historian of the West Branch makes no claim that his wife's grandfather held a commission in the 12th or any other regiment or took part in Hartley's expedition. Meginness, too, carefully omits the name of the "express" he records as having been sent by Mifflin to the Senecas in 1790, although his account of the Walker Tragedy is otherwise full. Doubtless, the Lycoming King was the co-hero with Covenhoven of the curious Indian capture (related in Sherman Day's Historical Collection p. 455) of the fruits of which, says Covenhoven, "the two poor provincials were cheated by the Continential officers" on their arrival at Sunbury. One of these officers was the Erie Robert King, as the Pension Application and Col. Hartley's report show.

This Lycoming King was assessed in Mahanoy and Lycoming Township, Northumberland County, in 1785-1786 (Archives 3rd, Series Vol. XIX, pp. 635, 680, 710 and 788) while at the same time the Erie King was assessed in Point (including the town of Northumberland) and Bald Eagle Townships, same county, (ditto pp. 468, 758).

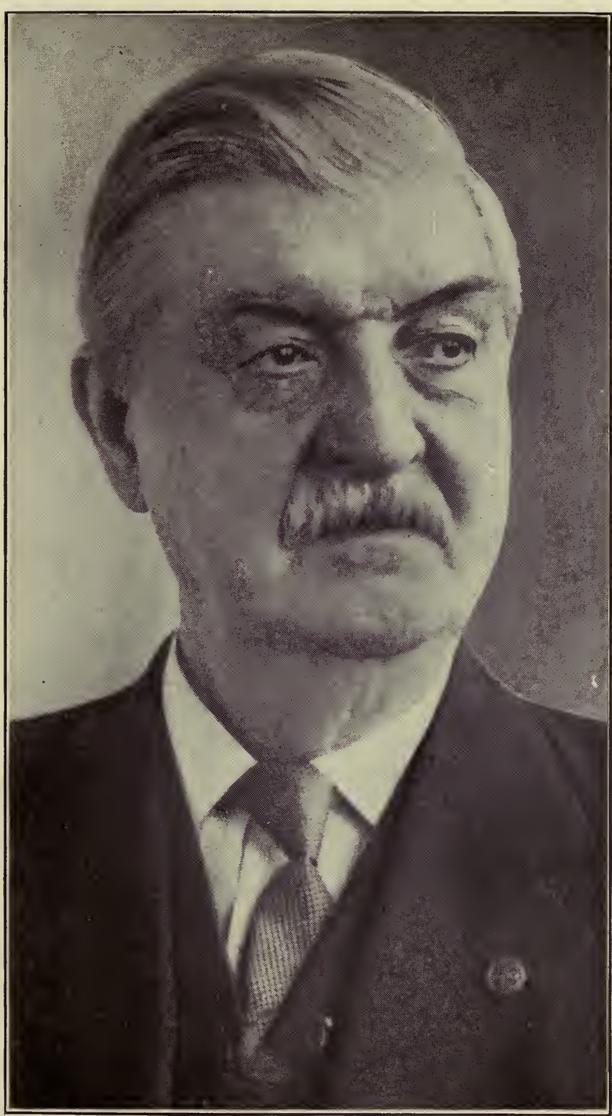
The Pension Application and Family Bible entries giving the birthplaces of his several children should remove all doubt as to the matter of identity.

DEATH OF THE "QUIET OBSERVER"

Erasmus Wilson, known to several generations of newspaper readers as the "Quiet Observer" is dead. The end came on January 14, 1922, and the accounts of his life and death which appeared in the daily newspapers, were read by thousands of his friends and admirers, as well as by the members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, of which he was a Director, with mournful interest. On January 17th the funeral service was held in the First Presbyterian Church of this city, and before a vast assemblage gathered there the pastor, Rev. Dr. Maitland Alexander, preached the funeral service which was a remarkabl discourse and is printed herewith.

Dr. Alexander spoke as follows:

There are many ways of leaving an impress on that part of the history of a city in which we are permitted to live. An impress is left by one who may have the genius of government, or the secret of a splendid philanthropy, or the power of a well administered wealth or that rarer ability, to make a lasting impression by character, optimism, kindliness, and the bestowal of loyal friendship to those who sought it. Such an impression has been left on this community by Erasmus Wilson. He went in and out among us and lived the simple quiet life of a gentleman of the Old School. He gathered, during the long years of his life here, hosts of friends, but his voice was never raised in anger, his pen was never dipped in unkindness, his hand was never withheld from those who needed it. As he passes out from us, though perhaps we did not realize it, he has left an impression which those of his day will not soon forget. It is not important for us to review the details of the life of Erasmus Wilson or to follow him through all its long years. The farm, that home of so many great men, knew him. Who knows but that as David's, greatness began as he cared for his sheep on the plains of Bethlehem, so Erasmus Wilson may have gotten some of his depths of insight and idealism from his early farmer days. The army, that school of mighty men, knew him, and we may perhaps find the secret of his rugged strength in the discipline of war. For 50 years he lived among journalists and newspaper men and in that 50 years



Erasmus Wilson
The "Quiet Observer"

he looked with keen eyes on his fellowmen. He saw their faults, but also their virtues; he saw their meannesses and hypocracies and phariseeism but also their generosity, kindness and good intentions. He had a balanced mind, but always wore the spectacles of toleration and charity when he estimated and wrote about people or their foibles or idiosyncrasies. I feel so keenly his appreciation of the simple life unpresuming, unostentatious that I am compelled to limit myself to the plainest and most unadorned references to his great qualities as a man and a citizen.

1. I think there stands out preeminently in Erasmus Wilson his love for his fellow-men. No man could write as he did or serve as he did or have friends as he did unless he loved folks. This is a God-like thing in any man. The love of people is a marvelous asset in any life, and Erasmus Wilson had it fully developed. No one passed that he was not interested in what they were thinking or planning or fearing or longing for. I ran into him on Liberty street recently when I was thinking about something, and when I apologized he smiled and said, "I was forgiven if I would tell him what I was thinking about," that nothing interested him more than the thoughts of people. This kept him young, fresh in his thinking, interested in life and gave him as well a great heart of sympathy.

2. Erasmus Wilson was an idealist, a dreamer of dreams in a very materialistic and rationalistic age. A newspaper life is not conductive to either spirituality or idealism, but he had them both. Forests spoke to Erasmus Wilson, the whisper of the wind in the pines, the ripple of the brook over the stones, the smell of the clover in the fields, the shining of the stars, or the roar of the ocean, even the silences were vocal to him. I have wondered what they said to him. They must have spoken of his Father and his care and wisdom and love and power and goodness. They spoke of this old world and of the patent beauty and peace and fragrance underneath its student voices and the shame and grimness of its sin. Erasmus Wilson was full of sentiment, not the maudlin cheap variety, but a sentiment which is the natural product of a man with a big heart.

To me, one of the most interesting and helpful things

in our friend's life, and which gave his writings the widest popularity, was his ability to take men back to the scenes of their early life, before the dew was off their early days and before they became jaded and cynical and toilworn. Before they crowded into cities and were contaminated by the city's life. A few lines from his pen and the old farm appeared—the well, the orchard, the garden, the chickens and cows, the figure in the sunbonnet, the old mare and the yellow corn, watermelons—and to thousands the cares of the city life dropped off and they were boys again. So to many his writings became an oasis in the wilderness, a spring in the desert at which they drank and renewed their youth.

I should never call Erasmus Wilson a philospher. He lived on faith too much for that. Faith in God and faith in man. If I should give him a name it would be that of a doctor of the soul, who with skillful hands and kindly pen made life easier, and God nearer and career higher, and hopes more beautiful. A man has to live in something else besides a philosophical atmosphere to be what he was.

It is a sad thing when young life is cut off in its prime. It is a glorious thing when a man reaches 80 years with the harvest of splendid life gathered, and a clear conscience, and a host of friends to bid farewell as he pushes out on the ebbing tide into the ocean of a boundless eternity.

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pensylvania

225—Sword

presented to William Bruce Clarke by a Union General upon the field of Gettysburg, it was captured and taken personally from a Confederate officer and had evidently been recently used, as the blade was bloody at the time Mr. Clarke received it. The blood stains still show at the end of the blade.
William Bruce Clarke was with Governor Curtin, the first civilian on the field of Gettysburg and after the battle, he took wine and lint from his own home for the wounded, as the surgical wagons had not arrived. (The wine, also the lint, was made by Mrs. Clarke).

226—Bullets

from the battle-field around Vicksburg.

227—Indian Head Piece

taken from the body of an Indian chief by Joseph T. Boyd, a private in the Union army, after a battle in Missouri, during the war of the Rebellion. It was given to William Bruce Clarke by Mr. Boyd.

228—Piece of Wood

taken from the tree under which the treaty between General Grant and General Pemberton was made at Vicksburg.

229—Book

of Indian drawings found by Joseph Boyd in the pocket of an Indian chief, after a battle with Indians during the Rebellion in 1862, and sent to William Bruce Clarke.

230—Old Andirons

or "Fire Dogs" were found in General Washington's headquarters on the battlefield of Brandywine, Chester County, Pennsylvania, together with Revolutionary cartridge boxes. They had remained in an attic closet under the eaves of the roof.

231—Canteen

Used during the Revolution.

232—Powder Horn

used during the Revolution.

233—Frame 6½ x 8 inches

containing the "Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.

234—Deed

made the 20th day of February in the year of our Lord, 1829 between John Arthurs, John B. Warden and Ann his wife, of the city of Pittsburgh, County of Allegheny and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

235—Warrant of Sale

of twenty-five acres of land and adjoining land in Moon Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, to Noah Potts, signed by Thomas Mifflin, Governor, Daniel Brodhead, Surveyor. Date April, 1792.

Property of William Bruce Clarke, Attorney.

236—Wooden Hatchet

made from a piece of cherry-tree which was in General Washington's garden at Mount Vernon. (The tree is supposed to be a lineal descendant of the tree "George cut down with his little hatchet").

237—Gavel

made from a piece of hickory-tree which stood in the deer-park in front of the mansion at Mount Vernon.

238—Miniature Scales

used during the Revolution.

239—Plan

of the building, "Great Exhibition" Pittsburgh, Pa. 1851.

240—Volume

"The Navigator", containing directions for navigating, The Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers; with ample account of these much admired waters, from the head of the former to the mouth of the latter, and a concise description of their towns, villages, harbors, and settlements, with maps of the Ohio and Mississippi, to which is added an Appendix, containing an account of Louisiana, and of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, as discovered by the voyage under Capt's Lewis and Clark.

Printed and Published by Cramer & Spear,
Franklin Head, Wood Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1821.

241—Cane

of cherry-wood with a small photograph of President William Henry Harrison, and "T I P & T Y" cut in the handle. (Used as the Harrison and Tyler campaign cane in 1840.)

242—Indian Purse.

243—Indian Bead Work.

244—Pair Straw Indian Moccasins.

Presented by Mrs. J. R. Lloyd and James C. Clow, Esq.

245—Photograph

of William Hunter, D. D., serving four terms, at different periods between 1836 and 1876, as editor of the Pittsburgh *Christian Advocate*, and from 1855 to 1870 Professor of Hebrew and Biblical Literature at Allegheny College, Meadville, Penn'a.

Presented by Stephen Quinon, Comfort, Texas.

246—Almanacs

The Franklin Almanac for the year 1821,
By John Ward, Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Langstroth & M'Dowell's Almanack, for the year 1825,
Calculated by Joshua Sharp, Philadelphia, Penn'a.
The Farmer's Almanac, for the year 1832,
Calculated by John Ward, Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Poor Wills Almanac, for the year 1837,
Calculated by William Collom, Philadelphia, Penn'a.

Presented by Herbert DuPuy, Esq.

Volumes Presented to the Society.

"Centennial Volume of the First Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1784—1884."

Presented by Mrs. William Thaw.

"A Machine Gunner's Notes," France 1918. By Lieutenant Colonel Charles M. DuPuy, U. S. Infantry, R. C.

Presented by Herbert DuPuy.

"Artemas Ward" (The first Commander-In-Chief of the American Revolution.) By Charles Martyn.

Presented by J. B. Johnston.

"The Old Path" Some Day-Dreams and Some Familiar Realities, by Harrison D. Mason.

Presented by Harrison D. Mason.

"Midshipman to Congress," By Hon. John B. Robinson.

Presented by Major L. K. Howell.

"A History of Old-Pine-Street, (Being the record of an hundred and forty years in the life of a Colonial Church." By Hughes Oliphant Gibbons.

Presented by John S. Ritenour.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Historical Documents Formerly the Property of H. C. Buhoup.

Colonel Oliver S. Hershman has sent to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, a number of letters and historical documents received from his uncle, H. C. Buhoup, formerly of Pittsburgh, but for many years a resident of Chicago. Two of these papers are printed herewith.

Record of a Conviction and Punishment for Horse Stealing in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in 1785.

Pennsylvania	July Sessions 704.
v.	Indictment, Felony in Stealing one Bay Mare
Thomas McCollam	the property of William Bull—Returned a true Bill.

Prisoner being arraigned pleads guilty in manner and form as he stands Indicted.

Judgment that Thomas McCollam be taken to the common whipping Post on Saturday the twenty-fourth Instant between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock A. M.; that he stand in the Pillory one hour, have both his ears cut off and nailed to the Pillory and there receive thirty nine lashes on his Bare back well laid on, restore the mare stolen to the owner if not already done or the value thereof, the like value thereof (viz twenty pounds) to the President of the State for support of Government pay costs of Prosecution and stand committed until the whole be complied with.

By the Court.

Cumberland County ss

Quarter Sessions of Cumberland County	I do hereby certify that the above is a true copy compared with the original record remaining in my office and that the above Judgment of Court hath been fully executed. In Testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand and affixed the seal of the Court aforesaid the 5th Day of July, A. D., 1785.

John Agnew, Clk.

LETTER OF EPHRIAM DOUGLASS, PROTHONOTARY OF FAYETTE COUNTY, TO JOHN DICKENSON, PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Union Town 2nd February 1784.

Sir:—The recollection of the personal obligation for which I feel myself indebted to your Excellency's benificence would alone be suf-

ficient to inspire me with the desire of giving every testimony of grateful recognition:—and when to that is added the obligation of public duty I will confidently hope your pardon for this trouble, even if my communication should appear unimportant.

The Courts were opened for this County on the 23d of December last. The gathering of people was pretty numerous, and I was not alone in fearing that we should have had frequent proofs of that turbulence of spirit with which they have been so generally, and perhaps too justly stigmatized, but I now take great satisfaction in doing them the justice to say that they behaved to a man with good order and decency; our grand jury was really respectable—equal at least to many I have seen in Courts of long standing. Little business was done other than dividing the County into Townships, a Return of which is under cover: And here I must beg the indulgence of your Excellency and Council if from the novelty of the business and the want of a precedent I have been deficient in form.

The instructions of Council respecting the opposition to assessment in Manallin Township I laid before the Justices as directed, but they have not yet come to any resolution thereon; some of them I find are of opinion that the reviving it at this distant time might be attended with more vexatious consequences than the suffering it to be forgotten will probably produce: For this reason, and in consideration of their since peacable demeanor, I should incline to agree with them that for the present, until the authority of the Court becomes by degrees and habitude of obedience, more firmly established in the general acquiesence of all descriptions of people within the County, and a Goal and other objects of popular terror be erected to impress on their minds an idea of the punishment annexed to a breach of the laws, lenient measures might produce as good effects as the most vigorous ones that justice could adopt, were not the wisdom and directions of Council opposed to this opinion. To these reasons for declining the prosecution of the offenders if their identity could be made appear, which I think very doubtful, might be added others that I am distressed to be obliged to take notice of; the Tax not having been assessed till after the division of the County, the authority of the Commissioners of Westmoreland then became justly questionable and the total want of Commissioners in this County to levy a Tax of any kind either for the State or to answer the exigencies of the County, and the consequent inability of the trustees to perform the duties assigned them by the Legislature, may all be subjects of consideration in this case: For from an unhappy misconception of the law for dividing Westmoreland, this County has not an officer of any kind except such as were created or continued by the Act, or appointed by Council. Denied a separate election of a member in Council and representative in Assembly till the general

election of the present year, they unfortunately concluded that this inability extended to all the other elective officers of the County, and in consequence of this belief voted for them in conjunction with Westmoreland. The remedy of this evil I fear is not easily pointed out; but if there be a possible one it is to be found in the wisdom of Council, to which I beg leave, as I shall in all other difficulties, to make my humble appeal.

The Trustees have appointed next Monday to meet on, and begin the partition line between this County and Westmoreland on this condition which Colonel Maclean who is to be executive person, has generously agreed to—to pay the expence at some future time when it shall be in their power to call upon the County Commissioners for the money. And necessity has suggested to us the expedient of building a temporary Goal by subscription which is now on foot.

Not knowing the necessity of an application to Council for Tavern Licenses before I left the City, I am now obliged to trouble them with a request that they will favor me with some by the first convenient opportunity.

Suffer me now worthy Sir, to step for a moment from the line of my duty. The honor which Council have heretofore done me by questioning me on the subject of Indian affairs will I hope acquit me of the charge of presumption, if from an opinion of their confidence in my information I venture to intermeddle without their command and give them such informations as have come to my knowledge from the accounts of others since I left the Canadian country.

Early in the fall Sir John Johnson assembled the different western tribes at Sandusky, and having prepared them with presents, distributed with lavish profusion addressed them in a speech to this purpose.

That the King, his and their common father, had made peace with the Americans, and had given them the country they possessed on this continent; but that the report of his having given them any part of the Indians' land, was false, and fabricated by the Americans for the purpose of provoking the Indians against their father,—that they should therefore shut their ears against it: So far the contrary was true, that the great river Ohio was to be the line between the Indians in this quarter and the Americans; over which the latter ought not to pass and return in safety. That however, as the war between Britain and America was now at an end, and as the Indians had engaged in it from their attachment to the crown, and not from any quarrel of their own, he would as was usual at the end of a war, take the Tomahawk out of their hand; though he would not remove it out of sight or far from them; but lay it down carefully by their side, that they might have it convenient to use in defence of their rights

and property if they were invaded or molested by the Americans.

I shall not presume to trouble your Excellency with any remarks on the probable tendency of an intimation so manifestly correspondent with the sentiments, wishes and interest of these savage tribes already alarmed with the frequent attempts which have been made to encroach upon them; but beg leave to have the honor of declaring that I am, with all immaginable respect,

your Excellency's
very humble and
most obedient servant
Ephriam Douglass

February 6th in continuance

Want of an earlier conveyance gives me the opportunity of enclosing to Council the return of an election held here this day for Justices of the peace for this town and township; and I trust the importance of the choice of officers to the county will excuse me to that honorable body for offering my remarks on this occasion.

Colonel Maclean, though not the first on the return needs no character from me,—he has the honor to be known to Council. James Finley is a man of a good understanding, good character, and well situate to accommodate that part of the township most remote from the town. Henry Beeson is the proprietor of the town a man of much honesty, good sense and great benevolence of heart, and one whose liability of property for public uses justly entitles him to particular attention from the county, however far it may be a consideration with Council. Jonathan Rowland is also a good man with a good share of understanding and a better English education than either of the two last mentioned; but unfortunately of a profession rather too much opposed to the suppression of vice and immorality: he keeps a tavern in the town. John Gaddis is a man whom I do not personally know,—one who has at a former election in the then township of Manallin, been returned to Council, but never commissioned, from what reason I know not; his popularity is with those who have been most conspicuous for their opposition to the laws of this Commonwealth. Moses Sutton is remarkable for nothing but aspiring obscurity, and great facility at chanting a psalm or stammering a prayer.

Duty thus directs me to give Council an impartial description of the men who are to be the future officers of this County,—but both duty and respect forbid my saying more, or presuming to express a wish of my own; for I have no predilection for one, or personal prejudice against either of them.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully

your Excellency's
very humble and
most obedient servant
Ephriam Douglass

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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EARLY COURTS, JUDGES, AND LAWYERS OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

By HON. A. B. REID*

A passing glance at some of the facts, incidents, and characters of the early period of our Western Pennsylvania history is all that can be expected in a paper of this kind.

In preparing it, I cannot claim original research,—the delving into ancient manuscripts and records (save in a few instances), but like many other "Historians" of all times and ages, I have culled my material from the works of more laborous and erudite predecessors.

For those whose taste directs them into the pleasant field of study of the chronicles of the "Good Old Days," there is no more absorbing subject than that of the Provincial, Colonial, and early post-Revolutionary period of our Pennsylvania history, and especially of that relating to our own section of the state, which, for a long time, was the outpost of Empire and almost the last portion of the original Colonies to know and feel the influence of the Pioneer, the Indian Trader and Fighter, the intrepid hunter and woodsman, or

*Read before the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society on Tuesday, January 31, 1922.

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the hardy navigator of the western waters, who set out from Pittsburgh to carve out that greater empire which touches the Pacific.

We must, however, confine ourselves to the story of the old time Courts, Judges, and Lawyers who did so much to make history in our great county, which Lincoln called "The State of Allegheny."

The first Pennsylvania Court having jurisdiction over the settlers in this region was convened at Bedford on April 16, 1771, this being a part of Bedford County. It was there that the first Judges of that Court, George Wilson, William Crawford, Thomas Gist, and Dorsey Pentecost (who were justice of the peace and not Judges learned in the law) established the Township of Pitt, which embraced the greater part of what is now Allegheny and portions of Beaver, Washington, and Westmoreland counties,—having Fort Pitt within its boundaries. This township then included within its enormous limits fifty-two land-owners, twenty tenants, and thirteen single freemen!

The hardy and aggressive settlers on this side of the Alleghanies soon convinced the authorities that the great distance, inconveniences, and hardships of a trip to the seat of justice at Bedford required a county organization and a Court nearer their homes, and as a consequence Westmoreland County was erected February 26, 1773, out of Bedford's territory.

There seems in those far distant days to have been a certain affinity between the Courts and the taverns,—because Westmoreland's first Court was held in Robert Hanna's tavern, and, as will be hereafter noted, Allegheny County's tribunal sat in the hospitable third story of William Irwin's house of entertainment and tarried for a time in John Reed's "Sign of the Waggon." But this is a digression.

Five trustees were named to locate the county seat and erect buildings for the new county of Westmoreland. Robert Hanna and Joseph Erwin were among them, as was also Arthur St. Clair. Hanna rented his loghouse to Erwin, to be kept as a tavern, and got a majority of the board to recommend his place, which was done against the protest of St. Clair and a minority, who advocated Fort Pitt as the county seat. The new seat of justice was christened

Hannastown, a few rough log cabins quickly sprang up, and here, in 1773, the first court west of the Alleghanies was held under Pennsylvania jurisdiction, by William Crawford, one of the justices who sat in the first Court at Bedford.

Though remote and primitive, Hannastown was promptly equipped with a jail, a whipping post, stocks, and a pillory. Here, too, was heard the first murder trial that was held in this western country,—that of an Indian tried for killing a white man. Chief Justice McKean presided, and the prisoner was defended by Hugh H. Brackenridge, who was afterwards among the first lawyers admitted to the Bar of this county, and one of the most famous.

In the Hannastown log courthouse, one small room had to suffice for the parties, witnesses, jurors and spectators, who stood, the only seats, which were rough hickory chairs, being occupied by the judges, and were placed on a rude platform made of clap-boards.

Arthur St. Clair was the first Prothonotary of Westmoreland County.

The Indians attacked and burned Hannastown in 1782, and, as a result, the county seat was removed a few miles distant to its present site, Greensburg.

Until the organization of Allegheny County, suitors from Pittsburgh and vicinity were obliged to travel either to Hannastown or Greensburg,—the first Court in the new location being held at the latter place in January, 1787.

Although the first Court under Pennsylvania jurisdiction that was held west of the Alleghanies, sat at Hannastown, the first which sat within the present limits of our county was held at Pittsburgh under the jurisdiction of Virginia, which claimed this territory, and whose Governor, Lord Dunmore, renamed Fort Pitt "Fort Dunmore." Here, the Court of the West Augusta District sat in February, 1775, the last sessions being held in November of that year. Lord Dunmore's tribunal was equipped, if not with a pillory and stock, at any event with a "ducking stool," which was placed at the "Point." Upon the formation of Virginia, among others, from this debatable ground, of the County of Yohogania, in which Pittsburgh was situated, the seat of Justice was removed from Fort Dunmore to a new site up the Monongahela River, where a courthouse and jail were

erected, but whether the noble Earl also removed his "ducking stool" is not narrated in the chronicles of that troubled time.

The justices of the peace who held this Virginia Court in Pittsburgh were the famous George Croghan, the generally disliked and infamous John Connolly, Dorsey Pentecost, who was of the earlier Bedford County magistrates, Thomas Smallman and John Gibson, whose nephew, Chief Justice Gibson, was later to be one of the greatest of our Pennsylvania Justices of the Supreme Court.

Westmoreland is the great mother, not only of Allegheny, but of many other Western Pennsylvania counties. Out of its original territory were formed in whole or in part Washington in 1781, Fayette in 1783, Allegheny in 1788, Butler, Mercer, Crawford, Erie, Venango and Armstrong in 1800, and Indiana in 1803.

Although, as above indicated, Washington County had been carved out of Westmoreland in 1781, her territory was yet too large, and moreover the vigorous demands of the settlers of this section who were compelled to travel to Greensburg, at last resulted in relief, and on September 24, 1788, Allegheny was formed out of portions of Westmoreland and Washington counties, to which, somewhat later, more territory taken from Washington was added. Our county was almost "imperial" in its limits. It extended to the boundary of New York and the shores of Lake Erie. When Pennsylvania in 1792 bought from the National Government the "Erie Triangle" containing about two hundred thousand acres, which gave her a lake coast and port, this new territory was added to the limits of Allegheny County.

At last, Fort Pitt and the "Forks of the Ohio" have come into their own and a real court is about to be held in Pittsburgh, and since then, for 134 years, the courts of this great county have been busy with the affairs of one of the most important, progressive, and influential Judicial Districts in the Union.

This first of our Courts had a very humble beginning, not being housed in a magnificent temple of justice, such as now hold our tribunals, but in Watson's old two-story loghouse, long used as a store, but now turned into a Courthouse. Here the courts sat for a long time. Of course, there

was a jail, and in all probability the accompaniments of that rude time—stocks, a pillory, and a whipping post were also to be found.

The Court of Quarter Sessions met here in December, 1788. Its President was George Wallace, and his associates were John Scott, John Wilkins and John Johnston. None of them was a lawyer. William Penn disliked lawyers, and for a long time the Courts of Quarter Sessions were held by men of the rough community, who, by their good sense and native ability, provided for the administration of justice in the backwoods country probably as well as trained lawyers could have done.

It is certain that George Wallace, who was a man of education and substance, filled all the requirements for many years, since he presided in that Court with honor and success for thirteen years, or until the new Constitution of 1790 went into effect, when, in 1791, he was re-appointed as an Associate Judge to sit with the first Law Judge of this Western District, Alexander Addison, who was one of the nine lawyers admitted to practice in this county, before President Wallace, when he held his first court in 1788. Wallace owned, lived upon, and cultivated the famous tract known as Braddock's Fields, and died there in 1814.

In addition to Addison, eight other lawyers were admitted at the first session of the court held here. They were David Bradford, Hugh H. Brackenridge, James Ross, John Woods, George Thompson, David St. Clair, James Carson and Michael Huffnagel, several of whom became famous at the bar of this or adjoining counties. Their admission was moved by Robert Galbraith, Esq., designated by the Attorney General as his deputy for this district.

As Judge Addison, our first "law judge," an educated, refined and distinguished jurist, fell a victim to the venom of one of his lay associates, it is not out of place to note here what William H. Loyd, in his "Early Courts of Pennsylvania," says of some of these Associate Judges. He was discussing the tendency of many people of the early period of our history to indulge in radical attacks upon the judiciary, and then proceeds:

"It may be said, however, for those who railed against the Courts, that many of the lay associate judges set any-

thing but a good example of judicial dignity, and quarreled even to the point of coming to blows and dragging each other from the bench. The lay judges, who rode the Circuits, manfully attempted to preserve in the log courthouses of remote counties the dignity of Westminster Hall, and added to their unpopularity with the uncouth inhabitants by instructing them in manners as well as law."

The lay judges, however, did not sit as sole judges in the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Nisi Prius. Consequently, the first of these more important courts was held here by Chief Justice McKean and Justice George Bryan, and evidently with much more ceremony than was found in President Wallace's Court of Quarter Sessions. One Chronicler notes that they wore scarlet robes. Their entrance into the Pittsburgh of that distant day was in all probability such as is described in the following extract: "They were greeted by the leading gentry and lawyers, marshalled by the High Sheriff; not in coaches, which were not then in use in Western Pennsylvania, but on horse-back. They did not wear gowns or enormous wigs, but were carefully dressed in black coats and knee breeches, with cocked hats, and, in going to and from the Court, they were preceded by the Sheriff bearing a long white wand. This procession was given somewhat of a martial effect by the rattling of a drum."

The Act of Assembly which established this county provided that the Courthouse and other public buildings should be built upon the "Reserve Tract" opposite Pittsburgh, which would have caused the then wild and unpopulated "North Side" to become the real center of the young community. This part of the Act thus locating the public buildings was repealed, and a lot in the Diamond, on the west side of Market Street, was secured for the new court house, and here it was built. It was during the construction of this building (not completed until 1799) that the Watson log-house was relinquished and the Court given lodging on the third floor of William Irwin's tavern, as heretofore noted, whence, after a brief sojourn in the tavern kept by John Reed at the "Sign of the Waggon," it removed to the "New Court House," the pride of the community. In this structure not only was justice administered, but here also

were held the local entertainments of the time, including Punch and Judy shows, tight and slack rope performances, farces and comic operas.

Thousands of lawyers have passed through the portals of our various court houses since the humble but important structure thus described was opened for sessions of the Courts. Many have left no trace,—a name upon the Register of Attorneys, and that is all, whilst, again, many have written their names high upon the scroll of fame both at the Bar and on the Bench and in their country's service either as legislators, diplomats or soldiers.

But we can not pause to consider the men who in recent years,—or following the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century have made our Bench and Bar famous; we must select but a few of the types of the earlier period for presentation,—but shall mingle with them the names of some who though not lawyers were closely associated with the administration of justice.

One such is William Crawford, first President of the first Court held at Hannastown and also a member of the Bedford Court that sat for all this vast territory. He was removed from his office as Justice of the Peace because he supported Virginia in the border controversy.

Those who recall the story of the Indian warfare "beyond the Ohio" will recognize him as Col. Crawford, who, after capture by the red men near Sandusky, was cruelly tortured before being burned at the stake.

Another tragic tale which has to do with one of the officers of the Courts of this county presents one of the many incidents of the violence of party spirit in 1806.

Tarleton Bates was then Prothonotary. He quarreled with Pentland, an editor of the period, who bitterly denounced him in his paper. Pentland challenged Bates, who declined on account of his challenger's conduct and character, and, in some manner, mortally offended Pentland's second, Stewart, who in turn challenged Bates, who accepted. They met near the site of the present Bates Street, which bears his name, and he was killed by Stewart's fire. It is interesting to note that Lincoln's Attorney General, Edward Bates, was the victim's youngest brother.

The intense bitterness of the times can be judged by

the will of Col. Adamson Tannehill, who, though not a lawyer, was prominent in this community, having represented this district in Congress in 1813 and 1815. His will is dated April 21, 1815, and is registered in Will Book vol. 2, p. 224. "In a former will I directed two busts to be placed in the Court house, as legacies to two of the most unprincipled scoundrels who ever appeared before a court of justice; one of them * * * *is dead in reality* and the other dead to all feelings of moral principle. I now decline a continuation of that appropriation, and direct that it be applied to a tombstone and epitath for myself, as follows:

Adamson Tannehill
Was born 23d of May, 1750
Died
---------18 ---------Aged ---------years

He served his country as an officer during the American Revolution, with the confidence of his superior

And Known to Himself
But

In the year 1798 his character was assailed by the slander of unprincipled men and the Virulence of Party.

He left this world with the Hope of a Better: Farewell, vain world:
I've seen enough of thee,
And am now careless what thou say'st of me,
Thy smiles I court not, nor thy frowns I fear:
My cares are past, my head lies quiet here.
What faults you found in *me*, take care to shun,
And look at home, enough there's to be done:
False swearing and vile slanders cannot reach me here,—
Of each, when living, I have had my share.

A. TANNEHILL."

Arthur St. Clair was one of the first Justices of the Peace commissioned in Western Pennsylvania. He was appointed by the Penns in 1771.

As already noted, as one of the five persons designated to select a county seat for Westmoreland, he opposed the Hannastown site. He was the first prothonotary of that

county, and his name is intimately associated with the courts of that period.

As a magistrate, he issued a warrant for the arrest of John Connolly, the emissary of Lord Dunmore, and caused his incarceration for a short time in the Hannastown jail.

He was one of the most famous men of the early period, but tragedy and pathos marked his declining years. He was a pioneer, a patriot, and a soldier, as well as magistrate. As Major General of the Army of the United States, he conducted the unfortunate expedition to punish the Western Indians that resulted in disaster, and the news of which almost broke Washington's heart. He died at his homestead near Ligonier in 1818, aged 84, and his remains were interred in the old cemetery at Greensburg.

He was one of the most distinguished and pathetic figures in American history.

Of the lawyers admitted here in 1788, those who were the ablest and achieved greatest fame, were Alexander Addison, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, and James Ross. They would have reflected credit upon any Bar at any time.

We must not look upon those pioneer judges or lawyers as crude, uncouth, and uneducated men, wearing coon-skin caps and fringed hunting-shirts and leggins. We must remember that many of the provincial lawyers of Philadelphia and the East were the products of the "Inns of Court" of London and were as well equipped for the law as were their English brethren and were just as cultured. Consequently, the men who came to Western Pennsylvania to practice their profession were, in some instances, students under those English-bred lawyers, or were themselves college or university men, possessing all the learning, as well as the refinement of the cultured East.

Addison was a graduate of the University of Aberdeen, and his rival, Brackenridge, of Princeton. A little later came William Wilkins, David McKeehan, and Steele Semple, all graduates of Dickinson College; Thomas Collins, who claimed Trinity College, Dublin, as his Alma Mater; and Henry Baldwin and Charles Shaler, both products of Yale.

One authority says that Addison was born in Ireland and educated at the University of Edinboro. Another, and in my judgment the better, assigns his birth-place to Scot-

land and gives the university from which he was graduated as Aberdeen.

After graduation, he studied for the ministry and was licensed for the Aberlow Presbytery, at the age of twenty-three. He came to America in 1785 and settled at Washington, Pa., where he for a time supplied the church there. Another account says that he applied to the Redstone Presbytery for a license to preach in the Southwestern section of the state, but that his examination for some unexplained reason proved unsatisfactory, although, as stated, he was permitted to officiate at Washington.

In Washington he took up the study of the law with David Redick, a prominent figure—an Irishman, and a little later one of the members of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and in 1790 a delegate to the State Convention. He was admitted to the Bar in Washington in 1787—here in 1788. His rise was rapid, because this green Scotsman and ex "dominie" who arrived in 1785 was commissioned President Judge of the 5th Judicial District, comprising practically all of Western Pennsylvania, August 27, 1791, aged thirty-seven. He had previously sat as delegate to the Constitutional Convention.

He was impeached by the Pennsylvania Senate, found guilty, and removed from office January 27, 1803, returned to the practice of the law here in Pittsburgh, and died November 24, 1807, aged forty-nine.

Judge Addison was a cultured gentleman, a learned and able lawyer, and a fine, courageous and just judge.

He was too dogmatic and fond of sermonizing (a trait resulting from his first calling), too severe a critic of the uncouth and rude customs and manners of the times, and too bitter and uncompromising in his political beliefs to meet the approval of the radical anti-Federalists, and they finally proved his destruction.

His leading enemy was Hugh H. Brackenridge, a brother Scot and a fellow minister of the gospel. Brackenridge, it is said, instigated John B. Lucas, a Frenchman imbued with the revolutionary principles of the Anti-Federalists, and one of the lay associate judges, to address the Grand Jury, and Judge Addison interposed and prevented it, on the ground

that he, the President Judge, was the spokesman of the Court.

For this, an attempt was made by the Attorney General to indict him, but the Supreme Court refused the motion, holding, however, that the associate had a right to address the jury.

A second attempt by Lucas to charge the Grand Jury, in which he was again stopped by Judge Addison, resulted in the impeachment proceedings.

Of these, Judge Agnew has said they "were the most flagitious ever urged on by vicious hate and obnoxious partisanship."

The following extracts from his charges to the various grand juries will indicate his mental attitude, and you can see how the Anti-Federalists would squirm under some of them. He liked neither the politics nor the amusements of the citizens of Pittsburgh.

At the sessions of June, 1796, he presented his views on the fairs of the period as follows:

"You have probably seen an advertisement in the *Gazette* and in printed hand-bills, of a fair to be held in this place at this time. * * * The only fair I have seen in this country is that which was held here last June, as now, during the Court. An unusual number of idle people were assembled, strolling through the streets from tavern to tavern, drinking, dancing, and exerting themselves to be noisy. * * * From that specimen of a fair, I am disposed to think that a fair is another name for a nuisance, and I think it ought to be considered as such and the promoters of it as promoters of disturbance of the peace."

He was emphatic and insistent on "Liberty-poles" as being evidences of intention to overthrow the government. At a trial here in 1794 for a riot and conduct intended to insult the Commissioners who sought to procure an amicable adjustment of the Whiskey Insurrection, he said, "Pole raising was a notorious symptom of dissatisfaction, and the exhibition of this * * * must have made an impression very unfavorable to the whole country, promoted violence in the people here and induced force on the part of the government."

In a charge to the Grand Jury at December Sessions,

1794, in which he discussed "the late insurrection," he again returns to "Liberty Poles." He says:

"One offense which I would recommend to your particular consideration is the raising of liberty-poles. What is the liberty these pole-raisers wanted? A liberty to be governed by no law; a liberty to destroy every man who differs from them in opinion, or whom they hated; a liberty to do what mischief they pleased."

Again, at the September Sessions 1795, discussing the evils of political clubs and associations, he continues:

"We had an unhappy instance of this in the late insurrection. A set of mush-room patriots whose voice had never before been heard nor influence felt, sprung up at once * * * with nothing to recommend them, but ignorance, impudence and violence * * * by working on the passions of the people, they acquired all the influence of virtue, wisdom and patriotism."

But it was in defence of the Alien and Sedition Acts and in denunciation of the French Revolution and French propaganda that he was most fiery: At December Sessions 1798, he said:

"But is all our pity to be extended to strangers, and shall we extend no care to our wives and children. The French have threatened us with pillage, plunder and massacre * * * they have threatened us with a party among ourselves which will promote their views. Some of them, it is said, have told us that we dare not resent their injuries, for there are Frenchmen enough among us to burn our cities and cut our throats. And it seems we dare not remove these gentle lambs! Gracious Heavens! Are we an independent nation, and dare not do this?

* * * * * *

May the God of Wisdom open our eyes to the excellence of our Constitution and the purity and wisdom of our administration. * * * May He wean us from all partialities towards any foreign nation and preserve us from the machinations of a government ambitious, desperate, faithless and corrupt, which flatters only to deceive and carresses only to destroy!"

Equally well equipped for the law, and perhaps even a more able and brilliant barrister and scholar, was Addison's

great rival and enemy, Hugh Henry Brackenridge. He and his distinguished son Henry Marie Brackenridge, not only by their legal attainments and prestige, but by their literary labors, have a high place in the annals, not alone of Western Pennsylvania, but of the Nation.

The senior Brackenridge was born in Campbelton, Scotland, in 1784, and came to America with his parents as a child of five. The family was poor. By teaching school he saved enough to go to Princeton, where he became a tutor, and was graduated with the class of 1771. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was Master of an Academy in Maryland. He removed to Philadelphia, where he studied for the ministry, and evidently was licensed to preach, as he became a Chaplain in the Colonial Army. In 1778 he began the study of law with Samuel Chase, afterwards a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; was admitted to the Bar in Philadelphia; and in 1781 removed to Pittsburgh, and during the same year was admitted in Washington and Westmoreland counties. As already noted, he was admitted here in 1788, upon the organization of our first Court. He had much to do with procuring the erection of the new County of Allegheny,—having been elected to the Assembly in 1786 for that purpose. He evidently was the leader of the Bars of the various Courts in Western Pennsylvania at which he practiced from 1781 until his being commissioned as one of the justices of the Supreme Court of this state, December 18, 1799.

He was engaged in most of the cases reported in "Addison." The prominence of the various lawyers of that period may be guaged by the following summary of their cases as found in Addison's single volume of Reports:

Brackenridge, 56; Ross, 39; Young (Westmoreland Co.), 33; Woods, 32; Bradford, 6; Steele Semple, 6; and Galbraith, Deputy Attorney General (principally connected with his office), 11. Carson, admitted here with Brackenridge, had but three.

Brackenridge's career was not only a distinguished, but a stormy one. He was considered radical and against the excise tax; and it is claimed by some writers that if he did not support the insurgents, was not active in opposing them. It is said that Hamilton had marked him for arrest, but he

was saved by James Ross, his rival at the Bar. He was the leader of the advanced Republicans, whom their enemies then styled "Jacobins." The tenets and extravagances of the French Revolution were supported by these radicals. As a result, the *Gazette*, a Federalist journal, took pleasure in referring to Brackenridge as "Citizen Brackenridge," and when a little later this "Stormy Petrel" of the Bar set up an organ of his own, called the *Tree of Liberty*, the conservative *Gazette* forthwith dubbed him "Jacobin printer of the Tree of Sedition, Blasphemy and Slander."

These ardent Republicans met in John Marie's tavern, and no doubt regularly drank damnation both loud and deep to the hated Federalists. It is said that one of Brackenridge's Fourth of July orations was so appealing to the French sympathizers of the time that they printed and circulated it with that of one of the leading French revolutionists.

Brackenridge was a patron of learning, and his name appears with that of James Ross, in 1787, as one of the incorporators of the Pittsburgh Academy.

He supported the candidacy of Chief Justice McKean for the governorship, as against his co-incorporator, James Ross, and the day following Governor McKean's taking the office he nominated Brackenridge to the place upon the Supreme Bench, which he held until his death in 1816, aged 68. He had some years before removed from Pittsburgh to Carlisle, where he died.

Loyd, in "Early Courts of Pennsylvania," says of him:

"At the Bar, Brackenridge was rated for his shrewdness, wit and eloquence. * * * On the bench, he did not display the same power as at the Bar; his opinions were racy, but not profound, and failed to do justice to his real learning; an untiring student, his dislike of convention led him at times into a show of flippancy."

He hated Judge Yeates, one of his brethren, and rarely agreed with him. His antipathy likely began with Yeates' visit to Western Pennsylvania as a Commissioner to placate the "insurgents," and when he and his fellow commissioners were more than once threatened with violence including an application of tar and feathers by the "disgruntled" fellow

citizens and, perhaps, supporters of Hugh Henry Brackenridge.

Judge Brackenridge was a prolific writer, and, among other volumes from his pen was "Law Miscellanies." In this, in an article considering the obloquy under which the Supreme Court was then resting, he gives as reasons: (1) The affinity of three of the judges in which each deferred to his brother and did not care to hurt any one's feelings by dissenting; (2) The aristocratic tendency of the three, who were of distinguished and wealthy connections, and, therefore, disposed to look at things through class spectacles, and, finally (3) The spirit of the times in which people spoke of Courts in the language of Jack Cade.

There was an attempt to impeach three of the Judges, but Brackenridge, though not included, insisted upon being treated like the others. Loyd says of this: "This offer to stand impeachment with his colleagues was the most courageous act in the public career of the most eccentric genius that ever sat on our Supreme bench."

Before leaving Judge Brackenridge, we may note that his friend, John B. C. Lucas, the obstinate Associate Judge who finally triumphed over Judge Addison, was, in 1805, appointed to the United States Court for the new territory of Louisiana.

James Ross' name, his personality and activities are more firmly imbedded in our local history than are those of his two great contemporaries already mentioned. He seems to have been more practical, not a philosopher, a dreamer or a literary man, and, therefore, perhaps fitted into the intensely practical life of this community better than either Addison or Brackenridge.

He was born in York County, this state, in 1762, and was fourteen when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed. He died here in 1847, and, therefore, lived to within thirteen years of the Civil War—and saw the beginning of the modern era of Pittsburgh and of the Bar which was personally known to men who are yet living.

Our Courthouse and City-County Building are upon the land that Ross once owned, and Ross Street and Ross Township perpetuate his name.

His education was obtained under the Rev. Dr. McMil-

lan, at Canonsburg. His legal studies were made in Philadelphia, where he was admitted, and then he came west—being admitted in Fayette and Washington counties in 1784, Westmoreland in 1785, and here in 1788.

Hon. Russell Errett, in his Chapter in the "History of Allegheny County," devoted to the Bench and Bar, assigns to Ross the first place as a lawyer—not noted for his ability as an orator before juries, but for the soundness of his judgment and his comprehensive knowledge of the law. In the early days, here as elsewhere in pioneer counties, controversies as to land titles were the most frequent, as well as the most important matters coming before the Courts. In the trial of such cases James Ross excelled, and was employed in practically every important ejectment case in this section. He was a successful business man as well as lawyer, and was counted as a man of great wealth.

The history to which I have referred describes him as "a very large man, over six feet high, broad and full in his proportion, with big feet, of which he was not ashamed." He was not too much engrossed in the trial of ejectment cases or the acquisition of wealth to participate in the politics of the time. He was a Federalist and, therefore, in opposition to Brackenridge. He was a candidate for Governor, in 1799, and again in 1808, being defeated each time, and in his campaign encountering the malignant slanders and vituperative abuse peculiar to the politics of that period.

He was accused of avarice, blasphemy, mockery of religion, of being the candidate of the lawyers and the aristocracy, and of oppressing the wife of John Marie, who at one time kept the tavern on the site of the Ross property on Grant's Hill where Brackenridge, Lucas, John Marie, and other so-called "Jacobins" had their meeting place.

It seems that he either purchased this site from Marie, or else the latter had a long lease upon it. In any event, Marie and his wife fell out, the latter refused to vacate the property and Ross was obliged to begin legal proceedings to dispossess her. When, in 1808, he became a candidate against Simon Snyder, the editor of a scurrilous sheet in

Philadelphia, the *Aurora*, issued a pamphlet against Ross, entitled:

> "The Case of Jane Marie, Exhibiting the Cruelty and Barbarous Conduct of James Ross to a Defenceless Woman, Written and Published by the Object of his Cruelty and Vengeance."

This libel, spread broadcast throughout the State, aided in Ross' defeat.

As a relief from the savagery of such campaign methods, we may note a more humane and really humorous one.

During the Snyder campaign Ross' adherents composed a marching song, which ran thus:

"James Ross
He's a hoss."

The supporters of the Pennsylvania Dutchman soon improved on this, and marched to victory with the following:

"James Ross
He's a hoss.
Simon Snyder
He's the rider!"

Ross was not, however, without civic honors, as he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1790 and was elected to the United States Senate, where he served from 1794 to 1805, and was presiding officer of that body in 1795 and 1797. He was also president of the Select Council of the City of Pittsburgh from 1816 to 1833, and, as already noted, was with Brackenridge as incorporator of the Pittsburgh Academy.

Thus far I have sketched but three of the ten men who assumed their places at the Pittsburgh Bar in 1788. Of most of them there is not much to say because the records are barren of more than a brief mention. Of George Thompson's career, nothing is known. Michael Huffnagel, of German extraction, was a Revolutionary officer and, no doubt, held a worthy place at the Bar, but I can find no trace of his activities. He was Prothonotary of Westmoreland County. David St. Clair was a son of the distinguished Arthur St. Clair, but I can not find that he was active here. James Carson's name appears in three cases in Addison's Reports, but he did not settle in this county and his career can not

be traced. John Woods was a son of Col. Woods, who laid out the plan of Pittsburgh in 1784. He was in active practice here and, as heretofore noted, appeared in many local cases, having thirty-two to his credit in Addison's Reports. He represented this district in Congress and was a State Senator and a Presidential Elector. He had a distinguished and honorable record, and ranks with the great lawyers of his period.

Robert Galbraith, Deputy Attorney General, already mentioned, had an important place in the history of the law here and left an honored name.

The "black sheep" of the flock was David Bradford, who was Deputy Attorney General for Washington County and served in that capacity from 1783 to 1795. He was a leader in the Whiskey Insurrection and was excluded from the terms of amnesty. He fled to Louisiana Territory, where he died. Hon. Russell Errett, in the "History of Allegheny County", says of him: "That he was a demagogue pure and simple is evidenced by his career, and that he was likewise a coward is shown by his speedy departure from the scene of action, when the insurrection began to collapse."

In the preparation of this paper reference has been had to the following books upon the period discussed: Chas. W. Dahlinger's "Pittsburgh: A Sketch of Its Early Social Life;" Craig's "Pittsburgh;" Killikelly's "History of Pittsburgh;" Hon. Russell Errett's article on the Bar in "History of Allegheny County;" Col. Blakely's "Bar of Allegheny County," and Loyd's "Early Courts."

THE FACTORY RIOTS IN ALLEGHENY CITY.

In the middle of the last century the cotton manufacturing industry was of great importance in this community, there being at least six factories in operation here, all of which were located in Allegheny City. On July 31, 1848, a riot of the workers in one of these factories occurred, which caused great excitement. After a number of the rioters had been tried and convicted, the proprietors of the factories issued a pamphlet detailing the incidents of the riot and giving their side of the case. Through the kindness of Mr. John C. Slack, a copy of the pamphlet was received by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. It is of interest in that it gives a graphic account of an event which was of far reaching consequence at the time of its occurrence, and incidentally portrays labor conditions in the cotton industry at that time, with sidelights on labor conditions generally.

There are in the city of Allegheny seven cotton manufactories. The capital invested amounts to over a million dollars. They give employment to about fifteen hundred hands, the chief portion of whom are females or boys, who would otherwise be without means of supporting themselves.

Previous to the Fourth of last July, the average wages paid to hands for twelve hours work were as follows:

To men, seven dollars and fifty cents per week—to some, over twelve dollars per week.

To boys, three dollars per week—to some, four dollars and fifty cents per week.

To girls two dollars and fifty cents—to some, as high as six dollars per week.

The persons deriving support from the cotton mills are estimated at not less than five thousand.

On the Fourth of July, the Pennsylvania Act of Assembly, limiting day's work to ten hours, except under special contract by guardians or parents of minors, took effect. The operation of this Act bore most severely on the cotton manufacturers of Allegheny, for the manufacturing capital of Philadelphia, having, for security against mob violence, been driven across the river to New Jersey, was not affected by the Act. Its operation was to increase at once, the cost of manufacturing here about seventeen per cent, in the single

item of wages, and, in other respects, increasing not less than twenty or twenty-two per cent in the aggregate, without any corresponding increase of price. Wages here were already much higher than in eastern manufactures—in weaving (a large item) the wages being here from seventy-five to one hundred per cent higher than in the east. Against ruinous competition elsewhere, not subject to any increased cost, any one can see that the manufactures of this city could not stand. They must either abandon the business or make arrangements to meet the exigency. Reduction of wages corresponding with reduction of work, or special contract, under the provisions of the law, for the usual time and prices heretofore existing between employer and operative was considered just and fair; and was declared by counsel, learned in law, to be legal. Accordingly, before the Act took effect, the matter was explained to the operatives, many of whom, seeing the matter in its proper light, were ready and willing to go on, under special agreement, pursuant to the law, at the usual time of twelve hours, at the usual wages, preferring this to the system of reduction. But these were intimidated by others, who, stimulated by bad counsel, and turbulent speeches, sought to coerce employers and fellow-operatives with threats and force.

Until proper understanding and arrangements could be made consistent with the provisions of the Act of Assembly, the factories stopped on the first of July, and remained idle until Monday, the thirty-first of that month.

In the interval a large number of hands, desiring work, entered into contracts, pursuant to the law, and requested the factories to be opened. Most of the owners, apprehending violence against the hands who chose to go to work, and danger to life and property, declined. But the owners of the Penn Factory, Kennedy, Childs & Co., relying upon the protection of law, and believing that the civil authorities, aided, if necessary, by the peaceful and law-abiding citizens, could afford sufficient protection, agreed with their hands to commence work on the morning of Monday, the thirty-first of July.

In order to prevent insult and injury to peaceful hands, and respectable and inoffensive females, who chose to work, the civil authorities of Allegheny City and the High Sheriff

of Allegheny County were apprised of the threats that had been made, and were requested to be ready to afford protection. The events that ensued are thus detailed, on oath, by Mr. Kennedy, one of the owners, Joseph Scott, John Forsyth, High Sheriff, and other witnesses, who were examined on the trial.

JOSEPH H. SCOTT, sworn.—Am a member of the Allegheny police. In July last, on the 30th day (the day before the riot), I was called on by the proprietors to go to the Penn Factory in the morning. I did go—early; saw a large collection of females, and some men; they were in front of the factory; when I first saw them, they were hissing those who were going to work; there is a board fence around the factory; the crowd was outside; those who were on the outside called those who were going to work "slaves"; after all went in, several little girls were throwing at the factory; some had eggs, some stones, some potatoes; saw Mary Lynch, Joanna Brown, and a girl named Stewart. There were several persons looking out of the factory windows, who were throwing out bobbins, etc.; those on the street were throwing up at them. This continued for some time. About noon, the Sheriff and a posse' came; went around to the back of the factory; there the girls were throwing stones; at this time, the mud valve was thrown open, and water was thrown upon them and also upon me; this made them outrageous; I then went and told Kennedy it would not do to throw water upon them; he said it should not be done. I then saw Armstrong with a stone in his hand; he said they would tear down the factory, if any more water was thrown upon them. I got him quieted, and he dropped the stone. Before the water was thrown, while we were on the bank of the river, Mr. Gungle made a sort of speech to them. He told the girls to stand out for their rights; said he would divide the last dollar with them, as long as they stood out and did what was right; he told them not to commit any outrage; that if they did, he would withdraw his support from them. Saw Samuel Hughes throwing at the factory; bade him leave; he did leave, but afterwards came back. The crowd was still gathering. When the Sheriff's posse' came the crowd became enraged; the girls, boys and men kept running from the front to the back of the fac-

tory; one of the Sheriff's posse', Bougher, said, if he was the Sheriff, he would "drive that mob to hell in a minute"; some one said, if they undertook to do that, they would ride him and the Sheriff both into the river. After dinner, news came to me that they were cutting down the gate; ran there, and saw a girl cutting at the gate with an axe; I caught the axe and took it from her. At this Hugh Armstrong came up, seized me, and told me to give the girl the axe, or he would knock my brains out; handed the axe to Mayor Campbell; Armstrong then hit me on the head with a stick. After this, some persons broke in the gate; saw James McKelvy in the yard; did not recognize others; they then made a rush on the lower gate, and broke it through; during this time, some girls were pelting me with mud; while there, a German, who was said to be an engineer, was chased, and badly abused; he was chased a great distance; we put him in the watch-house to save his life; saw Wash. McKelvy after him; we also put a person named Daniel Boisier into the watch-house to save his life; he was not a mill-hand. I was there till the gates were shut up in the evening; steam was up in the morning. The men did nothing until the Sheriff came, and the water was thrown on them—about 9 or 10 o'clock; saw Robert Vance; did not see him do anything; did not see Lindsay do anything; he assisted me to stop the President from going to the factory; some boys had broken into the house and taken the engine out for the purpose of throwing water on the factory; did not see George Keenan; saw Wm. Thompson, but did not see him do anything; saw Joanna Brown throwing some pebbles; Miranda Holander was engaged in the same; saw Mary Lynch throwing potatoes; saw Rosetta Richards throwing pebbles; saw Sarah Stewart throw eggs; saw James McKelvy throwing stones; also Samuel Hughes; officers, Armstrong, Weigyl, Randolph, Hosack, Nelson and myself were there.

R. T. KENNEDY, sworn.—Am one of the proprietors of the Penn Factory; I opened the mill on the 31st of July; the evening previous I made preparations for defence, by informing Mayor and Sheriff that we were threatened with a mob; there was a small number of persons outside; the boys and girls came in to work; part of the time I was in the factory, and part of the time walked round outside; the

crowd began to grow larger; not more than forty hands went to work; two-thirds of them were girls; at 7 o'clock, we stopped the mill to let the girls go to breakfast; after breakfast there were about the same number in, some of whom were in before, and some were not; saw no violence to those who were coming in, but heard noise and hooting; about eight o'clock sent for Sheriff; he came, with posse'; Sheriff told them to disperse; he spoke civilly, but they did not mind him; about that time they commenced breaking the front windows; they threw stones, etc., there might have been one thousand persons around the factory; the mob continued throwing stones till nearly 11 o'clock; by 10 o'clock, a great many lights in the front windows were broken; about that time they attempted to break open the front gate. (A drawing of the factory was here shown, and witness explained it). About this time I found that it would be impossible for the girls to go to dinner, so I sent for some provisions; the gate on Isabella street was about being broken open, when I said it might be possible to frighten them away if we would blow off some steam; the steam was discharged. (Witness described the position of the pipe). The mob gave way at the time; at this time there was not less that one thousand people front, and one thousand back; after the water was thrown off, they broke the gate and tore down fence; soon saw two other gates open on same street—how they were opened I don't know; the provisions did not get into the yard; did not see the man who had them; some of the mob chopped the door open with an axe; saw females swinging the axe. They went into the mill, they went through, broke machinery, carried off things; cannot tell who broke machinery; the mob retained possession of the building till about 3 or 4 o'clock; there were one or two hundred in the building at one time; I was struck several times, but not severely hurt; when the outside enclosure was taken, I went out and told them that if they would desist, I would let the girls out; I let the girls out through the blacksmith's shop; a mob rushed in at a door, and insisted upon going upstairs; I told them the girls had gone home, and told them to appoint a committee to go up and see; they did so, and the committee reported that no girls were there; afterwards, some persons insisted upon going up, and did go up. Nearly

all who were there were strangers; Mr. Logan was hurt; Wagly was badly hurt; found that the blacksmith's shop had been broken open afterwards.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.—The mill was closed on the Saturday previous to the Fourth of July; on the Fourth, the law preventing the hands from working more than ten hours, except by special contract, went into effect; we got the contracts prepared; a number of the hands signed the contracts; some parents signed for several children; I at first declined opening the mill, but the hands urged me to open; the hands came voluntarily and signed; the agreements were not prepared before the stoppage of the Fourth; we did not open before a sufficient number had signed, and requested us to open; we notified them that if they did not sign the contract, we would stop the mill; the contracts were not printed, till after the first of July.

The proprietors held several meetings in reference to the Ten Hour law; we agreed there should be a special contract; a committee was appointed to draft a contract.

About 5 o'clock in the morning, saw girls outside; no contracts were made for children under fourteen years of age; before the steam was let off, several hundred panes of glass were broken; by my orders the steam was let off.

"How did you expect to frighten those outside, by throwing water inside?"

WITNESS.—If you'd been there, you might have been frightened, for it makes a great noise.

JOHN WAGLY, sworn.—Was a member of the Allegheny police; was at the riot in the morning; saw crowds around the factory; went home to breakfast; saw no violence before this time; the crowds were larger after 7; the Sheriff came at 9 o'clock, with posse'; there was great confusion and noise; eggs and stones were thrown; we tried to persuade them to go away, we could not arrest any one; Col. J. A. Gray was hit on the hat with an egg, and eggs were thrown at the factory; after the arrival of the Sheriff many good citizens seemed offended; some objected to the kind of men the Sheriff took; they called them d——d Irish; they also objected to the Pittsburgh police; Mr. Bougher was among them; Lindsay said something about putting them in the river; the Sheriff spoke to them quietly and told

them to go away; about 12, saw a female chopping at the front gate—did not know her; after this time, two young men came up to me, and one said, "Here is one of them d——d sons of b——s, let us kill him;" he struck me on the head with a board; another hit me with a cinder; the stroke blinded me; the Sheriff took me to Dr. Knox; this was between 12 and 1 o'clock; David Hughes and Mary Lynch are the only persons I saw in active violence; saw some one take a hat, and put it on a pole, and said, "Here's Kennedy's hat"; a man named Kinsloe entreated the mob to follow him; many went, and he made a speech to them; don't know what he said. Heard some of the posse' say that the Sheriff should call out the military; saw girls as young as ten years, and as old as thirty.

JOHN FORSYTH, High Sheriff, sworn.—Am Sheriff of the County; was called to the riot; the first I knew of the throwing stones, was a pelt I got with a stone on the breast; this was about 12; I expostulated with the crowd; can't recollect anything definite that was said; remained till 3 o'clock; the mob was not dispersed; saw no violence offered to any of the posse'; saw cutting with axes, but don't know by whom; saw Vance there; can't say I saw him doing anything; he and Lindsay came to me; they said they understood I had come to contend for the twelve hour system; said I had brought a set of Imported Irishmen to assist me; told them I was willing to take a posse' from themselves; the mob chased me; went to the rear of the factory, and asked assistance from the citizens; none interfered; crowds rushed in the yard, when the gate was down; a girl said, "It is not our intention to destroy property; we want to get at the girls;" I told them to leave the yard, and I'd have the girls taken out; a charge was made upon us, and we all ran; left with intention of raising military force, but returned without doing anything."

The primary object of the mob seems to have been that avowed to the Sheriff, viz.: "to get at the girls," who were peaceably at work in the mill. And this is corroborated by two of the defendant's witnesses, on cross-examination.

MARY FULTON, cross-examined.—Went there to see our rights; expected to get the girls out who had gone to work; we went into an understanding to meet them that day.

ELIZABETH HAGGERTY, cross-examined.—We went to get the girls out; we went to get them out the best way we could.

Then follows the manufacturers' argument:

What followed from this unlawful design (stimulated by those who seek to array labor against capital as antagonists, while, in fact, they are natural allies, bound by mutual interests to afford mutual protection), is sufficiently detailed in the foregoing testimony, and the Judge's charge.

The injury sustained by property from this violence, is of trifling consequence, compared to the outrage upon humanity, the overthrow of peace and order, the destruction of personal liberty of action, and the hazard to life. In punishment of the offenders, the manufacturers can have no interest beyond that of all good citizens, who desire peace and order, and value liberty and safety. Destruction of property by a mob never stops with those against whom it is aimed; and always, as in this instance, other lives are in as much danger from mob violence as those who are its intended victims.

Besides, the best interests of this community are identified with its manufacturers. Destroy them, and not only are thousands thrown out of employment, arts, mechanic trades, commerce, business of every kind must suffer. Labor and capital are natural allies, and should never be hostile to each other. Labor renders capital profitable. Capital gives labor employment. The one demands safety for its investment, the other, fair compensation for its work. Whatever deprives either of this just demand, is hostile to both. And the laborer has no worse enemy, than him who stirs up bad passions against the employer.

In what other pursuit can a large portion of those who work in cotton mills find employment equally advantageous to them? Against idleness and want there is no other alternative but house service, which is regarded with less favor than any other species of labor, having fewer privileges, with more work and less pay. For health, comfort and compensation, those employed in mills, may challenge any other class of operatives in the world. The factory system of this country bears no resemblance to that of Europe. And the terms, indicating the relative position of operative and em-

ployer, used to stimulate passion, however applicable there, are here wholly misapplied. In this country, experience shows that the happiness and prosperity of a community increase in every department, with its manufacturing capital; and that wages of labor increase with compensation among capitalists. Reproach, insult and personal abuse against the owners, will not increase investments, nor give them permanence, but on the contrary lead more than any thing else to a contrary result. And hence, the blind hostility manifested in this city against capital, and the unceasing efforts of those who stir it up, has already been of serious injury to the whole community, by deterring new investments, and inducing withdrawal of some already made. In this respect, nothing can be more disastrous than riotous outrage.

The result of the late trial, by asserting the supremacy of the law, and by enforcing order and tranquility, may do much to reassure confidence, and maintain peace and liberty. In this result, the undersigned have the same, and no other interest than all good citizens of this Commonwealth.

For that result the public are indebted to the firmness and integrity of the Jury, the wisdom and independence of the Judge and the resolute prosecution by Messrs. Shaler and Stanton.

Blackstock, Bell & Co. Pitt Mill.
King, Pennock & Co. Eagle Mill.
Pollard McCormick, Hope Mill.
Morehead, Copeland & Co. Union Mill.
Kennedy, Childs & Co. Penn Mill.
James A. Gray, Allegheny Mill.

INDIAN GRAVES

By

BENJAMIN S. PARKER

All along the winding river
  And adown the shady glen,
On the hill and in the valley,
  Are the graves of dusky men.

We are garrulous intruders
  On the sacred burying grounds
Of the Manitau's red children,
  And the builders of the mounds.

Here the powah and the sachem,
  Here the warrior and the maid,
Sleeping in the dust we tread on,
  In the forests we invade.

Rest as calmly and as sweetly,
  As the mummied kings of old,
Where Cyrene's marble city
  Guards their consecrated mould.

Through the woodland, through the meadow,
  As in silence oft I walk
Softly whispering on the breezes,
  Seems to come the red men's talk;

Muttering low and very sweetly
  Of the good Great-Spirit's love,
That descends like dews of evening,
  On His children, from above.

Still repeating from the prophets,
  And the sachems gray and old,
Stories of the south-west Aiden
  Curtained all around with gold:

Where the good and great Sowanna
  Calleth all His children home
Through the hunting grounds eternal
  Free as summer winds to roam:

Singing wildest songs of wailing
  For the dead upon their way,
On the four days' journey homeward
  To the realms of light and day:

Chanting soft and gentle measures,
  Lays of hope and songs of love,
Now like shout of laughing waters,
  Now like cooing of the dove:

Then, anon, their feet make echo
  To the war song's fiendish howl,
And revenge upon their features
  Sets his pandemonian scowl.

See! again, the smoke is curling
  From the friendly calumet,
And the club of war is buried,
  And the star of slaughter set.

But alas! imagination,
  Ever weaving dream on dream,
Soon forgets the buried red men
  For some more congenial theme.

But although their race is ended
  And forever over here,
Let their virtues be remembered,
  While we fervently revere

All their ancient burial-places,
  Hill and valley, plain and glen;
Honor every sacred relic
  Of that fading race of men.

Gitche-Manito has called them
From the chase and war-path here,
To the mystic land of spirits,
In some undiscovered sphere.

In a land of light and glory,
That no sachem's eye hath seen,
Where the streams are golden rivers,
And the forests ever green;

Where the winter-sun descending
Sets the south-west sky aflame,
Shall the Indian race be gathered
In the great Sowanna's name.

CAREERS OF THE CROGHANS

SOME INTERESTING REMINISCENCES RECALLED BY A MISNAMED ALLEGED FORT IN AN OBSCURE TEXAS COUNTY

By

STEPHEN QUINON*

Some weeks ago I saw, in the *San Antonio Express,* a nearly full page illustrated article by Mrs. Samuel S. Posey, entitled "Old Fort Croghan" and I squinted at the name. "What Croghan is this?" I thought of George Croghan Indian agent, because of his immeasurable capacity for bearing up under Indian prolixity, hero of I know not how many pow-wows at Fort Pitt, but the name cannot recall any of his descendants since he was an old bachelor. The fort must have been named for somebody related to William Croghan. I began to read.

"Tucked away in the heart of Burnet county (Texas) nestling in its clasp of purple hills at the foot of Post mountain is an old log house, all that is left of Fort Croghan, which was built immediately after the Mexican war, and here some of the most famous actors in the swift-moving drama of American history were stationed—Lee, McClellan, Hood, Van Dorn, and the rest. It is garrisoned and commanded now by Aunt Sophie Sampson past her four-score and ten, once a slave and valiantly as you may know from her square chin and the iron set of her jaws. It is doubtful if one in ten thousand persons in Texas knows there is such a spot as old Fort Croghan."

And I doubt if one in a million outside of Texas ever heard of it. Named it was for "Captain Croghan one of the bravest heroes of the Mexican war days."

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*Mr. Quinon is now a resident of Comfort, Texas, from where he writes. For many years he was an editor of Pittsburgh newspapers, most of his work being on the *Times* and the *News.*

Yes, dear Mrs. Posey, but what was his first name and what in particular his valorous deeds? No answer. Plainly Mrs. Posey is unable to answer. I must ask somebody who can, for something familiar is running in my head. I wrote to the War Department and promptly received this:

"The official records show that George Croghan, born in Locust Grove, near Louisville, Kentucky, November 15, 1791, was appointed captain in the Seventeenth Infantry March 12,1812; that he was promoted to be Major March 30, 1813; lieutenant colonel of the Second Rifle Regiment February 21, 1814, and transferred to the First Infantry May 17, 1815; that he was brevetted lieutenant colonel August 2, 1813, for distinguished conduct in the defense of Fort Stephenson, Ohio; that under the act of Congress approved February 13, 1835 he was presented with a gold medal with suitable emblems and devices in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of his gallantry and good conduct in the defense of Fort Stephenson, Ohio, and that he died January 8, 1849, at New Orleans, Louisiana. It is stated on the records that the officer mentioned was the son of Major William Croghan, of Virginia, who served during the Revolutionary war, and a nephew of General George R. Clark, and that he also served as a volunteer aid-de-camp to Colonel Boyd in the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811."

Now things are clearer to me; one forgets as he grows old. Fort Stephenson, as most are aware, once Lower Sandusky, is now Fremont. President Hayes lived there, and after his service as chief magistrate was supervisor of the roads there, an important office you would know if you lived in these glorious mountains of the Guadelupe. I am sure he saw to it that the people of his town and around had good roads, more easily made there, by the way, than down here.

As to that victory over the British and Indians, how it was won, any one can learn for himself in the Carnegie Library at small expense of time and trouble. I am not writing about the war of 1812.

Mrs. William M. Darlington long ago told me the story of the Croghans in Ireland which has escaped me—a small loss to the present purpose, however; sufficient that William Croghan, born perhaps in 1750 came to this country when a

young fellow and settled in Virginia. When the war of the Revolution began he enlisted as a captain in the Fourth Virginia of which John Neville was colonel and when peace was restored pitched his tent in Pittsburgh as did a notably large number of Revolutionary officers.

Dismal hole as it was, it had a peculiar attraction for them. What was this attraction? The victors in every war are enthusiastic; nothing seems impossible to them; their imaginations are excited; the old men dream dreams and the young see visions; magnificent projects are invented; see how it was after the triumph of the North in our Civil war. Those men of the Revolution looked out on the vast and unknown west, the mysteries of which Lewis and Clarke were to explore after the purchase of the Louisiana territory, and beheld incalculable possibilities in trade and in land speculation. Pittsburgh was to be the gateway into these.

Croghan, however, did not remain long in Pittsburgh. In 1784 he folded his tent and noiselessly stole away to the Falls of the Ohio and I conjecture at the instance of George Rogers Clarke who had an eye to the future of a city there, and which at the close of 1785 was called Clarkesville, as Richard Butler relates in his journal. He, Butler, looked over it, and then "we returned in the afternoon to Louisville where we found the people engaged in selling and buying lots in the back streets." It was an unpromising place to him, and he declined to invest in that property.

Croghan had then probably selected the ground for his estate of Locust Grove, and as it is said to have been near the Louisville of that day, was I imagine, long ago swallowed up by the city. There he married a sister of George Rogers Clarke, and in the home of Locust Grove that son was born who was to bear the name of his uncle. George, whose strenous life is succinctly narrated in the War Department record, and who died at New Orleans in 1849. What was he doing there? Military duty doubtless, and likely as not he died in one of the outbreaks of yellow fever there.

William Croghan, father, died at Locust Grove in 1822; Clarke had died there early in 1818.

Croghan had another son, whom he named after himself I judge, William, evidently younger than George, and with-

out the latter's fondness for a military career. In 1821 he married Mary, daughter of General O'Hara, of Pittsburgh. He is described as having been "a remarkably handsome man * * tall and well built, with remarkably well-proportioned features, and an exceedingly keen and intelligent eye * * a very Chesterfield in courtly manners. In May of 1835 he was admitted to the bar of Allegheny county. I guess he practised little, as his means rendered him independent of the drudgery of the law. He turned to it, I dare say, because as a lawyer he could the better care for the large landed interests left by his father-in-law, who died in 1819, and because a profession added to his social standing.

The rich idler was little esteemed at the head of the Ohio in those days, as I have been informed. He resided at his beautiful country seat, "Picnic" and died there in September of 1850, less than two years after the death of his martial brother in New Orleans. His wife died in 1827, leaving him two children, William, who survived her less than a twelve-month, and Mary E. who married Captain Schenley, the memory of whom will be kept green for ages by Schenley Park.

Doubtless George Croghan served in the Mexican war, but doubtful if he ever set foot in Burnet county. Glance at a map of Texas and note the progress of its settlement. That fort was erected for the protection of the pioneers, ever pushing westward; it does not commemorate his valor in Mexico, but in that fort near Sandusky bay.

What about all this? Well, I'll tell you. One summer day of 1902, hunting horses in the Bitter Root mountains, I descended into a grassy gulch and there, close to a brook, and under a noble fir tree, I saw two sticks in the ground, the forked ends up, and from one to the other a cross bar on which the kettle hung, while around were empty cans and other like signs of feasting. I said to myself, "Campers here once." I walked over to the ground, where lay newspapers on which the deep snow of the winter of 1901 had melted. I picked up one, stained, stuck together; carefully pulled it apart, and, behold, a copy of the *Pittsburgh Daily News*, containing sundry of my articles.

How would you feel in such circumstances? Just so! Well that is how I felt that day in the mountains of Central

Idaho. And very much so I felt here in the mountains of the Guadelupe, when I picked up the *San Antonio Express* and stared at the picture of "Old Fort Croghan" and of dear Aunt Sophie Sampson past 90 years old, worthy garrison, with her square chin and the iron set of her jaws. She nursed Robert E. Lee while he lay sick there. Of course, she did. Washington's body servants are surely all dead by now and it is time to begin a series of the nurses of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

Croghan! Pittsburgh had come to me, and on this occasion with romantic interest. In prosaic form it comes to me every now and then at the railway station in the form of boxes and packages of manufactured articles. Over yonder Fred Cox is driving a well for Henry Lages, and his engine and drilling machine are marked "Beaver Falls." His drill and its 1000 pound shaft I guess were forged in Pittsburgh.

What is this all about? Why, about the historical and industrial reach of Pittsburgh.

WASHINGTON'S WESTERN JOURNEYS AND THEIR RELATION TO PITTSBURGH

By

ROBERT M. EWING*

"Great men are the Ambassadors of Providence, sent to reveal to their fellowmen their unknown selves." This statement is credited to Vice President-elect Coolidge in a recent address in New York City. It contains food for thought, but doubly so when he continues. "There is something about them better than they do or say. They come and go. They leave no successor. Their heritage of greatness descends to the people."

The truth of these statements is verified in the life and influence of George Washington, the statesman and patriot. The things that he did, and the things that he said, have been indelibly stamped upon the heart of the nation, but the past, more than a century has exemplified that his greatness has descended to the people, and working through them to the nations of the world.

When President John Adams issued his proclamation recommending that "the people of the United States assemble on the 22nd day of February in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to testify their grief for the death of General George Washington by suitable eulogies, orations and discourses, or by public prayer, "the heart of the Nation was touched and it responded with an outburst of sentiment such as had never before been seen." Master minds, then, and since, have delivered fitting eulogies and orations, and nothing that I might say could either add to or detract from his greatness. It is the purpose of this paper to point out some facts and incidents showing the influence which he had in the development of what in early times was known as the Western Country.

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In 1753 it was reported to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia that the French were making encroachments on what was deemed to be British territory beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and he thought it to be his duty to watch the movements of the French and defend British claims against unwarranted encroachment. Young George Washington, not yet twenty-two years of age, was selected as an emissary to the officer in charge of the suspected hostile movements, to ascertain his designs, and make such observations as his opportunities would allow. His known knowledge of Indians, his acquaintance with modes of living and travelling in the woods, which had been acquired in surveying expeditions, as well as the marked traits of character that he had already displayed, no doubt commended him for this delicate and important mission.

"Faith, you're a brave lad" was Dinwiddie's parting word as Washington left Williamsburg, Virginia, on October 31st, with Jacob Van Braam, as French interpreter, Christopher Gist, as guide, and four attendants. We are told in his journal that he reached Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, just above the present town of Braddock, on Thursday, November 22nd, and that the waters were impassable without swimming their horses; that they were obliged to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier and send their baggage down the Monongahela to meet them at the "forks of the Ohio."

In this manner he approached the spot that became Fort Duquesne, later Fort Pitt, and still later, Pittsburgh. It would be difficult to imagine his feelings upon entering this wilderness and unsettled country. He entered it no doubt, burdened with the importance, dangers and responsibility of his mission; yet faithfully noting the conditions as they came under his observation when travelling through rugged and pathless mountains and through lonely and cheerless wildernesses, where civilization had not yet appeared.

He made his way from Frazier's to the forks and says:

> "As I got down before the canoe I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land at the fork which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty five feet above the common surface of the water,

and a considerable bottom of flat, well timbered land all around it very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile more or less across, and run here very nearly at right angles, Allegheny bearing northeast and Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still without any perceptible fall."

It appears that the Ohio Company in order to protect its interest, had in contemplation the erection of a fort at, or near what is now McKees Rocks, and Washington examined this proposed location and records his judgment as follows:

"About two miles from this on the southeast side of the river at the place where the Ohio company intend to build a fort, lives Shingiss, King of the Delawares. We called upon him to invite him to a council at Logstown. As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday to the situation at the fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defence or advantages, especially the latter. For a fort at the fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage as it is of a deep, still nature, besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place".

Here we have the clear headed, practical engineer, even at the age of twenty-two years differentiating between the practical and impractical in big things. The Ohio Company had evidently chosen this site for water defence, but Washington saw that there were other methods of attack to be guarded against and goes on to say:

"Nature has well contrived this lower place for water defence, but the hill whereon it must stand being about a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending on the land side, will render it difficult and very expensive to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high or else the hill itself cut away, otherwise the enemy may raise batteries within the distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort".

Shingiss accompanied the expedition to Logstown, at

which place they arrived between sun setting and dark. This point has been definitely located on the Ohio about fourteen miles below Pittsburgh. Here conferences were held with Indian chiefs and plans perfected for the journey to Fort LeBouf and Presque Isle where the City of Erie now stands. We will not follow this company further on the outward journey nor upon the return all of which was amid dangers, and in which Washington narrowly escaped death at the hands of a hostile Indian, but pick him up, so to speak, as he approached the Allegheny River, but of this he shall speak in the words of his journal.

> "The next day we continued travelling until quite dark and got to the river about two miles above Shannopins. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities. There was no way for our getting over but on a raft, which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun setting. This was a whole days work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off, but before we were half way over we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence that it jerked me out into ten feet of water, but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the logs on the raft. Notwithstanding all our efforts we could not get to either shore, but were obliged as we were near an island to quit our raft and make to it. The cold was so severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning and went to Frazier's.

The island to which reference is made is believed to have been what is now known as Wainwrights Island opposite the foot of 48th Street Pittsburgh, and Shannopins was a Delaware town about two miles up the Allegheny.

The date of this incident was December 26th, and is one of the events in history, of his marvellous protection from harm that he might yet serve mankind and his country.

While preparations were being made for Washington's return to Virginia, from Frazier's house, he made a visit to Queen Allequippa, who lived at the forks of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela, the site of Reynoldton opposite McKeesport, she having expressed great concern at having been passed by on his trip to the forks on November 22nd. Her favor was regained for he says "I made her a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the better present of the two."

On Tuesday, January 1, 1754, the journey from Frazier's to Williamsburg began. The party arrived at Gist's on the Monongahela the next day. On the sixth day they met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of the Ohio, and the following day they met some families on their way to settle. Upon arriving at Wills Creek—the site of the present Cumberland, Maryland, apparently out of the wilderness. Washington sums up the difficulties of the trip in these words.

> "This day we arrived at Wills Creek after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the 1st day of December to the 15th there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly, and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings especially after we had quitted our tent which was some screen from the inclemency of it."

The sagacious eye of this emissary had selected the Forks as the commanding one for the whole disputed territory and upon his report having been made to Governor Dinwiddie, and the letter of the French Commander of which Washington was the bearer, having proved evasive and unsatisfactory—it was at once decided to send troops and occupy this site. To accomplish this was not an easy task. The Virginia Legislature hesitated to grant the necessary funds. They could not grasp the vision that Washington had, and could not believe that the people of Virginia could ever possibly have any interest in what might go on behind the Alleghany Mountains. In time, however, three hundred troops were raised and placed under command of Col. Joshua Fry with Washington second in command as a lieutenant colonel. In the meantime the French had struck the threat-

ened blow, took possession of the fort, drove away the garrison, finished the fort at the forks and named it Fort Duquesne.

On April 29, 1754, Washington again started for the Western country, his objective being "the forks" of the Ohio. It was a difficult task to transport the artillery by hand drawn methods over the mountains and upon reaching Great Crossings the Army lay there for several days while Washington, Lieutenant West, three soldiers and an Indian descended the river in a canoe to ascertain if it was navigable for transportation of the artillery. They were doomed to disappointment upon reaching Ohio Pyle Falls, a distance of approximately thirty miles from Great Crossings. With a small force he reached Great Meadows on May 26th and had his first military skirmish, losing one man killed and three wounded. Of the French ten were killed, including Jumonville, one wounded and twenty-one captured. A few days later in a letter to a brother Washington is alleged to have remarked "I heard the bullets whistle and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound". Being asked in later years if he had made such a remark he replied "If I said so it was when I was young". The building of Fort Necessity as a retreat in case of disaster followed, for real warfare confronted the expedition. The death of Col. Fry left Washington—a youth of twenty two years in supreme command. The objective of this expedition was not obtained for the defeat of Fort Necessity and the most honorable surrender on July 4, 1754 followed, due to shortage of provisions and being outnumbered four to one.

His conduct of this expedition was considered brilliant, even though defeated, and called forth a vote of thanks from the Legislature of Virginia.

This expedition ended, its commander resigned from the Army and turned his attention to agricultural pursuits. This was not long to continue for he was in the next year called to again invade the Western country. This time not in chief command, but as a part of the Braddock Expedition. General Braddock was selected by the British Ministry as general in chief and intrusted with extensive military operations in America looking to the dispossessing of the French from the disputed territory, and was to lead in person the enterprise

that was to drive them from the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia and recover the valley of the Ohio. Alexandria, Virginia, was selected as the place where the British troops were to debark and encamp. This brought military activity to the very portals of Mount Vernon and it is not surprising if the blood of Washington tingled with excitement and the military part of his nature came in the ascendent; it is not surprising that his personal merits, his knowledge of the country and his frontier service were brought to the attention of General Braddock. Neither is it cause for wonder that prompt acceptance followed an invitation to join the staff of the brave and intrepid general, even though the position is said to have been without emolument or command, but attended with expense and the sacrifice of private interests.

In this manner his third call to the "Forks of the Ohio" came to the man who first stood there in November, 1753, but we can only touch on the events of this expedition which in itself would furnish material for volumes.

Braddock's unfamiliarity with the character of the country ahead of him, his lack of knowledge of Indian customs and wild bush fighting were his undoing. The youthful staff officer, who knew conditions only too well, appreciated the difficulties and modestly tried to impress these difficulties upon his chief, only to be rebuffed, for this experienced general did not until later on come to the point of counselling with his young aid.

"Washington had looked with wonder and dismay at the huge paraphernalia of war and the world of superfluities to be transported across the mountains". When he recollected his own experiences, he said "If our march is to be regulated by the slow movements of the train, it will be tedious, very tedious indeed". The result of this suggestion was a sarcastic smile from Braddock as betraying the limited notions of a young provincial officer, little acquainted with the march of armies. It seems that Franklin who was also with the expedition called his attention to the danger of ambuscades, with the result as stated by him. "He, Braddock, smiled at my ignorance and replied, 'These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossble they should

make an impression;' and Franklin continues, "I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession and said no more".

The march over the mountain proved the predictions of Washington, and by the time Little Meadows had been reached on June 16th, "General Braddock had become aware of the difference between campaigning in a new country, and, on the old well beaten battle grounds of Europe."

He now, of his own accord, turned to Washington for advice, though it must have been a sore trial to his pride to seek it of so young a man; but he had by this time sufficient proof of his sagacity, and his knowledge of the frontier. He was soon to learn also what an impression Indian warfare could make upon "the King's regular and disciplined troops."

Now too he accepted the advice of his young aide, and divided his forces, leaving the baggage train, and advanced with the choicest troops, lightened of all superfluous equipment. This action had been urged without success much earlier, and now Washington was buoyed up with hopes of rapid advancement across the mountains. In this he was doomed to disappointment, for, says he, "I found that instead of pushing on with vigor without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every molehill, and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles". These delays must have been a sore trial to him, but a still worse one befell, for about June 24th, illness had overtaken him and he was obliged to remain with his friend Dr. Craik at Great Crossing until the arrival of the baggage train under command of Col. Dunbar.

Braddock slowly advanced and encountered the usual difficulties. On July 3rd Washington having partially recovered continued his journey with a convoy of provisions. He was not able to mount his horse and therefore travelled in a cargo wagon, until he joined the advanced camp on July 8th on the east side of the Monongahela river and about fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne. This camp was on the Pittsburgh side of the river and was somewhere near the city of McKeesport but the army crossed the Monongahela by a ford opposite the camp, and then recrossed to the eastern side at the mouth of Turtle Creek, at Frazier's place. Then followed the exciting and tragic events that are a matter of history,

events in which our subject was the foremost figure, unmindful of his personal danger, in his effort to rally the distracted forces. A few days later he wrote to his mother, "I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me."

He now returned in broken health to Mount Vernon on July 26th but amid the approbation of his friends and countrymen.

That he had gained the confidence of Governor Dinwiddie is shown in a letter dated July 26 1755 in which he says: "Dear Washington: The dismal defeat of our forces by such a handful of men gives me very grave concern * * . However I was glad to receive your letter and that you came safe off without any wounds after your gallant behavior on which I congratulate you". He then asks about the possibility of renewing action against the French before the winter months and concluding says: "Pray write me your opinion thereon" and signs himself "Sir your very humble servant." This from the great Governor of Virginia to the youth of twenty four years.

As said by Irving "the early popularity of Washington was not the result of brilliant achievements, on the other hand it rose among trials and reverses and may almost be said to have been the fruits of defeat". An instance of this high appreciation of his merits occurs in a sermon preached on the 17th of August by the Rev. Samuel Davis wherein he cites him as "That heroic youth Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country". When we recall that he was shot at by an Indian on his return from Venango, that he marvellously escaped while crossing the Allegheny, and most remarkable of all that he escaped injury at Fort Necessity and at Braddock's Field, taken with the great service he was permitted to render to his country in after years, these words appear almost prophetic.

We pass over the turmoil of the times that elapsed between Braddock's defeat and the events of 1758 which concern us in the consideration of the journeys of Washington. Brigadier General Forbes was placed in charge of the middle and southern colonies, and was to undertake the reduction of

Fort Duquesne. Washington was commander in chief of the Virginia troops consisting of two regiments of one thousand men each, one led by himself, the other by Colonel Byrd, the whole of which was destined to become a part of the army of General Forbes in his expedition against Fort Duquesne.

With memories of Fort Necessity, the scene of his first and only surrender, and of the disaster at Braddock's Field, rankling within him, we can safely assume that this, his fourth call to the western country sounded like music to his ears.

Our limitations prevent us from describing this expedition further than to say that a decided difference arose between Col. Washington and Col. Bouquet as to the route to be followed. A new road was cut through the wilderness known as the Forbes Road against the protest of Washington. He asserted, and no doubt he was right, that the expedition could have reached its objective and accomplished the reduction of Fort Duquesne many months earlier had the Braddock road been followed. However like the good soldier he was, his energies were thrown into the work of cutting through the well known and established Trail and the army moved on its tedious journey. The story of the advance party being sent out and of the battle of Grant's Hill, near where the Court House now stands is one of the thrilling incidents of the expedition. An incident is told of the rout at Grant's Hill by Thurston in his "Allegheny County's Hundred Years" that as Major Lewis was advancing with his men he met a Scotch Highlander under full flight and on inquiring of him how the battle was going, the battle stricken soldier replied "They were a' beaten and he had seen Donald McDonald up to his hunkers in mud, and a' the skin off his heed."

As the main body neared its destination we are told that it crossed Turtle Creek where Murraysville now stands and encamped for the night on the hill near the present town of Pitcairn, and that from this point the smoke was seen following the blowing up of the magazine at Fort Duquesne that was followed by its evacuation by the French. One writer tells us that Col. Washington mounted the British flag on the remains of the fortress on the 25th day of November, 1758. Whether this be literally true or not, it is

however undisputed that he reached Fort Duquesne and from Camp at Fort Duquesne November 28, 1758, wrote to Gov. Farqueiur who had succeeded Gov. Dinwiddie in these words. "I have the pleasure to inform you that Fort Duquesne, or the ground upon which it stood, was possessed by his majesty's troops on the 25th inst." and adds "This fortunate, and indeed, unexpected success of our arms will be attended with happy effects." When this was written he no doubt was filled with joy when he recalled Fort Necessity and Braddock's defeat in 1758 and his disappointment in the campaign of 1754.

The fifth call to the western country came to him in 1770. It was primarily to inspect and mark out bounty lands on the Ohio for the men of his Virginia Regiment, but later developments justify the belief that the great question of inland water ways was burdening his mind at the time.

He left Mount Vernon on October 5th, in company with Dr. Craik, three servants and a led horse carrying baggage. We are told that on the 14th he was at Captain Crawford's at Stewart's Crossing (Connellsville) all day, and that he went to see a coal mine, not far from Crawford's house, on the bank of the river, and that the coal seemed of the very best kind, burning freely and abundance of it.

On October 17, 1770, for the third time he reached Pittsburgh. It is interesting to note that Col. Burd had opened a road to Redstone Creek, and in his journal we are told that near Dunbar's camp in Fayette County, he marked two trees at the place of beginning thus "The road to Redstone Col. J. Burd 1759, The road to Pittsburgh 1759." From this it would appear that Fort Pitt was at that early date known as Pittsburgh, although there were, by best accounts, only a few bark and log cabins scattered about the fort.

In his journal of this trip Washington says: "Lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort at one Mr. Semple's who keeps a very good house of entertainment." We are told that this house was at the present Ferry and Water Streets, built in 1764 by Col. George Morgan and that it was the first shingle roofed house and also that it was in this house that Aaron Burr stopped on his way to Blennerhasset Island. On the 18th the narrative continued, "Dined in the fort with Col. Croghan and

officers of the garrison; supped there also, meeting with great civility from the gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Col. Croghan the next day at his seat about four miles up the Allegheny." We are told by Craig in his recollection of the location of this place that it was "on the east side of the Allegheny River nearly opposite to where Mr. McCandless is now residing. To be more precise, it was on the lot which is on our right when we first reach the Allegheny, when going from Lawrenceville up towards Sharpsburg." To him at that time it may have been precise, but after the lapse of years, it is an explanation that does not explain.

At this place on the 19th through an appointment made with Col. Croghan he was met at eleven o'clock by White Mingo and other chiefs, and after the customary gift of a string of wampum was addressed, in part, as follows, according to the journal. "That I was a person whom some of them remember to have seen when I was sent on an embassy to the French, and most of them have heard of, they were come to bid me welcome to this country, and desire that the people of Virginia would consider them as friends and brothers, and further stated their fears that we did not look upon them with so friendly an eye as they could wish."

Washington answered this address in his customary tactful manner, in which he gave assurance of Virginia's desire for friendship with them and that he would convey their desires to the Governor.

After dining with Col. Croghan, he returned with his party, including his host, to Pittsburgh, no doubt to Semple's tavern and completed arrangements for his journey down the Ohio. On the 20th he embarked in a large canoe as he tells us

> "With sufficient stores of provisions and necessaries, and the following person besides Dr. Craik and myself, to wit; Captain Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan and Daniel Rendon, a boy of Captain Crawford's and the Indians who were in a canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our horses and boys back to Captain Crawford's with orders to meet us there again on the 14th day of November. Colonel Croghan Lieutenant Hamilton and Magee (evidently McKee) set out with us. At two we dined at Magee's and encamped ten miles below and

> four miles above Logstown. We passed several large islands which appeared to be very good, as the bottoms, also did on each side of the river alternately; the hills on one side being opposite the bottoms on the other, which seem generally to be about three or four hundred yards wide, and so vice versa."

This description fits accurately the topography of the hills and bottoms as we see them today as we descend that part of the Ohio of which he was writing. It is another evidence of the accurate and comprehensive observations that he made in his several journeys to the western country.

We left Washington at Logstown, in describing his expedition in 1753, so we now leave him in the vicinity of the same town, without undertaking to describe his interesting trip to the lower Ohio and tributaries but content ourselves by picking him up, so to speak, as he reached Fort Pitt, November 21st, upon his return. He tells us again, quoting from his journal.

> "22nd. Stayed at Pittsburgh all day. Invited the officers and some other gentlemen to dinner with me at Semple's"; and of the next day he says, "After settling with the Indians and the people that attended us down the river, and defraying the sundry expenses accruing at Pittsburgh I set off on my return home; and after dining at the widow Mier's on Turtle Creek reached Mr. John Stephenson's in the night".

The rest of the trip was made without special incident and ended on December 1, 1770.

We have thus far engaged your attention by an outline of the several expeditions of the young man who was soon to be called into a field of service that has rendered his name immortal, and to some of the incidents of the several journeys. These trips are of interest from an historical standpoint. We hope to show that they were of interest and had a strong influence upon subsequent commercial activities of this section of the country.

That he had great confidence in the possibilities of this new and hitherto undeveloped country, there can be no reasonable doubt; that he realized the importance of an adequate inland waterway system as most effective in such development is equally certain; and that he did more than any other

man of his day in centralizing the attention of others as to the great possibilities is equally true.

His marked interest in navigation and transportation is shown to us in his writings immediately after the Revolutionary War, some of which, at least, are preserved to us. To Richard Henry Lee, he writes from Philadelphia on July 19, 1797. "I have been of opinion that the policy of the Atlantic States, instead of contending prematurely for the free navigation of that river ------ (one of those on the Eastern coast) ------ would be to open and improve natural communications with the western country through which the produce of it might be transported to our markets."

He says to Thomas Jefferson in a letter of January 1, 1788.

> "I received your favor of the 14th of August and am sorry that it is not in my power to give any further information relative to the practicability of opening a communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio, than you are already possessed of. I have made frequent inquiries since the time of your writing at Annapolis, but could never collect anything that was decided or satisfactory, and flatter myself with better prospects.
>
> The accounts generally agree as to its being a flat country between the waters of Lake Erie and the Big Beaver, but differ much with respect to the distance between their sources, their navigation, and the inconvenience which would attend the cutting of a canal between them." We might observe, at this point, that were we to consult those who have been making an heroic struggle for a ship canal from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie, in recent years, we would undoubtedly learn that opinions still differ. The letter continues. "From the best information I have been able to obtain of that country, the source of the Muskingum and Cayahoga approach nearer to each other than the Big Beaver, but a communication through the Muskingum would be more circuitous and difficult * * *. The distance between the Lake Erie and the Ohio through the Big Beaver is however so much less than the route through the Muskingum, that it would in my opinion operate more strongly in favor of opening a canal between the sources of the nearest water of Lake Erie and the Big Beaver, although the distance between them should be

much greater and the operation more difficult than to Muskingum, as it is the direct line to the nearest shipping port on the Atlantic".

Another letter to Jefferson dated February 13, 1789, dwells on the same subject and refers to the fact that his utmost endeavors had failed to produce, as he says, "precise information respecting the nearest and best communication between the Ohio and Lake Erie" but the determination within the man to procure the desired information, from reasonably authentic sources is best shown in a letter to Richard Butler written from Mt. Vernon and bearing date of January 10, 1788 in which he says:

"As you have had opportunities of gaining extensive knowledge and information respecting the western territory, its situation, rivers, and the face of the country, I must beg the favor of you, my dear sir, to resolve the following queries, either from your knowledge or certain information, as well to gratify my own curiosity, as to enable me to satisfy several gentlemen of distinction in other countries who have applied to me for information upon the subject.

"1. What is the face of the country between the sources of canoe navigation of the Cayahoga, which empties itself into Lake Erie, and the Big Beaver, and between the Cayahoga and the Muskingum?

"2. The distance between the waters of the Cayahoga to each of the two rivers above mentioned?

"3. Would it be practicable, and not very expensive, to cut a canal between the Cayahoga and either of the above rivers, so as to open a communication between the waters of Lake Erie and the Ohio?

"4. Whether there is any more direct, practicable, and easy communication than these between the waters of Lake Erie and those of the Ohio, by which the fur and peltry of the upper Ohio can be transported?"

We have outlined the several journeys made to the Western Country by this brave and farsighted youth. We have outlined his views with relation to the development of the territory at and adjacent to Pittsburgh.

It is worthy of note that the very first description of the forks of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers comes from his pen, and that from the same pen is given to the country, for the first time, the need and possibilities of improved waterways as a means of this development. What reply was received to his letter to Colonel Butler is not found in the records, but it is significant that in the early thirties his vision of this development was realized in the construction and operation for many years of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal, the Erie Canal, opening up a channel of commerce from Lake Erie to the Big Beaver River, at the site of the present City of Beaver, and other canals, all of which contributed largely to Pittsburgh's greatness and advantage as a commercial center.

It is also worthy of note that in keeping the views of Washington, the construction of a ship canal from the Big Beaver River to Lake Erie, has in recent years, and is now, commanding with splendid prospects of consummation, the attention and energies of many of the most progressive men of the present day.

Following the events herein narrated, Washington was called to be chief magistrate of the nation, and it is fairly to be presumed that with this greater opportunity for service, he maintained his interests in the development of the territory so often referred to by him as the Western Country and contributed much to its accomplishment.

A study of the personality which he possessed, and of his activities in the interest of extended commerce, not only in this locality but elsewhere, followed by the results that have been achieved, leads us to accord to him preeminence as a nation-builder, and to the conclusion that in no small measure his greatness had descended to the people.

THE CRITICAL PERIOD IN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

By

JOHN P. PENNY*

Critical periods are the cross-roads where nations hesitate as to which way to go, but as a rule there are two ways to go and the hesitation is caused by doubt and fear as to the choice. That was the case in the three critical periods of the United States, but not so with Pennsylvania, whose critical period was caused by the most remarkable combination of unfortunate conditions ever recorded in this country, leaving the State like a ship, in a storm, without captain or pilot, the crew in mutiny and the machinery broken.

On the wall in a corridor in the Capitol at Washington, framed, hangs a mosaic. The artist has entitled it "The Critical Period of American History" and has put the scene at a small stone bridge on a mountain roadway near Granada, Spain. Columbus, mounted, with his servant leading a pack mule, dejectedly returning from an unsuccessful ten days' conference at court. They hear the rapid beating of hoofs behind them, fearing a robber and preparing for defense. The rider suddenly coming upon them, reining his horse back, and raising his hand denoting that he was a friend, telling them he was a messenger from the court, that Columbus was to return and be given a reconsideration of his plan for a westward passage to Cathay. It was hardly a critical period, but our history starts from that little stone bridge in the mountains west of Granada, Spain, and it is three hundred years to the next critical period, which occurred on Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Smith very graphically portrays to us in our last month's magazine, the conditions surrounding the signing of the Constitution of the United States. After the Revolutionary War, the Thirteen Colonies were on the verge of a

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civil war. Nothing could save them but a constitution. Civil war would produce anarchy very rapidly, which would be followed by monarchy, the last resort of anarchy. Entirely unable to agree, a motion to adjourn was seconded but failed, on the appeal of the venerable Franklin, for another day. The result of Franklin's appeal was a constitution.

The next Critical Period was the election of Abraham Lincoln. Had he not been elected, civil war again would have been inevitable, a partial state of civil war then existing. Lincoln's election was followed by rebellion, and rebellion is not as dangerous to a nation as civil war. Nations are usually better than ever after rebellion, but civil war is a wasting disease that kills. Three weeks after Lincoln's election South Carolina seceded and established an embassy in Washington, which was closed the day Lincoln was inaugurated and a few weeks later, the dust was rising in every loyal State from the marching columns that saved the Union.

Pennsylvania's Critical Period, as I have said, was caused by a remarkable combination of unfortunate accidents at a very bad time. The Constitution of 1838 did not provide for a Lieutenant Governor but provided that the Speaker of the Senate should succeed the Governor in case of his incapacity or death. When the Senate convened under that Constitution they organized and elected a speaker. For some reason they considered that the speaker should only serve during that session. No one knows where they got that idea. The Constitution gave no such thought. It provided that the Senate should be a permanent body constituted of two-thirds constantly, one-third being elected each term. But that was the construction they placed upon it, and when the session came to a close the speaker who had served, considered it the dignified thing to do, to leave the platform, and take his seat at his desk on the floor, leaving the Senate staring at an empty chair on an empty platform. The only official of the Senate then was the clerk, and the clerk said, "Gentlemen, we are without a Speaker. We need a speaker for the recess." In case anything should happen to the Governor someone must be in a position to take his place, then nominations were made for a speaker to serve during the recess. At the end of the recess and at the beginning of the next session, the regular session, this speaker

considered it the dignified thing to do to remain on the floor, and they all sat down again looking at an empty chair on an empty platform, and the clerk repeated the statement that they were without a speaker for the session, and so on.

This was the condition that had existed for twenty-six years and it worked all right until something happened. Sometimes things happen that no one can forecast. A story told by a distinguished neighbor of mine, Dr. Robert Christie, of the North Side, in a sermon he preached one day, illustrated this very clearly. As a child in Scotland his father had often taken him walking through a long avenue of trees, calling his attention to their beauty, their uprightness, reading him many lectures drawn from them and as he grew older, he became very much in love with those trees and always promptly visited them on his repeated returns to Scotland. Upon his last visit prior to the War, in 1912, he hastened out to see these grand trees and walk through that beautiful avenue again. To his astonishment and horror they were gone. He could not account for it. He knew no one in Scotland would be allowed to raise a hand against these trees that had been there for two hundred years, and he hastened to find out what had happened. Finding the Caretaker of the grounds, who told him of a storm that had blown them down about six months prior to that. The Doctor said "My father told me when I was a child that they were two hundred years old. Do you mean to say that a greater storm struck Scotland in the past year than ever has struck it in the two hundred and fifty years before?" "No," the caretaker said, "It was not much of a storm. I have seen many worse, but our storms all come from the northeast, and this storm came from the south. Those trees had been trained from infancy to support themselves against storms coming from the northeast, but when a storm of any violence struck them from the south they were not prepared and they went down.

You can see the splendid point the Doctor had for his sermon on Christian character. And so it was with the Senate's idea of working under the constitution of 1838. A great storm had sprung up from the south and for three years it beat against these northern states beating down men and institutions and constitutions until it rolled over the border of

Pennsylvania, and the flames of Chambersburg, and the roar of Great Gettysburg could be seen and heard from the Capitol steps. If you stand on the Gettysburg field, in front of that great open book of Bronze and read its inscription "Here the high tide of rebellion was rolled back", and you think of those three Pennsylvania generals, Meade, Reynolds and Hancock, standing on their own soil, in command of troops from all the loyal states from Maine to Iowa, forming that wall of granite with its gates of brass, you should give a thought to the great Governor Curtin and the men and women in civil and political life in those awful days who mended the sails and stopped the leaks and did their part toward keeping the ship of state afloat. And tonight a thought of the man who had the courage to take his place alone on the burning deck and hold the broken helm of the ship.

To return to the great Governor. In 1860, Andrew Gregg Curtin was elected Governor of Pennsylvania. Forty-four years old, youthful in appearance, with an elastic step, boyish manner and waving black hair, he made his inaugural address three weeks ahead of the famous inaugural address of Lincoln, so it fell to him to make the first public expression as to the conduct of the North and the position of a leading northern state in the great crisis then confronting the country. At the first sound of rebellion Curtin sprang forth instantly as a leader, calling all the northern governors to meet him at Altoona and pledge their support to the national government. From that day he labored day and night both for the troops, for the maintenance of the Union, and to hold Pennsylvania in its place as the *Keystone* of the national arch. In three years his hair was grayed, his step was tottering, he was broken physically, and constantly under the care of two New York physicians, fearing he would not live to finish his administration. President Lincoln told him if he would only stay until the end of his term, he would give him a first-class mission abroad where he could recover his health in a mild climate. Very much delighted, the Governor announced to the people that he would not run for re-election, that he was going abroad on a first-class mission. The people and the political leaders realized full well, how much the increase of the peace-at-any-price party had been, how

many men had developed an idea of compromise, and that 75,000 loyal Pennsylvania voters were disfranchised in the army, saw the danger of trying to elect another leader against such conditions, as well as the impression on the country. And in spite of the Governor's statement he was re-nominated. His wife pleaded with him in tears to not accept the nomination, telling him he would certainly die if he attempted it. His reply was, "Other men are dying for this cause and why not I?" At which Mrs. Curtin dried her tears, came to the support of her husband and assisted him all she could during the campaign. He was elected by a 15,000 majority. He was unable to prepare his inaugural address. It was written by Colonel McClure in Chambersburg. He was just able to deliver it on the platform and to be assisted to his residence, where he was constantly under the care of his physicians until they decided that to save his life, he must be taken south to Cuba. President Lincoln had Secretary Wells of the Navy, send a war vessel to Philadelphia, Governor Curtin was carrier on board on a cot, and under strong convoy the boat sailed out on a hostile sea, and the people of Pennsylvania did not know whether their governor had died on Delaware Bay, or on the sea, or had been landed in Cuba safely.

In the meantime, the speaker of the Senate who had been elected to serve during the recess reported to Harrisburg promptly to perform such duties as would come to him should anything happen to the governor. He saw the change the election had made in the complexion of the Legislature and of the Senate. He saw that great loyal men had lost their seats and many men for compromise had taken their places. He saw that the two great parties in the Senate were almost equally divided, on the one side seventeen senators and on the other sixteen, and at that time the news came from the Shenandoah Valley that one of those seventeen senators had been captured by the enemy at Winchester, and was a prisoner of war in Libby. Major White, a loyal son of Indiana County, had been elected Senator while he was in the service and had almost immediately been captured. All efforts to exchange him were without avail.

This was the condition confronting the representative of the Governor, Speaker of the Senate, when the Senate con-

vened. To have followed the old custom of sitting down and looking at an empty chair, and having the Clerk ask for an election, would be impossible. There were sixteen of each party present, and had word of the Governor's death, reached the Senate, there would have been no one to take his place. Realizing this, the Speaker went on to the platform and said. "Gentlemen, considering the conditions confronting us, our Governor, as you know, in a state of health which may at any moment bring to us the sad intelligence of his death, an equal number of both parties on the floor in front of me, a great war raging—under these conditions I consider it my duty to depart from the custom of leaving the Chair, but to remain your Speaker until my successor is elected, and in the event of a tie vote, to perform such duties for the Governor as may come to me to perform, and to succeed him as Governor in case the sad news of his death reaches us. I sincerely trust that you will hasten to an agreement in electing my successor, and relieve me from this most embarrassing position. I have all along believed that this idea of the Speaker leaving his chair before his successor was elected, had no being in point of law, nor according to the Constitution. The time has come when it should be corrected, and I hope you will proceed at once to the election of my successor. Is it your wish to enter into an election at this time?" There were sixteen Nos and sixteen Ayes, and the great deadlock started. All motions were met with sixteen Nos and sixteen Ayes. All efforts were made without avail and the days went into weeks and the weeks into months, and the storm raged on the floor, and around the speaker, who with perfect confidence in the legality of his position, remained undisturbed at his post.

In the meantime Senator White in Libby Prison came across a newspaper printed on wall paper, a copy of which I hold in my hand, in which there was the statement that the Senate of Pennsylvania was locked and the key was in Libby Prison. He proposed to unlock it. Talking to his fellow-prisoners, they all agreed that if any exchange should be ordered and any one of them selected, they would give their place to him, knowing that he never would be allowed to be exchanged. Finally an exchange of doctors was ordered, and Dr. William S. Hosick, of the North Side, Pittsburgh,

then a prisoner of war, agreed to have Major White take his place, and taking a dose of medicine which he knew would make him violently ill at the time the prisoners were to fall in. White fell into Dr. Hosick's place and left the prison, was put on board a boat on the James River, taken down to City Point where he saw the American flag flying, just as a Confederate officer signaled to them from the bank and came aboard, announcing that he had received intelligence that a man not entitled to exchange was among the prisoners to be exchanged, and if he did not make himself known at once, no exchange would be made. White promptly stepped forward, declared himself as being the one, was put in irons and sent below, taken back to Richmond, put in prison in the dungeon. The disappointment and his long imprisonment so broke him down that he nearly went wild, he rapped on the floor calling to the prisoners above that if he did not hear their voices, he would go crazy. They pulled up a board and talked to him, assured him that he was entirely too valuable to be killed. If he should be executed, that would break the deadlock in the Pennsylvania Senate.

Then he decided that the thing to do was secretly to resign if he could get a resignation secretly out of prison. Dr. Hosick came forward again and supplied him with some paper. He wrote a resignation to the Speaker of the Senate. I have a copy here, which was concealed under the back of the binding of a Bible, and another letter to his father, which was concealed inside the body of a large brass button, then worn on the blouse. Dr. Hosick, his companion, having been exchanged, was exchanged and left the prison soon after, with the Bible in his hand, and the button on his blouse, reached the Union lines and immediately made his way to Indiana, delivered his letter to Judge White, the father of the Major. He immediately sent the resignation to Harrisburg where it was accepted as the official resignation of the Senator from Indiana. An election ordered and held. Dr. St. Clair was promptly elected in Major White's place, hurried to Harrisburg taking his seat the next morning. The motion that they proceed to an election was passed, the Speaker who had been the storm center for months, was promptly re-elected to succeed himself for the full term of the regular session, and so with the machinery repaired,

the crew at work, the same hand at the helm, our ship of State, steamed on through the storm, until, "the shouting and the tumult ceased, the Captains and the troops withdrew, but still stands. Thine ancient sacrifice, lest we forget, lest we forget."

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES

By

CAPTAIN JOHN H. NIEBAUM

(Continued from the October, 1921 number)

PART IV.
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF MEMBERS OF THE BLUES

Gen. Richard Butler, father of Captain James R. Butler was one of the most distinguished Pennsylvania officers of the Revolutionary Army, and the eldest of five brothers, designated by Washington as the "Five Butlers, a gallant band of Patriotic Brothers." Gen. Butler was in continuous service throughout the Revolutionary war, part of the time as lieutenant colonel of Morgan's famous rifle regiment. He distinguished himself at Saratoga and Monmouth and led one of the two storming parties at the taking of Stony Point. He was present with his regiment in the operations on the James River and at the capture of Cornwallis. He was second in command under St. Clair in his expedition against the Indians in 1791, and was killed in the disastrous fight on the Miami River on the 4th of November of that year.

Capt. James R. Butler, who commanded the Pittsburgh Blues in the War of 1812, was a son of Gen. Richard Butler and was born in the old log house on Marbury Street. When his Company was about to start on its long wilderness march to the Wabash country he took it along Marbury Street, where his aged mother was still living, and calling a halt there, walked up the steps to the door, where she was standing, to bid her farewell. On leaving her she said in a clear voice, words which were distinctly heard and long remembered by the men:

"My son, remember, that you are a Butler. Keep that name ever in honor. Farewell, God Bless you"!

In 1810 Captain Butler was a member of the firm of Bean & Butler in the warehouse and commission business on Front, between Wood and Market streets. On May 7, 1812,

he became a member of Brown, Barker & Butler, dealers in hardware, and was elected Captain of the Eagle Fire Company. Later he became custodian of the Allegheny U. S. Arsenal and held that position for a long period. He was of commanding figure and distinguished appearance, usually wearing a long military cloak in season. He took an active interest in all civil and public affairs; was a member of the first City Council of Pittsburgh, elected July 2, 1816; also a director of the Bank of Pittsburgh in 1819. In 1820 he was one of the executors of the estate of General O'Hara, deceased.

February 21, 1821, he was appointed prothonotary of Allegheny county. In 1826 he was captain of the Pittsburgh Light Artillery, resigning February, 1830. His active and useful life closed April 30, 1842, in the Allegheny Arsenal, of which he had been appointed military storekeeper by President Monroe. His body was interred in the Trinity Church burying ground. The *Morning Chronicle* of April 30, 1842, says Col. Trovillo ordered out the uniformed Pittsburgh Battalion of Pennsylvania Militia for the funeral. The line marched to Trinity Churchyard in the following order: Nine survivors of the Pittsburg Blues, Irish Greens, Allegheny Fencibles, Jackson Blues, Duquesne Greys, Allegheny Light Cavalry, Washington Guards, Jackson Guards, German Guards, and Artillery, U. S. A.

The pall bearers (old Pittsburgh Blues) were Col. E. Trovillo, John Park, Major N. Patterson, John D. Davis, John Davis, E. F. Pratt, Capt. Willock and Geo. V. Robinson. There were 104 carriages, and citizens on foot, and horsemen. All survivors, with one exception, attended the funeral. Masses of people assembled all along the route of march.

Col. Butler was an unobtrusive character and fully appreciated, by those that knew him, for every trait that enobles American character. Seldom has the greensward covered a more exemplary one.

First Lieutenant Mathew J. Magee made a trip home on official business on January 13, 1813, and carried letters and packages back to the boys. He was an expert tactician and drill master. Commanded the Pittsburgh Blues in part of the fighting at Fort Meigs during the temporary illness

at the post of Captain Butler. After returning from active service he joined the regulars and was commissioned captain and major in the Fourth U. S. Rifle Regiment, and was in charge of the recruiting rendezvous at Pittsburgh. His death occurred in 1826.

Ensign James Irwin was the only son of Colonel John Irwin. After serving one year with the Blues in the Northwestern Army he organized the second company of Pittsburgh Blues and started for Baltimore with a company of 70 volunteers for service in the east. They were on the march about one week when they were recalled, their services not being needed. He died January 7, 1818, mourned by a host of friends and was buried with military honors in the First Presbyterian burial ground.

First Sergeant Elijah Trovillo after the war was a colonel of Pennsylvania militia. He was the soldier of whom it is written that he kept on cooking his meal, while an Indian in a tree outside the lines at Fort Meigs kept peppering away at him with his gun, but without effect. This was certainly a brave but foolish act. April 23, 1819, Trovillo was appointed paymaster of the 28th Regt. P. M. January 8, 1824, he was captain of the City Guards. May 28, 1834, was colonel commanding the Pittsburgh Legion, which consisted of a uniformed battalion of Pittsburgh volunteer militia.

Second Sergeant Isaac Williams was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813.

Third Sergeant John Willock was wounded at Fort Meigs May 9, 1813. He became a major in the Pennsylvania militia in 1821.

Fourth Sergeant George Haven was of the business firm of Irwin & Haven, with a store located at Market & Diamond streets. He also had a hat store later.

First Corporal Nathaniel Patterson became a major in the 28th Regiment Pennsylvania militia. Was major and Brigade Inspector in 1821. His son, John W. Patterson, served during the Mexican War in the Jackson Blues. Later joined the Washington Infantry, in 1855, and was killed while Colonel of the 102nd Pennsylvania Infantry in the battle of the Wilderness, 1864.

Third Corporal Samuel Elliott was wounded at Mississineway Dec. 18, 1812.

Fourth Corporal Israel B. Reed was wounded at Mississineway Dec. 18, 1812.

Daniel C. Boss was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813.

Isaac Chess was wounded at Mississineway December 18, 1912.

Thomas Dobbins was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813.

John D. Davis was an auctioneer in Pittsburgh after returning from service.

Joseph Dodd was a native of Massachusetts. Wounded at Mississineway. Died at Fort Meigs June 18, 1813. He had endeared himself to a large circle of friends during his residence of several years in Pittsburgh by his cheerful manners and affable deportment. His remains were buried at Fort Meigs.

Corporal Samuel Elliott was wounded at Mississineway December 18 1812.

John Francis was killed at Mississineway December 18, 1812.

Samuel Graham died September 25, 1815, in Pittsburgh, aged 29 years. Was buried with military honors by the Pittsburgh Blues. He had conducted himself as a soldier and a man, in active service in scenes of difficulty and danger.

Oliver McKee was wounded at Fort Meigs May 28, 1813. Died next day.

Robert McNeal, last survivor of the Pittsburgh Blues in service in 1812-1813, died in Pittsburgh in 1884.

James Newman, promoted to Sergeant while in service, was killed at Fort Meigs May 5, 1913.

Pressley J. Neville was promoted to sergeant while in service.

John Park was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813. He was a member of the firm of Smith & Park, watchmakers and silversmiths.

John Pollard was born in Virginia, near Richmond, in 1789. He sprained an ankle during the fight at Fort Meigs but never had a pension. Reenlisted in 1814. Commissioned Captain. Detailed to carry ammunition and supplies from Pittsburgh to General Jackson at New Orleans via the rivers

on keelboats. Returned on foot with several of his men, the trip taking three months, carrying their guns and subsisting largely on game. He died in 1832. He was a kind, generous and provident father and husband, patriotic, and a leader without arrogance.

Charles Pentland, author of the diary giving the exact daily movements of the Blues, making the most valuable record of the company's active service, was a son of Major Ephriam Pentland, one of the most prominent public men of the time in Pittsburgh and the state. He died in 1833.

Edward F. Pratt became a captain in the Pennsylvania militia after his service in the Northwestern campaign.

William Richardson was killed at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813.

Chas. Wahrendorf was wounded at Fort Meigs May 5, 1813. Promoted to quartermaster sergeant in service. Was merchant in Pittsburgh and advertised staple and fancy goods, dry goods, jewelry and hardware, imported from Germany after a trip to Europe. Moved to St. Louis, where he engaged in business. He died Sept. 4, 1831. He was a native of Hanover, Germany. The survivors of the Blues held a meeting in Pittsburgh. Capt. Butler presided and passed resolutions of sympathy to Wahrendorff's family, and resolved to wear crepe on the left arm for 30 days.

George S. Wilkins promoted May, 1813.

LINES ON THE DEATH OF JAMES NEWMAN

(*These lines, on the death of Jas. Newman, of the Pittsburgh Blues were found in an old school book by N. Vernon, Frederick City, Md.*)

Behold yon band whose lightning gleams afar;
'Tis Butler's corps, so lately crowned with fame;
By Freedom roused they bravely lead the war,
And pluck the honors of a spotless name
On Maumee's banks they met their steel clad foes,
Loud shouts proclaim the contest now begun;
With bayonets fixed they front to front oppose,
Whilst clouds of smoke obscure the distant sun.

* * * * * * *

Curst war away! Let peace return once more;
Come, gentle peace, we'll meet thy fond embrace;
Thou hast the means our blessings to restore,
And raise again the smile on beauty's face.

The following poem was found among old papers of the Ferree family, and credited to Jacob Ferree Jr. aged 18 years by Cora A. Weber Lindsay, a descendant of the Ferree's. Colonel Joel Ferree commanded the First Pennsylvania regiment and Captain Jeremiah Ferree had command of a company in the same infantry regiment in the northwestern army of General Harrison and served in the same outfit with the Pittsburgh Blues

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES.

By JACOB FERREE, JR.

Farewell peace! Another crisis
  Calls us to the last appeal,
Made when monarchs and their vices
Leave no argument but steel.
When injustice and oppression,
  Dare avow the tyrant's plea
Who would recommend submission?
  Virtue bids us to be free.

History spreads her flag before us,
  Time enrolls her ample scroll,
Truth unfolds to assure us,
  States united ne'er will fall.
See in annals, Greek and Roman,
  What immortal deeds we find,
When those gallant sons of freemen
  In their country's cause combine.

Sons of freemen have descended
  From a race of heroes tried;
To preserve our Independence,
  Let all Europe be defied,
Let not all the world united
  Rob us of our sacred right.
Every patriot's heart delighted,
  In this country's call to fight.

Come then, war! With hearts elated
  To thy standard we will fly,
Every bosom animated,
  Either to live free or die.
May the wretch that shrinks from duty
  Or deserts the glorious strife
Never know the smile of beauty,
  Or the blessing of a wife.

ERRATA.

In the April 1921 number, was published the roster of the Blues, and after the name of John Marcy it reads: "Discharged for disobedience." This should read "Discharged for disability."

LIST OF REFERENCES AND NOTES.

Pittsburgh Papers—*Gazette, Mercury, Tree of Liberty, Commonwealth, Morning Chronicle.*

Pennsylvania Archives.

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Memoirs of *Western Pennsylvania Historical Society.*

"Old Westmoreland" (Edgar W. Hassler).

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"Hazard's Register Pennsylvania History."

"Pennsylvania Colonial and Federal" (Jenkins).

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Chas. W. Dahlinger.

George T. Fleming.

THE END.

NOTES AND QUERIES

REGARDING THE SALE OF CERTAIN PROPERTIES BELONGING TO FORT PITT.

An interesting communication was received a short time ago from Edmund Hayes Bell of Washington, D. C., relating to the various items of property belonging to Fort Pitt and sold by the British upon its abandonment by them, the matter being recalled to the writer's mind by reading the article on Fort Pitt, recently published in this magazine. Mr. Bell's letter inclosing a number of papers refered to there is dated May 22, 1922, and is printed in full herewith. The papers follow:

I have been interested in the History of Fort Pitt which has lately been published in your magazine. Perhaps the most important Pennsylvanian who had some connection with Fort Pitt was General William Thompson, and if the people who are looking for further facts concerning the Fort will search for the correspondence of General Thompson I am sure they will find in it a chapter of Fort Pitt history as yet unwritten. I am inclosing herewith copies of some papers relating to the Fort. The identity of the William Thompson who is recorded as joint purchaser with Alexander Ross from the British Government seems to have been unknown to your historian; also the fact that Dr. Edward Hand, Adjutant General of the Continental Army, was party to the purchase. It is true, Alexander Ross, a Scotchman born and closely associated with Lord Dunmore, and never anything but a British subject, fled from Pittsburgh in the summer of 1776, first to New Orleans by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, then to Pensacola, Florida, and from that port to London, and lost his large American property by so doing; but there never was any question of the loyalty to the revolting American Colonies of General William Thompson and Edward Hand, and their interest in Fort Pitt could not possibly have been jeopardized by the actions of Alexander Ross. Few of the patriots made more sacrifices than Thompson who most unfortunately was made a prisoner by the British at the battle of Three Rivers, near Quebec, in June 1776 and was not exchanged until 1780. He died at his home near Carlisle, Pennsylvania, September 3rd, 1781, a victim of the hardships he had endured, universally regretted as a brave soldier and a sincere patriot. I also inclose copy of Washington's letter to General Thompson, in March 1776, congratulating him on his promotion.

Pennsylvania should take just pride in this now almost forgotten soldier, for he was the first colonel of the famous regiment of riflemen, raised in Pennsylvania in the summer of 1775 to join Washington's Army before Boston. Thompson received the first colonel's commission issued by the United States and his regiment became the first regiment of the American Army on the organization of the Continental Line on January 1st, 1776. They were the first troops

from any of the Colonies south of New England to respond to the call of the Continental Congress. George Thompson, General Thompson's eldest son, who studied law with Judge Jasper Yeates at Lancaster, was one of the first judges of the Court of Allegheny County, appointed February 26th, 1796, and died a judge on your bench, January 12th, 1807. * His second son, Capt. Robert Thompson, a soldier like his father, was wounded at St. Clair's defeat and participated in Wayne's victory over the Indians. He resigned from the Army in 1799 and died a few years later at Natchez, Mississippi. I may find more facts concerning Fort Pitt in the Thompson papers in my possession, in which case will be glad to advise you.

Letters from General Washington at Cambridge, Mass., to General William Thompson, at New York, dated March 27th, 1776.
Sir:

Lord Sterling, in his letter of the 20th instant, has informed me of your arrival at New York to take command of the Army there. I take this opportunity of congratulating you on your promotion, and am vastly pleased that the Congress have anticipated my application in your favor, which was dated the 7th instant. I have now to inform you that the fleet have, within a few hours, left Nantucket Road and on the morrow another brigade will march from here under the command of General Sullivan; very soon, if nothing occurs I cannot at present foresee.

I am, with great regard, Sir,
Your most humble servant,
George Washington.

To
General Thompson.

P. S.—General Putnam will set off tomorrow or next day, and if General Schuyler is absent, will take command of the troops.

I do hereby acknowledge that Doctor Edward Hand of Lancaster, in the Province of Pennsylvania, is equally concerned with Alexander Ross, Esq. of Pittsburgh in said Province and myself in the purchase of the ruins of Fort Pitt and its dependancies, the brick Redoubt near the town of Pittsburgh and the wood redoubts that stood on the Allegheny River only excepted. As witness my hand at the Continental Camp, near Cambridge, the twenty-first day of August A. D., 1775.

(Signed) Wm. Thompson.

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* Upon the reorganization of the Pennsylvania courts under the constitution of 1790, Allegheny County became attached to the Fifth Judicial District, consisting of Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington and Allegheny counties. Alexander Addison was the first President Judge continuing as such until his removal by impeachment on January 27, 1803. He was succeeded by Judge Samuel Roberts who held the office until his death on December 13, 1820. George Thompson, although a lawyer, having been among the first nine men to be admitted to the Allegheny County bar, was one of the lay associate judges for this county .

Alexander Ross, Pittsburgh, to William Thompson, Carlisle.
Pittsburgh, November 24th, 1772.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 13th instant by Mr. Spear, I have just now received, and I am sorry to find you are prevented from coming here this winter. Your not being able to attend at the demolishing of the Fort has been of great loss to us, as it was impossible for me to give the necessary attendance, as I was so much engaged with settling my own and the contractors affairs—however, notwithstanding all that has been plundered from us, I hope there will be enough secured to make the Bargain worth our whiles.

I cannot suppose it's in Capt. St. Clairs power to prevent our Bargain taking place; at any rate, we will not take his word for it. The Governor's House is demolished which will be something considerable to us, and removes the object St. Clair had in view; which was to get a grant of that. If it had been left stand'g Colo. Croghen wou'd have had it, as it was the Generals orders, that he should have the best appartments in the Fort. I have picketted in a yard in order to Secure the Plank & Scantling, and I shall when I leave this, (which by the bye, I cannot now say when that will be) give the charge of everything to my clerk, who is extremely careful.

I have done everything in my power to preserve our Property, and I shall be most confoundedly disappointed, if I am obliged to give it up. The words appurtenances are not mentioned in the Bill of Sale, but I have the pleasure to inform you, that I have purchas'd on our accounts all the Gardens & Orchard &c. for £35. which I think a good bargain altho' the title is rather———— but the Improvements & the time they have had possession constitutes in my opinion a very good right—at any rate I did it with a good intention, and I hope you will approve of it. I expect you will write me, & let me know the success of St. Clairs negotiation. I hear Galbraith is gone off, but I hope you have secured the money in Mr. Blains hand, but on this subject you are silent. I beg my most afft. compliments to Mrs. Thompson. Remember me to the young ones, and assure yourself that I sincerely am Dr. Sir,

Your afft. Friend
Alexander Ross.

P.S.—If Mr. Andrew Ross is with you, Please make my Compliments to him.

Your friend Sample declares that you shall not rebuild your Redoubt, and will not suffer any workman to work upon it—you will therefore no doubt advise me how to act in this affair.

I do hereby certify that I was under the Necessity of taking Possession of Fort Pitt & Sundry other Materials, the property of Alexander Ross and William Thompson as per within account, applying them for the Use and Service of The Colony of Virginia, and that Major Thomas Smallman & Mr. John Gibson were appointed and Qualified according to Law to Value the same.

Given under my hand at Fort Dunmore this 22nd day of September 1774.

(Signed) John Connelly.
Commanding.

The Colony of Virginia to Alexander Ross and William Thompson for Sundries viz.

	£	s	d
1244160 Bricks @ 18 /	1120		
Sundry Bricks and Stones remaining in the Governors House	77		
Sundry Square and Cut Stones in the Walls of the Fort	25		
The above articles ascertained and estimated by James Foster and Daniel Brown Masons and bricklayers on oath			
2006 Picketts @ 60/ per hundred	60	15	
The quantity ascertained by William Richmond George 6.................. and Daniel Brown Senr. on oath			
4250 feet of walnut Scantling @ 20/ per hundred	42	10	
499 feet of Plank @ 12 / per ditto	3		
16 Double Frames of Barrack rooms @ £ 6.	96		
23 80 feet of Square Timber @ 7/6 pr hund			
a square Loghouse 50 feet long	50		
The above articles apprized and ascertained by William Richmond and John Collins Carpenters on oath			
2 Ridoubts, 8 stacks of Chimneys together with bricks for repairing some breaches in the Forts			
Apprized and ascertained by James Fowler and Nathaniel Hoaks Bricklayers &c on oath			
	£ 1649	17	2

Augusta County We the subscribers being duly appointed and sworn according to Law to Examine and Ascertain the property of Messrs Alexander Ross and William Thompson taken for the use of the Colony of Virginia Do Hereby Certify that upon the strictest Enquiry and an Examination into every particular we do find the above amount to be just and true amounting to Seventeen hundred and ninety six pounds, eighteen shillings and eleven pence, Virginia Currency.

Witness our hands this 22nd September 1774
(Signed) John Gibson
Thos. Smallman

Winchester 20th October 1775
The within account is a true Copy from the originals Delivered to the Commissions. Examd pr Evans Williams Clark to the Commisrs for settling the Expense of the late Expedition agnst the Indians and Lord Dunmore.

Frederick County This day George Boots of lawful age before the Commissioners appointed By the Honorable the Assembly & Convention for Settling the Militia accts of the late Expidition Under Lord Dunmore & being Sworn upon the Holy Evangelists deposeth & Sayeth that Alexdr Ross of Fort Pitt Showed him a bill of Sale from Major Edmonston who this deponant Understood

Commanded at Fort Pitt the time the Sale was made to Alexdr Ross & William Thompson for all the Ruins of Fort Pitt & its Appendages for a Valuable consideration after the Said Fort was dismantled and Evacuated by the Kings Troops. And the said Alexdr Ross shewed this deponent a letter from Col. Robinson who this deponent was informed was the Barrack Master Genl. for America which letter seemed to be in answer to one written by the said Ross to the said Col. Robinson when he informed him it was always customary to Sell the Ruins of Forts whenever they were Evacuated by the Kings Troops—that the King was never ajudged a Vicious intruder but had a Right to Sell the Ruins of Forts whenever left by his Troops & therefore his purchase was good, this deponent further saith that he was informed at Fort Pitt that a Sergeant and four privates were left at Fort Pitt for what purpose this deponent knoweth not & that they were very lately gone to join their Regiment

(signed) Geo. Boots

Sworn before me this 23rd Day of October 1775

(signed) Isaac Hite

Fred k County this day came Dorsey Penticost of lawful age before the Commrs appointed by the Honbl Assembly & Convention for Settling the Accts of the late Expedition under Lord Dunmore & being Sworn upon the Holy Evangelists deposeth and sayeth That he saw a letter from Genl Gage dated in the winter of 1772 which seemed to be an answer to a Remonstrance from the inhabitants of Fort Pitt desiring to purchase the Ruins of Fort Pitt wherein he informed them that he had recd a return from Major Edmonston informing him he had sold the Premises to Alexander Ross and William Thompson which sale was Good & by his orders and the Deponent further say there was a Corp & three men left at Fort Pitt who he was informed by Doctr Edward Hand Surgeon of the said Regiment were left to take care of the Boats, Batoes & c.

(Signed) Dorsey Penticost

Sworn before me this 23d of Octo 1775

The within Depositions taken in the presence of the Commissioners

(Signed) Richard Lee, Chairman.

CANADA
NOUVELLE YORK
JERSEY
PENSILVANIE
CHODANONS dont les Habitations s'étendent vers l'Oyo
Montagnes
Allegany
Marque des Villages habités par les Sauvages.
Apalaches
Mohocamac
Candonsa
Solocka
Matchasaung
Montagnes
Conestoga
Branche de l'Ouest
des Delawares
Villages
Wioming
Branche de l'Est
Branche de l'Est
Ninisink
COMTÉ DE NORTHAMPTION
Guadenhutten
Onolopona
Shamokin
Apalaches
Branche de l'Ouest
Nazareth
Easton
Philisburg
Bethlem
Durham
R. de Delaware
Bac Guillaume
COMTÉ DE BUKIN
Wright
Trenton
R. Neschamen
COMTÉ DE Vallée de Juniata
CUMBERLAND
R. de Juniata
Vallée de Sheermans
Ft. Granville
Vallée de Tuscarara
Montagnes
Riv. de Shuylkill
COMTÉ Tupelohokin
Reading
Gué de Carlisle
Great Cove
DE BERKS
15
8
0
45
30
7
9
41

MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA IN 1767

From *Histoire Naturelle Et Politique De La Pennsylvanie Et De L' Establissement Des Quakers Dans Cette Contree*

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// WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 5 No. 4 OCTOBER, 1922 Price 75 cents

ANNOUNCEMENT

This number completes the fifth volume of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine. The magazine has now attained a front rank among historical periodicals. Nearly all the leading public libraries of the United States are among its subscribers, and practically all the most prominent historical societies which publish historical magazines of their own, are on its exchange list. The list of local subscribers is constantly increasing.

The editor of the magazine, with the cooperation of the two associate editors, Messrs. John P. Cowan and John S. Ritenour, has conducted the magazine from the beginning. To the editor this has been a labor of love in which he found great pleasure, notwithstanding the fact that considerable work was involved.

The magazine being now on a sound footing and with an assured future, the editor, at the beginning of this summer concluded that it was time for him to retire from his position and shift the burden of conducting the magazine upon other shoulders, in order that he might be able to devote

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.

more time to his private affairs. Accordingly, on June 16th, he sent his resignation to the President of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, enclosing a copy to the Chairman of the Publication Committee. The resignation was to take effect at the end of the present year and has been accepted. Since that time Alfred Proctor James has been selected as editor of the magazine. Mr. James is the assistant professor of history and acting head of the Department of History of the University of Pittsburgh, and has been connected with the institution for the last five years.

The Historical Society is to be congratulated on having secured a man so well qualified for the position to which he has been elected. He is a Virginian by birth and was graduated with the degree of A. B. from Randolph-Macon College at Ashland, Virginia. Having secured a Rhodes Scholarship he went to England and studied in the University of Oxford, specializing in history and receiving the degree of B. A. Subsequently he also received the degree of M. A. from Oxford, and still later the degree of A. M. from the University of Chicago. Before coming to Pittsburgh he taught in the Ohio Wesleyan University and in the University of Arkansas. He has done considerable writing on historical subjects, and many of his articles have appeared in current magazines.

The papers which students of the University of Pittsburgh read at the last two annual University Evenings of the Historical Society, some of which have appeared in the magazine, were prepared under the direction of Mr. James and amply sustain his reputation as an historical student of the first rank as well as a man of much literary ability. With this gentleman at the head of the magazine, and with the cooperation of the two associate editors, the magazine will not only retain its present position in the historical world, but will attain an even higher rank. May every success attend the efforts of the new régime!

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

THE COLONISTS OF WILLIAM PENN

By

MARCIA B. BREADY

Like Massachusetts and Virginia, Pennsylvania originated in England. Penn was comparatively late, however, and at his coming Swedes had been on the Delaware for forty years, nominally controlled by a few Dutch from Manhattan, in forts. The Welsh had bought land from Penn while both parties were still on the other side of the water, and were in possession on the Schuylkill two months before he landed at the Swedish town of Uplands, now Chester. From them he bought the site of Philadelphia. At Penn's invitation, many Germans and Swiss from the Upper Rhine followed him the next year, 1683, accompanied by some Hollanders and some Huguenots. Scotch in great numbers came from Ulster County, Ireland, where King James I. had placed them, as their hundred year leases expired.

This was reproduced in an area smaller than one quarter of Ireland, a diminutive Europe of the North. Persecution sent these colonists, and liberty of worship bound them together. William and John Penn furnished the government, together with their provincial council, and where the majority were Quakers, there was little friction. Therefore in the seventy-four years between the grant to Penn and the French and Indian War, there was wonderful development of agriculture, commerce, manufacture and scientific research.

William Penn, who had brought this miscellaneous population into union rather than unity, was a man in whom also "the elements were mixed". His father had been an admiral whose service to Cromwell and Charles II. had been equally good. He inclined toward royalty, however, and foreseeing the Restoration, offered his fleet, after taking Jamaica, to the King, then in exile. Having no place to keep a fleet, Charles declined but remained grateful. The admiral,

ambitious for his son, was shocked to find William affected by Quaker preaching, while at Oxford. A tour in France was prescribed and recalled worldly taste, especially in clothes. On again hearing preaching, William's religious feeling returned. This time, he was sent to the Irish court, and helped subdue a disturbance. Here the only portrait of the great Quaker was painted. He wore armor and the long hair of a Cavalier. Exposed to preaching once more, he joined the sect, and the admiral disowned him for the last time.

Penn alternately preached and attended court. He was that difficult combination, a Quaker courtier. Often cast into jail, he nevertheless obtained, because of a debt to his father, the great gift of Pennsylvania. Religious liberty was with him a principle, and his laws were mild. Only two crimes were capital and graded punishments were then first introduced.

Penn's colonists were Quakers, but many Church of England people came. Together they built up the "green country town" like those in England. English life in more republican form was reproduced, for the Philadelphia grandfathers were then in the making. Prosperity begot vast extravagance in dress and entertainment. A lady wore brocade or taffeta with hair piled mountain high. A gentleman in a gold laced cocked hat, pointed shoes and with cuffs leaded, took up half the side-walk, as he swung his cane and scraped his foot in bowing. Markets were so abundant that gourmandizing was inevitable at the dinners given in leisurely fashion at any hour of the afternoon, and at suppers in public houses. Needless to say, Madeira flowed copiously. In English fashion, the Philadelphians built summer homes in the suburbs. Four of these still remain, Woodland, Mount Pleasant, Stenton and Cliveden. Twenty-seven of them were destroyed in the Revolutionary War.

The Welsh Barony lay just west of Philadelphia. Its oldest church is eight miles from the City Hall. Seventeen families came in the Mayflower of the Welsh, and the monthly meetings made their laws. Soon county lines were carried through their tract, bringing a sharp protest. They had schools as well as churches and preserved their language for fifty years when they were absorbed into the English. A

curious Welsh pedigree of one hundred and ten generations carries their leader, John ap Thomas through Prince Medoe, ap Owain, Merion, Brute discoverer of Britain, Aeneas the Trojan, Jupiter, Saturn, Javan, Japhath, Noah, Lamach, Methusalah, Enos, Seth and Adam to God.

The first comers were a clan, had no surnames and were descendents of kings and bards. They thought medicine and agriculture the most honorable employments, and the phrase "a Welsh cousin" carried even to the famous forty-second degree, shows their warmth of heart toward kindred. Thomas Buchanan Read's "The Wagoner of the Alleganies" does justice to these Welsh of the Schuylkill and Chester valleys.

Penn himself called the attention of Germans to his "Holy Experiment" as he called Pennsylvania when he preached on the Rhine. His pamphlets on it in Dutch and German, were freely scattered in South Germany. At Crefeld and Kriegsheim, his friendship secured the highly cultured Pastorius as a colonist in Germantown, Pennsylvania. Kelpius with his forty mystics followed, and from their tower on Wissahicken Ridge watched through the telescope for the Last Day. Ephrata in Lancaster County was the outcome of these monks. Back in Switzerland, the Zwinglian was the state church, and when the followers of Memo Simon would not bear arms, they were put across the border into Germany. There Menonite Quakers became the second large company from that region to enter Pennsylvania.

The story of the Palatine appeals. The Palatinate on the Upper Rhine was a garden spot of earth, but the successive desolations of the Thirty Years' War, and the burning of the Province by order of Louis XIV, together with religious discrimination, fairly drove these farmers of thirty generations to cross the sea. So many of them came that by the time of the Revolution, they were one third of the population, a proportion they still hold. Vessels left Rotterdam. The fare was five pounds to eight pounds, but the Frankfort Company sold transportation for two pounds, and peas, oatmeal and beer for one pound. Dried beef, cheese and butter were added at Holland. The quantity indicated the long voyage, but the standard was seldom reached. Sometimes months instead of weeks were taken in the passage,

and winds were to be waited for. Food often ran short; one ship was at sea twenty-two weeks and one hundred out of one hundred and fifty died of hunger. Penn's own ship had thirty-six fatal cases of small pox, and after arrival, mortality was not far behind that at Plymouth. Hard hearted captains who found much profit in the trade overcrowded ships, and separated passengers from their sea-chests! Spanish privateers were feared, but the Germans sang their grand hymns! Count Zinzendorf of Saxony and his Moravians started community life in Bethlehem and Nazareth, and Christianized Indians in the Wyoming Valley, before Connecticut made her claim.

All these Germans took the unbroken forests, grubbed the stumps the first year and ploughed the second. By unceasing labor, they were soon prosperous. English county officials ruled them while they built their great barns, called "Swissens" from the overhanging second story, a story strong enough for a team to drive into. In Spring or Fall, five hundred of their famed Conestoga wagons, red of running gear, blue of body, with white cover might be seen on the road from Bedford or from Reading, carrying two or three thousand pounds each, of provisions. Four or six horses drew a wagon, and arranged on each horse's collar was an arch of bells that chimed, small trebles on the leaders, big basses on the wheel horses.

To their own tongue the Germans clung, and they formed a dialect of the Frankish and Allemanic sources whence they sprang. They had several printing presses and prepared their Bibles, hymn books and almanacs. Christopher Sauer and Peter Miller were their great publishers. To commit hymns to memory was their chief literary effort, and the almanac was their periodical. Two newspapers supplied such needs. A list of titles of almanacs in a Congressional Library publication shows how many more were printed in Pennsylvania than elsewhere, since she had seven hundred and fifty titles, New York three hundred, and Massachusetts five hundred and twenty-five.

In twenty-five years Lancaster became larger than inland cities of England. Here a Switzer invented a novelty of irrigation. Spring water was conducted into many small troughs on a hillside; stopping the water at the end would

cause it to overflow each trough, wetting the ground between it and the next. They loved flowers and their dooryards bloomed then, as now and in the old Palatinate. More important practically was their success with vegetables which soon supplied the tables of the Province. About their agriculture gathered all the superstitions of their ancient ancestors. Belief in the influence of stars on a new born child and of the moon on cereals and vegetables was a part of their being. The almanac marked the lucky or unlucky day for birth, for engagements and weddings. There too, it was learned that no planting must be done in the waning of the moon, but in the waxing. Onions must be planted when the horns of the moon were down, but beans and potatoes when the horns were up. Omens were abundant for death and for weather. Witches might interfere with butter-making. Horseshoes at the door might keep them out. Amulets, incantations and pow wows were in use. At a funeral a procession of one hundred or one hundred and fifty horseback riders followed. At the house, cake with hot rum punch and cider was offered. The marker for a grave was twelve by eighteen inches and laid flat upon the grave.

Of the Scotch Irish we learn somewhat from their travelling ministers, Presbyterians, of course, and the historian counts them by congregations, formed first in the three ports of landing, Lewes, Newcastle and Philadelphia. Near the Maryland line, and in the three lower counties, as Delaware was known, more churches were formed, and as thousand upon thousand came, many more congregations grew up in the West, across the Susquehanna. James Logan, secretary of the Province called them "bold and indigent strangers", who gave as an excuse when challenged for a title to land, that "we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly." Hanna says, however, that they were a tolerated class, exempt from quit-rents, by an ordinance of 1720, in consideration of their being a frontier people, as forming a cordon of defence around the non-fighting Quakers.

While in Ulster, the Scotch had grown very proud and self assertive; they were the favorites of the King, and they lorded it over "the mere Irish". But these haughty strangers were hated and harried by the wild Irish. Coming from such a quarrelsome state, the Scotch were bold and their

great number gave much alarm. They pushed their way into Manors reserved by the Penns, and they were rough to the Indians. A happy condition, however, is depicted in letters to Ulster. "It is an extraordinarily healthy country; land is worth only $3.50 an acre (be it noted that James Logan wrote that he had more trouble to settle five Irish families than fifty others!) The best ploughs in the world are here and the ground is soft. The country yields extraordinary increase: the summer is so warm that a shirt and linen drawer trousers, which are breeches and stockings in one, are enough. There are two fairs yearly, at Chester and Newcastle; and two markets weekly where merchants' goods are sold, and where all young men and women that want husbands and wives may be supplied."

Also, "I desire thee to send or bring me a hundred choice quills for my own use, and Sister Rachel desires thee to bring her some bits of silk for trash bags."

Pennsylvania began with those pietists who were disappointed in formal worship, and whose sufferings from war called for some emotional outlet, such as they found in the adult Bible classes. It embraced some vigorous colonists who objected to control by bishops and arch-bishops. There was some mingling of the blood of these groups, Teuton, Anglo-Saxon, Scot and Cambrian, but for the most part the English were in the eastern counties with the Welsh, the Germans next, while westward Germans and Scotch Irish divided the Province till they overflowed into Ohio and the Allegheny valley. The Wyoming tragedy belongs to the Revolutionary period, when as a whole Pennsylvania was second only to Virginia and Massachusetts in loyal devotion, even its old Cambrian blood of the Welsh stirring till Quakers formed themselves into "Associations."

AN EARLY ACCOUNT OF PENNSYLVANIA

On a recent visit to Paris, the editor of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, came into the possession of an interesting little volume treating of the Province of Pennsylvania in its early days. It is in French and is entitled, *Histoire Naturelle Et Politique De La Pennsylvanie Et De L' Establissement Des Quakers Dans Cette Contree.* The book is a translation from the German and was published in Paris in 1768. There is an introduction by the French editor in which he gives some of the authorities on which the work is based. Curiously enough neither in the introduction nor in the body of the book is there any reference to the still recent attempt of the French to obtain possession of what is now the western part of Pennsylvania. There is a complete index to the contents, something quite rare in books of this period. An invaluable feature of the work is a map of Pennsylvania, which so far as the writer knows, is the earliest map of the Province extant. A copy of the map is published herewith, and from this it will be observed that the westerly line of the Province, as given, extends only slightly beyond the Alleghany Mountains. That this was the approximate western boundary of Pennsylvania at that time is beyond question, the ownership of the land beyond that line being still doubtful. The sovereignty of this part of the country was in England, and English troops with the assistance of those from the contiguous colonies, defended the settlers from the attacks from the Indians. The claims to the land afterward asserted by both Virginia and Pennsylvania were still in abeyance.

THE POST-BOY'S SONG

By

FRANCES FULLER BARRITT

The night is dark and the way is long,
  And the clouds are flying fast;
The night-wind sings a dreary song,
  And the trees creak in the blast;
The moon is down in the tossing sea,
  And the stars shed not a ray;
The lightning flashes frightfully,
  But I must on my way.

Full many a hundred times have I
  Gone o'er it in the dark,
Till my faithful steeds can well descry
  Each long familiar mark:
Withal, should peril come to-night,
  God have us in his care!
For without help, and without light,
  The boldest well beware.

Like a shuttle thrown by the hand of fate,
  Forward and back I go:
Bearing a thread to the desolate
  To darken their web of woe;
And a brighter thread to the glad of heart,
  And a mingled one to all;
But the dark and the light I cannot part,
  Nor alter their hues at all.

Now on, my steeds! the lightning's flash
  An instant gilds our way;
But steady! by that dreadful crash
  The heavens seemed rent away.
Soho! here comes the blast anew,
  And a pelting flood of rain;
Steady! a sea seems bursting through
  A rift in some upper main.

'Tis a terrible night, a dreary hour,
  But who will remember to pray
That the care of the storm-controlling power
  May be over the post-boy's way?
The wayward wandered from his home,
  The sailor upon the sea,
Have prayers to bless them where they roam—
  Who thinketh to pray for me?

But the scene is changed! up rides the moon
  Like a ship upon the sea;
Now on my steeds! this glorious moon
  Of a night so dark shall be
A scene for us; toss high your heads
  And cheerily speed away;
We shall startle the sleepers in their beds
  Before the dawn of day

Like a shuttle thrown by the hand of fate
  Forward and back I go:
Bearing a thread to the desolate
  To darken their web of woe:
And a brighter thread to the glad of heart,
  And a mingled one for all;
But the dark and the light I cannot part,
  Nor alter their hues at all.

EDUCATION IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA 1850-1860

By

FLORENCE E. WARD*

The real growth, the absolute progress of civilization, the change from a frontier post, subject to Indian attack, through various gradations to a great country, from its early poverty to great prosperity, is best observed in the beginning and growth of the schools and the relative interest taken in them by the community.

There had been little progress since 1834, when the first school bill of Pennsylvania was put through, in the face of much opposition, by Thaddeus Stevens, who had come into the Legislature for the sole purpose of putting through the school bill.

The schools were single story log cabins with huge stone chimneys and fire places. Glass or greased paper admitted light. The door was held shut by a wooden latch to which a string was attached to lift it. Seats were made of split logs into which pegs were driven for legs. There were no backs to these and they were so high that the feet could not reach the floor. Desks were made of slabs supported by pins driven into the walls. The pens were made from quills by the teacher and the ink was made from berries.

One school house stood near a sugar tree. When the shadow of the school house reached the tree the teacher knew it was time to dismiss.

We read of one teacher who was considered very good. He was severe in his discipline but successful in beating what he did know into the heads of others. He was a great tobacco chewer and the floor around his seat was always besmeared.

The alphabet was the first thing taught. Then the pupil

*Read before the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society on June 1, 1920.

would go to words of few letters whose endings were the same. They would increase these words until at last they could "spell-off' the book. In Arithmetic there were no explanations made. The chief object was to get the question worked and put in a copy book. If you could not solve the question the teacher would work it for you but without an explanation. The New Testament was greatly used.

Twenty-six days constituted a month and six days a week. On Saturdays the catechism was taught and spelling matches were held. Each one tried to stay head the longest.

At the beginning of the decade of 1850-1860 little progress was seen. The school term was no longer and the teachers were no better paid and no better trained than before. This was partly due to the many nationalities making up the population of Pennsylvania. They had to be trained to the new system.

By 1852 many of the counties were holding institutes. The teachers of Allegheny county organized in 1848 and those of Washington county in 1850. These institutes usually met for one day. All who were interested would attend and take part in the discussions. These meetings aroused the attention and interest of the people. By the end of that year the system had come to such a state that the needed reform could be gotten through.

William Bigler who became Governor in 1852 was in favor of the reform of 1854 and used all his personal influence and the influence of his administration in its behalf. He signed the bill without any thought of his political future.

Francis Huges, one of the Secretaries of the Commonwealth, in his report gave the following as some of the defects in the prevalent system:

incompetent teachers
no power to enforce taxes or collection of them
want of corporate divisions
want of proper buildings.

The bill of 1854 was read in place in the Senate by Dr. Jonas R. McClintock of Allegheny County, Chairman of the Committee on Education. There was much opposition to the bill and it was passed with low majorities.

This law reorganized the system of public education. The township was made the unit of the system. The term

was increased to four months. Reading, writing, spelling, grammar, geography and arithmetic were made the statute subjects thus doubling the course in many districts. Grants to private and religious schools were prohibited. The offices of county superintendent for each county and of deputy superintendent of common schools were created. The directors with the aid of the teachers were to select the books. Separate schools for negroes and mulattos were to be established when there were twenty or more in a district. The last provision was repealed in 1881 but the schools continued.

A convention of the County Superintendents met in Harrisburg in September 1854. Thirty-six counties were represented. The grade and form of certificate that they adopted were practically the same as those of today. The provisional being granted to many and the permanent to few.

Many looked down upon the County Superintendents and wanted the provision of the law referring to them repealed. In many counties it became a political issue. Governor Bigler was not re-elected in 1855. Many thought that his successor, Governor Pollock, would go against the school law but in his message he said that he stood for the County Superintendents, better schools and normals for the training of teachers.

The County Superintendents were to be given a fair trial under Governor Pollock. This had not been done the previous year as many times low salaries kept efficient men from accepting the position. In other cases the county would put in a man who knew nothing whatsoever about education. The teachers objected to them on the grounds that they could not get a position if they were to be examined by these men; that they did not care for their visits and the remarks they made; that the men would put in personal friends.

The County Superintendents of Western Pennsylvania and their salaries for the first term were:

Allegheny	James M. Pryor	$1,000.
Armstrong	John Campbell	300.
Beaver	Thomas Nicholson	350.
Butler	Isaac Black	300.
Fayette	Joshua V. Gibbons	600.
Greene	John A. Gordon	262.50

Indiana	Sam P. Bollman	500.
Somerset	James Stutzman	400.
Washington	John L. Gow	1,000.

In 1852 the first number of the *Pennsylvania School Journal* was published. This became the educational magazine of the state. Also in this year the State Teachers' Association was organized at Harrisburg. The following year the *Tutor and Pupil*, a monthly journal, was published at Chambersburg. This was meant to be a stimulus for the young people.

In 1857 the office of State Superintendent was made a separate Department. Before this time it had been attached to the office of the Secretary of State. Also in this year the first provision for the education of teachers was made. The state was divided into twelve normal districts. Lancaster was the first district to open a normal school although there were small private and summer normals before this time. Superintendent Kerr of Allegheny County established a normal at Mansfield in 1855. In 1856 a summer normal was opened in Washington. In the summer of 1858 a normal was opened at Hillsboro which resulted in the Southwestern State Normal at California. The reason for the establishment of the normals, one man said, was "that there were more incompetents in schools than in any other profession. There are training schools for lawyers, doctors, preachers but anyone will do for a teacher."

Massachusetts led in the establishment of High Schools in the early fifties. The more progressive counties of Pennsylvania soon took them up. The people were still unused to paying taxes for education and they did not see the need of the schools so we can readily see that there was much opposition to these schools. In the *Pittsburgh Post* of 1856 appeared an editorial against the high taxes needed for the use of the High School. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* made the answer that all the taxes being paid under the heading of High School were not for the sole purpose of that building but for the other ward buildings as well. The *Gazette* hoped that the *Post* would correct this error in order that no one would become prejudiced against so good an institution. This shows the attitude of the newspapers toward education.

The High Schools were very rigid. Latin, Greek and

mathematics formed the chief subjects of the curriculum. The chief purpose of the High School at that time was to prepare for the entrance to one of the denominational colleges of the time.

Entrance to the Pittsburgh High School was given twice a year. The Central Board of Education gave an examination in spelling, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history and simple equations in algebra. The books used were the New Testament, McGuffy's and Osgood's Readers, Western Calculator, Davis, Ray and Greenleaf's Arithmetics, Smith's Geography and Atlas, Mitchell's, Monteith's and McNally's Geography, Reed and Kellog's Grammar, Goodrich's History. Those passing these examinations were admitted to the High School. The classes averaged twenty-five.

About this time the people of Greene county held a meeting denouncing the school law of 1854 and especially the County Superintendents. They declared the law to be unconstitutional; said it would increase government agents; that it taxed the poor to pay for the education of the rich. They added that if those who had passed this law had spent a few years in the schools they never would have passed it.

Not only were there county institutes which by the end of the decade lasted three and four days but there were also district institutes held in the school houses of various townships. Part of the program was given over to exercises by the pupils. These exercises were usually in music and an examination in the different branches taught. Allegheny and Washington, the two leading counties of Western Pennsylvania, brought lecturers from all over the United States to speak at these meetings.

At a meeting in Somerset township, Washington county, the following statements were brought out. "Only competent teachers and interested parents can bring good schools. Our motto is to be: What does the pupil really know about or understand, not what has he memorized? Teach the children to understand and see that they understand clearly everything taught."

At the various institutes such topics as these were discussed: The best method of teaching the common branches; moral attainments and knowledge of branches taught; co-

education of sexes; importance of the study of the American language; establishment of schools of arts, mines, etc.; analysis of sentences; women as teachers; the product of two negative factors is negative; popular errors in teaching; powers and duties of Principals of graded schools. It was recommended at these meetings that delegates be sent to the State Association meetings; that the same text books be used throughout the county; that the Bible be used for religious service. These topics show that the people were wide awake to the needs of the schools.

It was at this time that arrangements were made for Horace Mann, the great school worker, to lecture in Pittsburgh on the needs of the schools and their benefits.

One educator gave the following plans for the building of school houses. They should be built on a North, South, East and West plan with their greatest length North and South. This should be in a ratio of 6:4. The openings should be on the East, West and South. That would leave a long unbroken space on the North side for maps, blackboards or blackened walls at which a large class could work. The ceilings should be very high—at least twelve feet.

Another educator gave the following hints on education: There should be more home study. Rest and physical exercises should be given frequently. Have plenty of fresh air. Do not start children at four, five, and six as they are too young to do the work. The hours are too long. Establish libraries for teachers. There should be a person to stop the vice of being late and of being absent.

In 1859 the Western Pennsylvania Teacher's Association was to get the teachers of Western Pennsylvania into closer touch and cooperation with each other. It was also to show the educators of the East that those of the West were doing their part to make the schools a success.

From a State Report of that time we find that the school appropriation was $300,000.

Whole Number of Districts in State	1,632
Whole Number of Schools in State	10,469
Whole Number of Teachers in State	12,143
Whole Number of Scholars in State	539,024
Average salaries of male teachers per month	$22.29½
Average salaries of female teachers per month	$14.89½

Average length of term________________5 months, 10 days

It is interesting to note in the comparison of the salary between male and female teachers that the female teachers of New Brighton demanded the same salary as that given male teachers. Teachers in several of the other districts took up the matter but nothing came of it.

In addition to the public schools there were many private institutions and institutions of higher learning. The most important of these are the University of Pittsburgh which was established in 1787 under the name of Pittsburgh Academy. It is the oldest existing institution west of the Alleghanies. The purpose was to establish a school in Western Pennsylvania like the University of Pennsylvania. In 1819 the name was changed to Western University of Pennsylvania. In 1908 it received its present name.

In 1787 Washington Academy had its beginning with a gift of fifty pounds from Benjamin Franklin. In 1802 Jefferson Academy, an outgrowth of McMillan's Log Cabin, received its charter and the school was opened at Canonsburg. Both of these schools were kept up by the Presbyterian Church. After the Civil War on account of lack of funds the two schools were united under the name of Washington and Jefferson College. There was much dispute as to location. The citizens of Washington offered the college $50,000 if they would make that town their site. In 1869 the college opened at Washington.

The Female Seminary at Washington which was opened in 1838 was one of the most important of the girls' schools. The Female Seminary at Pittsburgh was another important school for girls.

Among the commercial schools were Duff's Mercantile College and the Iron City Commercial College.

Among the schools which were open then but do not exist today were: Florence Academy for ladies at Florence; Cross Creek Academy at West Alexander; Edgeworth Ladies in Pittsburgh. This was transferred to Braddock's field and later to Sewickley; Steubenville Female Seminary at Steubenville; Pleasant Hill Seminary at Pleasant Hill; Beaver Female Seminary at Beaver under the auspices and patronage of the Pittsburgh Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Greensburg Academy at Greensburg; Young

Ladies Seminary at New Brighton; Classical and Commercial School for boys at Sewickley under the name of the Sewickley Academy; Rev. Dr. Killikelly's Female Seminary at Kittanning for a limited number of young ladies. In the city of Pittsburgh there were several schools. Penn Institute was on Penn Street. An English and Classical Seminary was on Ferry and Liberty Streets. A select school for boys from 10 to 16 years of age was located on 6th and Grant just opposite the Court House. Allegheny Institute at the College Building was to take care of the education of the colored children. Professor Thompson's Female Seminary in Pittsburgh.

Perhaps the reason for so many small schools throughout Western Pennsylvania was the large number of different denominational sects settling here. It is interesting to contrast the course of study, length of term and expenses of the schools of that day with those of today. Among the branches taught were Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, mathematics, natural and moral science, arts, bookkeeping and a general education. In the girls' schools were taught Dead and Modern Languages, painting both oil and water, music, vocal and instrumental, English and mathematics. The term ran from ten to twenty-two weeks. The tuition and board ran from $25.00 to $75.00 for the general education. Language was an extra item, the dead being more expensive than the modern. Oil painting was twice as expensive as water coloring. Church attendance was compulsory and pew rent had to be paid. Some times laundry was included in the board, other times it was a separate item. In some cases the students had to furnish fuel for their rooms.

In 1855 a charter was given for the founding of a Farmer's High School which was to be located in Center County. This finally became known as State College. The school was established for the purpose of correcting the evil in so many of the other schools—i. e.—the low standard set upon manual labor. They were to experiment with and test seeds and find the best breed of stock for different purposes. The expenses after the debt had been cleared was to be $75.00 per year. Dead languages were not to be taught.

Let the value of our common schools never be underrated. The schools are the stronghold of American intelli-

gence. Their doors shall ever be open to all classes and ranks on an equal basis. Their doors shall always guard against Bolshevistic influences. It is by them that the intelligence and the power of our country is to be sustained.

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EARLIER LAWRENCEVILLE

By

REV. EDWARD M. McKEEVER, LL.D.*

The first mention of the district, in definite form, where Lawrenceville is located, I find in the late Monsignor Lambing's work, "Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese" (P25).

There we are told that an expedition, headed by Captains Peter Celeron, Knight of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, and a Frenchman, arrived at Shannopinstown, an Indian village, on the East side of the Allegheny River, or South Side as we call it, about two miles above the Forks, afterward known as the Point. Celeron has this entry in his journal: "The Iroquois inhabit this place, and an old woman of that nation is their Leader—This place is one of the prettiest that I have seen up to the present on the Beautiful River."

The next mention is in connection with the trying experiences of Major Geo. Washington as he was then, a young man about 21 years, in endeavoring to make a landing at Shannopinstown. Washington has left a record of these experiences in his journal of Dec. 27th, 1753, but I shall quote from the relation, dated Dec. 29th, 1753 of Christopher Gist, his guide: "We set out early, got to Allegheny, made a raft, and with much difficulty got over to an island a little above Shannopinstown. The Major having fallen from the raft, and my fingers being frost bitten, and the sun down, we contented ourselves upon that island. It was deep water between us and the shore, but the cold did us some service, for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice."

Shannopinstown was at 33d Street and the Allegheny River.

The island referred to was Washington's Island, afterward known as Wainwright's Island.

*Read before the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society on April 25, 1922.

What Celeron said about the Lawrenceville district, and its vicinity in 1749, Isaac Harris took occasion to repeat later, though in other words, (1837) in his Pittsburgh Business Directory: "Lawrenceville is beautifully situated on the Eastern (Southern) bank of the Allegheny River, at the distance of two miles and a half from Pittsburgh and near the Greensburg Turnpike. It is just opposite Wainright Island, the spot where Gen. Washington was cast away in his first effort to cross the Allegheny, when on his mission to Fort Franklin. As a location for country seats its vicinity is not surpassed in beauty of scenery or purity of atmosphere, by any of our suburban villages, and many of our wealthy citizens have availed themselves of its facilities, whose elegant villas add much to the appearance of the place, particularly when viewed from the opposite side of the river."

After reading or hearing such descriptions of the Lawrenceville District one can hardly help exclaiming what an attractive and desirable locality to have had a home in!

Such was the spot where the map I have shows what might be called the nucleus, or beginning of Lawrenceville.

It is taken from the Warrantee Atlas, page 9, in the Recorder's Office of Allegheny County, and from W. B. Foster's Plan of Lawrenceville.

They show about three hundred acres of farm land, divided as follows, among five holders: Conrad Winebiddle, patented "Good Liquor" in 1787. Samuel Ewalt, patented "Belle Fontaine" (Beautiful Fountain) in 1787. John Brandon, C. Waltham and James Irwin, patented "Good Intent" very likely the same year. James O'Hara, patented "Springfield" in 1811. John Ewalt, patented in 1818.

All these farms lay east of Two Mile Run, except that of James O'Hara, part of which lay west of it; and the most of them seemed to have been north of where Butler St. is now, and stretched along the Allegheny River.

Though the maps I have here do not show the name of Wm. B. Foster as the owner of any of the land where Lawrenceville was situated, statements made by the late Father Lambing on page 186 of his "Foundation Stones of a Great Diocese," and by Morrison Foster on page 8 of his "Biography of Stephen C. Foster," his brother, lead one to infer that he was.

Father Lambing informs us that Wm. B. Foster sold in 1816 to the Government of the United States 37 acres of land for the Arsenal.

Morrison Foster states that his father Wm. B. Foster sold 30 acres for that purpose.

Thanks to the good offices of Hon. John M. Morin I have been favored with a communication from Adjutant General P. C. Harris of the War Department, Washington, D. C., dated Aug. 15, 1921, containing the following statement: "Allegheny Arsenal was established in 1814 at latitude 40° 32′ North, longitude 80° 2′ West, on left bank of the Allegheny River, 3 miles from its mouth, and within the city limits of Pittsburgh. The reservation is supposed to contain about 38 acres.

"It appears from notes found in this office that the site of Allegheny Arsenal was selected by Captain Abraham R. Wooley, Deputy Commissioner of Ordnance, who superintended the erection of the first buildings on it, and that the site consists of parcels of land purchased at different times from different parties; the first tract, 30 acres, being purchased April 9th, 1814; to which several small tracts were added in 1831, 1833, 1837 and 1867, respectively.

"The first buildings were erected four or five years after the establishment of the Arsenal. The small tract purchased in 1867 contained a spring that supplied the garrison and workmen with water."

I had asked for a list of the commanding officers of the Arsenal from the date of its establishment, but the Adjutant General begged to be excused, saying: "It is not practicable to undertake such a compilation at this time" alleging the great pressure the Department was under as a result of urgent public business, and other causes, as the reason.

To satisfy myself on the two questions as to whether Wm. B. Foster had sold land for the Arsenal, and how much, I went to the Recorder's Office of Allegheny County and there found on record the deed showing that he had sold 30 acres to the government. This, then, is "The first tract purchased by the Government April 9th, 1914," referred to by the Adjutant General.

No doubt this purchase of land for an Arsenal attracted wide attention throughout the country, and started visions

as to the future of that locality. Consequently it is not surprising to learn that a man of the ability, foresight and enterprising spirit of Wm. Barclay Foster, prepared for the future, that evidently loomed up big before his mind, by laying out a plan for a town, which he accordingly did. But what should be its name was the next question to be settled. The name of Captain James Lawrence lingered in everyone's memory at the time, the hero, who, when in the war of 1812, he was being carried below mortally wounded on the ship he commanded, cried out: "Don't give up the ship!" The mere mention of the name was enough, when it was agreed that the town should be called Lawrenceville, and the inscription on its seal should be: "Don't give up the ship."

Quite an invasion rapidly added to the population a variety of classes of professional and business men, contractors, tradesmen and workmen, as soon as it was known the great work the government was inaugurating in the purchase of such a large tract of land, and for the purpose of the establishment of a large arsenal. They came from all directions. The name of Captain A. R. Wooley and Wm. B. Foster together with the name of the new town of Lawrenceville no doubt also served as an incentive.

Captain Wooley, superintendent in the preparation of the grounds and, subsequently, the erection of the buildings, who had acquired distinction during the late war, seemed to have the full confidence of the government to secure the best results for all the purposes of what was, indeed, a great enterprise, the first arsenal, deserving the name, in the country.

It might be interesting and instructive to quote in this connection what is found in Harris' "Pittsburgh Directory of 1837" showing the occasion as well as the reasons for the erection of the Arsenal, and in Lawrenceville:

"The Arsenals of the country at that time (1812) were few and diminutive, with arms and munitions fearfully inadequate to the increased demand. There was no organized corps, in which to search, with any prospect of success, for the peculiar science and experience requisite for the important duties of establishing and preparing the vast material for the large force, which, it was foreseen would be demanded to bring the war to an honorable termination.

"Of three or four principal points that were fixed upon for establishing large Arsenals of construction, at which all the munitions appertaining to the Ordnance Department might be collected by purchase and fabrication, the position occupied by the Allegheny Arsenal was deemed second to none in its convenience of location for communicating with, and supplying large and important sections of exposed inland and maritime frontier.

"The importance of this position as a strong connecting link between the Canadas and her military stations on the Mississippi was duly appreciated by the French, and the bones of many a gallant European, whose lives were sacrificed to the natural desire to possess the occupancy of so commanding a post, are even now to be seen whitening the luxuriant and highly cultivated meadows of Braddock's Field.

"As a position whence supplies may be sent to our Northwestern frontier posts on the great tributaries of the Mississippi, New Orleans, the fortresses that protect that great city, and to the chains of permanent defences on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, the Allegheny Arsenal can have no equal, and the superior means it possesses of selecting from among the numerous manufacturing establishments in its immediate vicinity, artisans of every description and of great skill, of procuring all the various materials required in the construction of arms and military equipment of all kinds, renders it one of the most important arsenals of construction in the United States.

"The abundance of coal near this arsenal, and its trifling cost, gives to it one decided advantage over every other; and its contiguity to manufacturies of almost every description, and especially those at which iron is shaped and fashioned to man's will, renders its situation, in this respect, exceedingly convenient for the construction of carriages and machines, into which this material largely enters."

Here we are tempted to stop a moment for a reflection. What a broad vision the men of those days had to take in so many points of connection between the Arsenal and its situation and such wide stretches of territory it would benefit, and by which it would be benefited!

Were they living today, it does not seem too much to say, and were they leaders, as they were then, that there

would not be the delay and hesitancy we are witnessing to-day in responding to the demand of the government for the elevation of the bridges over the Allegheny River; or complying with the apparently simple conditions for securing the appropriations for improvements on the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. Furthermore, the Ohio River and Lake Erie Canal would either be an actuality now, or advancing speedily toward its completion.

The wide survey that the government was able to take in the days of Captain Wooley and Wm. B. Foster, it is still in position to take to-day, and we may be sure that the relations it has in view go far beyond the ken of those whose vision is confined within the narrow limits of our local horizon. Could we rise to the height, as some seem to have done, from which the government contemplates the improvement referred to, we would see the advantages and benefits for the business and welfare of the country at large, and incidentally this community, which would surely result. Great as Pittsburgh is undoubtedly now, as an industrial centre, it cannot be compared with what it would be if we engaged in sympathetic action corresponding with the plans of the government. Slowness on our part to act and grasp what is within our reach may be the occasion of much regret in the future, particularly when we see other communities possibly of more vivid vision and quicker activity, enriched by advantages that should have by every right of situation belonged to us. The recollection of the pressure of the government in behalf of the contemplated improvements would make the sting of disappointment all the more sensible.

You will pardon this digression, I am sure, when I remind you that the lesson of the location of the Arsenal in this district, though of the distant past, and the reasons that brought it about, would, if well remembered and acted upon, assure for this community a consistency of action that would steadily develop the possibilities of Greater Pittsburgh to dimensions of actuality corresponding with advantages which, in not a few respects, surpass those to be found in any other portion of the world.

Now let us take up again the thread of the story of "Earlier Lawrenceville."

As the government went on adding to its purchases of

land and erecting buildings for the purposes of the Arsenal, there was a consequent increase in the population of the town and vicinity.

Meanwhile there set in an increase of mercantile and manufacturing concerns of all kinds, each of which brought its quota to add to the population.

Nor was this advancement of a character to indicate the mushroom growth and development of a boom town. It bore evidences of a permanency to be compared with that of the Arsenal. In the town and the neighborhood, to quote the words of the "Pittsburgh Directory of 1837", "A number of professional, mercantile and manufacturing classes erected dwelling houses, country seats and gardens; so that from a barren part Lawrenceville has become one of the most interesting spots in Western Pennsylvania."

The Directory goes on to say: "The citizens of Lawrenceville and neighborhood are an industrious and sober class of people, and from the fact that there are there three Churches, three Sunday Schools, a Literary Institute and a Lyceum, so extensively known and patronized by the great and good of all nations, affords sufficient evidence of the respectabilty and quality of its society at large."

Elsewhere we learn there were three Churches in the town, viz. an Episcopal, a Presbyterian and a Methodist Church, with a Sunday School attached to each.

We may infer from what is stated in the "Pittsburgh Directory of 1815" that the Catholics were served by Rev. Wm. O'Brien, Pastor of St. Patrick's Church; the Seceders by Rev. Robt. Bruce, Pastor of Church on 7th St; the Covenanters by Rev. Jno. Black, Pastor of Church on 7th St. and the German Lutherans by Rev. Jacob Schnee, Pastor of Church on Smithfield St.; all in the Borough, as it was at that time, of Pittsburgh.

The following list enables us to form some idea of the character of the population when Wm. B. Foster laid out the town of Lawrenceville, taken from the Directory of 1815. Danl Beltzhoover, Gentleman. James W. Brading, Brick Maker. Saml Byington, Blacksmith. James Clark, Shopkeeper. John Coxe, Sawyer. Thomas Crown, Bricklayer. Hugh Galbreath, Carpenter. Jacob Gossbury, Blacksmith. Moses Gray, Sawyer. Samuel Kingan, Stone Mason. Saml

Little, Stone Mason. James McBride, Laborer. David McKelvey, Brickmaker. John McMurday, Carpenter. James McNabby, Stone Cutter. Aaron Meeker, Paper Maker, Steam Paper Mill. David Noyes, Shop Keeper. John O'Connor, Carpenter. Thomas O'Connor, Carpenter. Seth Risley, Paper Maker, Steam Paper Mill. Saml Remmington, Carpenter. James Patrick, Mason. Henry Sarber, Shop Keeper. James Sarber, Innkeeper. John Sarber, Innkeeper. Joseph Scott, Paper Mill, Steam Paper Mill. Kenneth Thompson, Stone Cutter. Robt. Wilson, Laborer. Captain A. R. Wooley, U. S. Ordnance Dept. Jacob Jelter, Paper Maker, Steam Paper Mill.

This list seems to show a settlement of people mostly of English, Irish and Scotch origin or ancestry; and, as I suppose is to be expected in a new town springing up in the neighborhood of a new Arsenal, of tradesmen, laborers and shopkeepers, almost entirely. Professional and other classes came gradually and settled in and around the town, as shown by subsequent Directories.

Wm. B. Foster, founder of the town, established a residence in 1814 upon a tract of land belonging to him just outside the town on the south side of the Pittsburgh and Greensburg Turnpike, on what was known as "Bullitt's Hill," a height commanding a view up and down the river for miles. There he built a beautiful white cottage where he with his family spent many happy years, and hospitality and kindness prevailed. There, too, Stephen C. Foster, his son was born, who grew up to be the pride and glory not only of Lawrenceville, but of America, as a composer of music and writer of ballads. His fame is worldwide.

The exact location of the spot where the "White Cottage" stood was thought to be a lot on Penn Avenue, opposite the Pennsylvania National Bank at the Forks of the Road.

The frame house that still stands there resembles the pictures we see of the Foster home, except the porch which was removed about fifteen years ago. The older residents of Lawrenceville held that that was the original "White Cottage," and even those residents who survive, and whose memory goes back many years, still make the same claim, notwithstanding the fact that the city purchased the proper-

ty where it stood in 1914, the transfer having been made by James H. Park, et ux, by deed dated April 17th of that year.

Indeed, the late Mr. Morrison Foster was under the same impression, and was accustomed, as I was told, to point to the frame house near the Forks of the Road as the old Foster Home.

However, in 1912 or 1913 he called upon me, and asked me to accompany him for the purpose of examining the property. After strolling over the ground, seeming puzzled, he suggested that we go out Penn Avenue a little further, which we did, until we reached the property fronting on Penn Avenue between Ligonier and Denny Streets. After examining this property he hesitated, until he saw the old spring house, which was in a tumble-down condition. Then he said: "This is the place. This springhouse gives me my bearings. But that is not the house. Our house was a frame structure, while this is brick. But it seems to be built on the old foundation."

The city has improved this property and put the building in condition to serve as a Museum in which there are stored a few relics of Stephen C. Foster. It is known now as "The Foster Memorial."

Resuming our narrative with regard to Earlier Lawrenceville, the town, meanwhile, grew and developed until finally it was considered that its conditions were such as to entitle it to the dignity, rights and privileges of a borough.

Accordingly, nineteen years after it had been laid out, by an Act of Legislature, approved Feb. 18th, 1834, the incorporation of Lawrenceville as a borough took place.

There were amendments to this Act, as a result of additions made to the territory of the borough, by separate Acts of Mch. 13th, 1847 and April 21st, 1852.

After a brief career of thirty-three years from 1834 it was annexed to the City of Pittsburgh by an Act of Assembly, approved April 6th, 1867 (P. L. 846; also p.p. 78-82, Pgh. Digest).

Its boundaries seem to have been then: the Allegheny River from 33d St. to 51st St.; 51st St. to Butler St.; Butler St. to about 48th St. thence by an irregular line Southwardly and Westwardly and again Southwardly to Penn Ave., a little Westwardly to 44th St. thence along Penn Ave. West-

wardly to 33d St. along 33d St. back to the Allegheny River Northwardly: except the I. Woolslayer and M. McCullough plots which were added in 1847, from Penn Ave. South between 39th St. and 41st St. Southwardly to Woolslayer Alley.

These boundaries did not include either St. Mary's or Allegheny Cemetery.

The Allegheny Arsenal almost cut the Borough in two from Penn Ave. to the Allegheny River between 39th and 40th Sts.

Matter pertaining to the organization of the Borough of Lawrenceville and its subsequent history would be interesting; but that would carry us beyond the limits of our subject; viz: "Earlier Lawrenceville."

REMINISCENCE OF PITTSBURGH

By

MORGAN NEVILLE*

The elevation of the Duke of Orleans to the throne of France recalls some early recollections, and if you will indulge me in the privilege of the fair Sheherezade, of being discursive, and of digressing as much as I please, a paragraph or two is at your service.

It was probably in 1799 or in 1800 that this distinguished personage accompanied by his two brothers, Montpensier and Beaujolois, came to the western country. On arriving in Pittsburgh, then a small village, they found one or two emigres, who had formerly filled prominent stations under the ancienne regime, who were now earning a scanty subsistence in carrying on some little business of merchandise. One of them, the Chevalier duBac, one of the worthiest of men, and an admirable philosopher, kept a little shop, then denominated, par excellence, a confectionery. The articles, and the only ones, by the way, entitling the chevalier's establishment to this attractive name, were the kernels of hazelnuts, walnuts and peach stones, enclosed in an envelope of burnt maple sugar, fabricated by the skilful hands of the chevalier himself. DuBac was the most popular citizen of the village; he had a monkey of admirable qualities, and his pointer (Sultan), could, like the dog of the Arabian Nights, tell counterfeit money from good; at least, the honest folks who supplied our litle market with chickens and butter thought so, and that was the same thing. It was amusing to hear the master of the shop calling his two familiars to aid him in selecting the good from the bad, "'leven penny-bitts." "Allons Sultan, tell dese good ladie de good money from de counterfait." Then followed the important consultation between the dog and the monkey; Pug grinned and scratched his sides; Sultan smelt and in due time scraped the money

*Copied from the *Cincinnati Chronicle,* into the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of April 5, 1831.

into the drawer. As there were no counterfeit "leven-pences" Sultan seldom failed.—"Madame," would my friend say to the blowzy country lass, "Sultan is like de Pope, he is infalliable."—Sultan and Bijou laid the foundation of this excellent man's fortune.—they brought crowds of custom to the shop; and in two or three years he was enabled to convert his little business into a handsome fancy store. An attraction was then added to the establishment which diverted a portion of the public admiration from Sultan and the monkey; this was a Dutch clock with a goodly portion of gilding, and two or three white and red figures in front; before striking it played a waltz. It was inestimable; this music had never been heard in the west, and those who have been brought up amidst the everlasting grinding of our present museums can have no conception of the excitement caused by our chevalier's clock. In those days every unique piece of furniture or rare toy was believed to have formed a part of the spolia opima of the French revolution, and most generally they were set down as the property of the Queen of France. It was soon insinuated abroad that the Chevalier's clock formed one of the rare ornaments of the Boudoir of the unfortunate Maria Antoinette. When he was asked how much it cost, he evaded the question with admirable casuistry. "Ah, mon ami," he would say with sincere tristease, "the French revolution produce some terrible effect; it was worth fifteen hundred franche guiney." That, and the dog and the monkey were worth to the chevalier 15,000 dollars, for he realized this sum in a few years, from a foundation of a few pounds of sugar and a peck of hazelnuts.

Such was the chevalier DuBac in his Magazin, and he was a perfect illustration of the French character of that day; it would accommodate itself to any situation in life; it enabled the Minister of Marine to become, like Bedredden, a pastry cook, and young Egalite, the present King of France, a schoolmaster in Canada. But this is only one side of the picture; DuBac, when he closed his shop, and entered into society, was the delight of his auditory; he was an accomplished scholar, possessed the most polished manners and habits of "lavieille cour." He was a younger son or as the French people call it, he was the 'cadet' of a noble family.

He had traveled much and observed profoundly. He had been to the 'Holy Land,' not exactly as a plamer, but being 'attache' a la legation Francaise' at Constantinople, of which his relation, Sauf Boeuf, was the head, he took the opportunity of traveling through as much of Asia as was usually examined by European travelers.

Such was my early friend DuBac, to whose instructions and fine belles lettres acquirements I am indebted for some of the most unalloyed enjoyments of my life, by opening to me some of the richest treasurers of French literature; and such was the man whom the sons of Orleans found in a frontier American village. I do not remember the definite destination of the interesting strangers; but certain it is, that the chevalier DuBac induced them to while away a much longer period in Pittsburgh than could have been their original intention. He proposed to General Neville, whose house was always the temple of hospitality, where he was in the habit of dining every Sunday, and at whose table and fireside the unfortunate emigre was sure to find a hearty welcome, to introduce the travelers. The General at first received the proposition with sadness. He said he had been a soldier of the Revolution, the intimate of Rochambeau and Lafayette, and of course entertained a feeling of the deepest respect for the memory of the unfortunate Louis, not as a monarch, but as a most amiable and virtuous man. He insisted that no good could spring from the infamous exciter of the Jacobins, the profligate Egalite. "Mais mon General, (said the chevalier, with a shrug of the shoulders, and most melancholy contortion of his wrinkled features,) ils sont dans la plus grande misere, et ils ont ete chasse, comme nous autres, par ces vilains sans culottes." The chevalier knew his man and his bon hommie of the General prevailed. "Eh! bien! chevalier, allezrendre nos devoirs aux voyageurs, et qu 'ils dinent chez nous demain." The strangers accepted the courtesy, and became intimate with him and attached to the family of the kind hearted American; the charms of the conversation of the Duke of Orleans, and his various literary attainments, soon obliterated for the moment the horrible career of his father from the minds of his hearers. If my boyish recollection is faithful, he was rather taciturn, and melancholy; he would be perfectly abstracted from conversa-

tion, sometimes for half an hour, looking steadfastly at the coal fire that blazed in the grate, and when roused from his reverie, he would apologize for this breach of bienseance, and call one of the children who were learning French to read to him. On these occasions I have read to him many passages selected by him, from Telemaque; the beautiful manner in which he read the description of Calypso's Grotto is still fresh in my memory. He seldom adverted to the scenes of the revolution, but he criticised the battles of that period, particularly that of Jemmapes, with such discrimination as to convince the military men of Pittsburgh, of whom there were several, that he was peculiarly fitted to shine in the profession of arms.

Montpensier, the second brother, has left no mark on the tablet of memory by which I can recall him; but Beaujolais, the young and interesting Beaujolais, is still before my mind's eye. There was something romantic in his character, and Madame deGenis' romance, the 'Knights of the Swan,' in which that charming writer so beautifully apostrophises her young ward, had just prepared every youthful bosom to lean towards this accomplished boy. He was tall and graceful, and playful as a child. He was a universal favorite.—He was a few years older than myself; but when together, we appeared to be of the same age. A transient blush of melancholy would occasionally pass over his fine features, in the midst of his gayest amusements, but it disappeared quickly, like the white cloud of summer. We then ascribed it to a boyish recollection of the luxuries and splendors of the Palais Royal, in which he had passed his early life, which he might be contrasting with the simple domestic scene which was passing before him. It was, however, probably in some measure imputable to the first sensation of that disease, which, in a few short years afterwards, carried him to his grave.

One little circumstance made a singular impression on me. I was standing one day with this group of Frenchmen, on the bank of the Monongahela, when a countryman of theirs, employed in the quarter master department, as a laborer in taking care of flat boats, passed by. Perre Cabot, or, as he was familiarly called, French Peter, was dressed in a blanket capot, with a hood in place of a hat, in the manner

of the Canadian boatmen, and in moccasins. DuBac called after him, and introduced him to the French princes.—The scene presented a subject for moralising even for a boy; on the banks of the Ohio, and in exile, the representative of the first family of a nation who held rank of higher importance than any other nation in Europe, took by the hand in a friendly and familiar conversation, his countryman, whose lot was cast among the dregs of the people, and who would not have aspired to the honor of letting down the steps of the carriage of the man with whom he here stood on the level.

Peter was no Jacobin—he had emigrated from France before the philanthropic Robespierre and his colleagues had enlightened their fellow citizens and opened their eyes to the propriety of vulgar brutality and ferocity. Honest Cabot, therefore, felt all the love and veneration for the Princes, which Frenchmen under the old regime never failed to cherish for members of the "grand monarque". I was a great favorite with old Peter. The next time I met him, he took me in his arms, and exclaimed, with tears in his eyes,—"Savezvous, mon enfant. ce qui m'est arrive? j'ai en Phonnour de causer avec monseigneur, en pleine rue. Ah! bon Dieu, quelle chose affreuse que la revolution."

The brothers, on quitting Pittsburgh, left a most favorable impression on the minds of the little circle in which they were received so kindly. The recollection of the amiable Beaujolais was particularly cherished; and when the news of his death in Sicily, a few years after, reached the west, the family circle of General Neville expressed the sincerest sorrow.

The Chevalier DuBac after realizing a snug fortune by industry and economy removed to Philadelphia, to have the opportunity of mingling more with his countrymen. On the restoration of the Bourbons, his friends induced him to return to France, to resume the former rank of his family. But it was too late, the philosophical emigrant had lived too long in American seclusion to relish the society of Paris, or habits had changed too much to be recognized by him.—The following is a translation of a paragraph from one of his letters to his old friend, the late General Neville, soon after his arrival in Paris.

"I am again on the stage, where the delightful days of

my early youth were passed; but, my dear General, I am not happy—I feel like the old man in one of your English tales, forty years of whose life had been spent in prison, and who had been discharged by the clemency of a new monarch, only to find that all his relatives and friends were dead, and that his own name had been forgotten; he begged the emperor to recommit him to his prison. I find myself actually sighing for the little circle of your family, and for my little magazine upon the banks of LaBelle Riviere. I am a stranger in Paris, unknowing and unknown. I am surroudned by new faces, new names, new titles, and what is more embarrassing, by new manners. What a change! The metamorphosis is worthy of the pen of Ovid—it is the transformation of the lovely and graceful nymph into the rough and rigid tree. You may accuse me of speaking like a Frenchman, but I cannot help saying that the elegance and polish of French society, so long the glory of the world, is gone forever. The few gray-headed specimens of the old court, like myself, who have returned, are insufficient to restore it. We have soirees now, but the charms of the "petits-soupers" are no more to be found. Music has not retrograded, certainly; but dancing, my dear sir, except on the stage, is nothing like what it was bono sub Ludovico. Yet do not understand me as meaning to convey the idea that, on the whole, things are no better. That wonderful man who is sent to St. Helena, although a tyrant of the first order, will have many of his sins forgiven him in this world for the liberal encouragement he gave to the arts, sciences and literature. More correct notions of government are cherished, and if the old royalists will only encourage the new king to adopt and appreciate the vast changes in society and thinking, all will go well; but I acknowledge, my dear friend, that I doubt the prudence and common sense of my old friends, particularly of those who remained in Europe. As a patriot and philosopher, I must bear witness to the improvement and advancement of my country since the revolution: as a man, however, I cannot but mourn; the storm has not left a single shrub of my once numerous family; the guillotine has drunk the blood of all my race; and I now stand on the verge of the grave, the dust of a name whose pride it once was to trace in history, thro' all the distinguished scenes of French

history, for centuries back. With the eloquent savage, Logan, whose speech you have so often read to me, I can say, that "not a drop of my blood runs in the veins of any living creature." I must return to America, and breathe my last on that soil, where my most contented days were passed.".

The Chevalier never returned, however; he lingered away his time in the different seaports of France until death finally arrested his mortal career in the city of Bordeaux.

VIRGINIA

By

MARY JOHNSTON

Slow turns the water by the green marshes,
In Virginia.
Overhead the sea fowl
Make silver flashes, cry harsh as peacocks.
Capes and islands stand,
Ocean thunders,
The light houses burn red and gold stars.
In Virginia
Run a hundred rivers.
The dogwood is in blossom,
The pink honeysuckle,
The fringe tree.
My love is the ghostly armed sycamore,
My loves are the yellow pine and the white pine,
My love is the mountain linden.
Mine is the cedar.

Ancient forest,
Hemlock-mantled cliff,
Black cohosh,
Golden-rod, ironweed,
And purple farewell-summer.
Maple red in the autumn,
And plunge of the mountain brook.

The wind bends the wheat ears,
The wind bends the corn,
The wild grape to the vineyard grape
Sends the season's greetings.
Timothy, clover,
Apple, peach!
The blue grass talks to the moss and fern.

Sapphire-shadowed, deep-bosomed, long-limbed,
Mountains lie in the garden of the sky
Evening is a passion flower, morning is a rose!

Old England sailed to Virginia,
Bold Scotland sailed,
Vine-wreathed France sailed,
And the Rhine sailed,
And Ulster and Cork and Killarney.
Out of Africa—out of Africa!
Guinea Coast, Guinea Coast,
Senegambia, Dahomey.—
Now One,
Now Virginia!

Pocahontas steals through the forest,
Along the Blue Ridge ride the Knights of the Horse-
shoe,
Young George Washington measures neighbor's
land from neighbor,
In the firelight Thomas Jefferson plays his violin.
Violin, violin!
Patrick Henry speaks loud in Saint John's church.
Andrew Lewis lifts his flint lock.—
O Fringed Hunting Shirt, where are you going?
George Rogers Clarke takes Kaskarkia and Vin
cennes.

They tend tobacco,
And they hoe the corn,
Colored folk singing,
Singing sweetly of heaven
And the Lord Jesus.
Broad are the tobacco leaves,
Narrow are the corn blades,
Little blue morning glories run through the corn
fields

Sumach, sumach!
Blue-berried cedar,
Persimmon and pawpaw,

Chinquepin
Have you seen the 'possum?
Have you seen the 'coon?
Have you heard the whippoorwill?
Whippoorwill! Whippoorwill!
Whip—poor—will!

White top wagons
Rolling westward.
Bearded men
Looking westward.
Women, children,
Gazing westward.
Kentucky!
Ohio!
Halt at eve and build the fire.
Dogs,
Long guns,
Household gear.
'Ware the Indian!
White top wagons going westward.

Edgar Allan Poe
Walking in the moonlight,
In the woods of Albemarle,
'Neath the trees of Richmond,
Pondering names of women,
        Annabel—Annie,
        Lenore—Ulalume.

Maury, Maury!
What of Winds and Currents?
Maury, Maury,
Ocean rover!
But when you come to die,
"Carry me through Goshen Pass
When the rhododendron is in bloom!"

Men in gray,
Men in blue,
Very young men,

Meet by a river.
Overhead are fruit trees.
"Water—water!
We will drink, then fight."—
"O God, why do we
Fight anyhow?
It's a good swimming hole
And the cherries are ripe!"
Bronze men on bronze horses,
Down the long avenue,
They ride in the sky,
Bronze men.
Stuart cries to Jackson,
Jackson cries to Lee,
Lee cries to Washington.
Bronze men,
Great soldiers.

The church bells ring,
In Virginia.
Sonorous,
Sweet,
In the sunshine,
In the rain.
Salvation! It is Sunday.
Salvation! It is Sunday,
In Virginia.
Locust trees in bloom,
Long grass in the church yard,
June bugs zooning round the roses,
First bell—second bell!
All the ladies are in church
Now the men will follow,
In Virginia,
In Virginia!
—*The Reviewer.*

GENERAL JOHN GIBSON

By

JOHN B. GIBSON

Pennsylvania has no great men. The compelling reason is that Pennsylvanians have the ever gracious and endearing gift of remembering and reciting with microscopic clarity and exactness the misfortunes and regretful phases of their great men's lives.

Had Massachusetts, Virginia, Kentucky or Ohio such giants as Muhlenberg, Wilmot, Curtin, Speaker Randall or "Pigiron" Kelly these states would be studded with memorials in their honor.

Pittsburgh is highly endowed with this beneficent talent and achieves sometimes complete obliteration of all remembrance of her notables. It names its newest and presumably its finest hotel William Penn: poor old Arthur St. Clair—Major General United States Army—President of the Continental Congress—Governor of the Northwest Territory, in his old age left to eke out a miserable existence keeping tavern at Ligonier, is forgotten now, as he was then by a grateful constituency. Wayne Street has a number; Hand Street has a number: St. Clair Street has a number and so on down the line like stalls in the market house.

Boston can have its Choate; Philadelphia its Binney and Dougherty and Cassiday but how many Pittsburghers of this generation ever hear of Walter Forward or William Wilkins or James Mountain or Thomas Mellon or George Shiras or Wilson McCandless or Thomas M. Marshall or Robert M. Gibson or James P. Barr or James Mills or John I. Nevin or Samuel P. Langley or Otto Wuth or William Metcalf or Stephen C. Foster or Richard Realf.

I am led to these reflections by the various references of late in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* to General John Gibson who played a not inconspicuous part in the early history of the town and the western country.

John Gibson was born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 23rd. 1740. His father, George Gibson, a Scotchman from Antrim, in the north of Ireland, came to this country prior to 1730 and his location and "Hickory Tree" tavern on the banks of the Conestoga was known as Gibson's Ford before it grew into the town and now city of Lancaster.

Lancaster was the frontier; the trade in peltry and Indian supplies centered there and moved thence to and from Philadelphia and the ports on Delaware and Chesapeake. George Gibson's petitions to the Quaker government for road improvements are not unlike those we read today. He was one of the petitioners for the erection of Cumberland County from a part of Lancaster to the end of making quicker and at less cost the securing of justice.

Clad in homespun, armed with a flint lock and a woodsman's axe, men labored in the fields and cleared the forests; alert days filled with dauntless courage and clear eyed forward looking faith; homespun men, living in log huts with puncheon floors, in the heat of summer and the dread cold of winter clearing the forests and sowing and reaping their crops from between the stumps. These were the men who a little later achieved Bushy Run and Point Pleasant and stretched the Saxon domain from the Savage Mountains to the Mississippi; battles not less dominant in their influence than were Lexington and Yorktown.

The shattered and panic stricken forces of Braddock retreating under Dunbar to Fort Cumberland, "going" in the words of old Governor Dinwiddie, "going into winter quarters in the middle of the summer", a Scotch boy speeding through the forests spread the news of the great disaster that the frontier might arm against the French and Indian foe. This is his message and one has only to pause a moment to feel the breathless, anxious haste and anguish in which the note was penned:

> July 17, 1755
>
> Sir: I thought it proper to let you know that I was in the Battle where we were defeated. And we had about Eleven hundred and fifty private Men beside officers and others. And we was attack'd the 9th. day about Twelve o'clock and held till about Three in the afternoon. And then we were forced

> to retreat when I suppose we might bring about 300 whole Men besides a vast many wounded or killed. Gen. Braddock is wounded but I hope not mortal. And Sir John St. Clair and many others but I hope not mortal. All the train is cut off in a Manner. Sir Peter Halket and his son, Capt. Polson, Capt. Gethen, Capt. Rose, Capt. Tatten killed and many others. Capt. Ord of the Train is wounded but I hope not mortal. We lost all our artillery entirely and everything else.
> To Mr. John Smith and Buchannon and give it to the next post and let him show this to George Gibson at Lancaster and Mr. Bingham at the sign of The Ship and You'll oblige Yours to command
> John Campbell, Messenger.
> P. S. And from that to be told the Indian King.
> N. B. The above directed to Mr. Smith and Buchannon in Carlisle.

"Show this to George Gibson at Lancaster and Mr. Bingham at the sign of 'The Ship' and from that to be told at the 'Indian King' ".

Massachusetts writes odes and builds piles to the memory of Paul Revere: glorious John Campbell of Pennsylvania unhonored and unsung lies forgotten in the dust from which he sprang.

In 1758 when General Forbes assembled his troops at Carlisle to retrieve what Braddock had lost, John Gibson, 18 years old, was in the ranks.

Descending the Ohio below Ft. Pitt—there was at that time no distinction between the Ohio and Allegheny either by the settlers or Indians, the name "La Belle Riviere" given it by the French being merely a translation of the Iroquois "Ohio," or Delaware "Allegheny," both meaning "Fair or Beautiful River"—Gibson with a number of companions was captured by a band of Delawares and carried off to the Ohio country. A number of the captives were burned at the stake, Gibson escaping a like fate by being adopted by a squaw in lieu of her warrior son killed in battle. He remained with his foster parents a number of years.

In 1764 Col. Bouquet approaching the Delaware camp in

his march into the Ohio country received the following message:

Camp at Tuscarrawas. Oct. 14 1764

Col. Bouquet: We are glad to hear the good speeches which you made and also that our brother Capt. Pipe and Capt. John are alive and salute us. We now salute you with a good heart and shall be more glad when we meet you at Tuscarrawas; if we see our brother Pipe and John at a small distance we should think that you mean nothing but good

Linecheque, Wilopachikin, Simon Girty, Neachblan, Wininum, Neclaw, Sunfish, Capt. Wise, Capt. Jacob, Jescessa, Thomas Hickman, Capt. Killbuck.

The above wrote by Mr. Gibson a prisoner among them.

All of the captives, including Gibson, some 200 in number held by the Delawares, Senacas, and Shawanese were surrendered to Bouquet and eventually reached Pittsburgh.

The Scotch of the Cumberland Valley were in almost constant turmoil with the Quaker government owing to the latter's neglect and oft times refusal to bear an equitable share in the defence of the frontier and their contention that being "proprietaries" under King Charles' charter they were exempt from taxation, and with the King's soldiers who were accused of engaging in illicit trade with the Indians, selling them rifles and other warlike supplies. More than once the settlers threatened to turn their rifles against Philadelphia and when a Quaker asked Robert Fulton, father of Robert Fulton of steamboat fame, if he thought they would do such a thing, the old gentlemen replied: "They certainly will; they are the kin of the bloodthirsty Presbyterians who cut off King Charles' head." The situation grew so tense in 1765 the settlers assaulted Fort Loudoun, captured and held its commanding officer for ransom.

When released from captivity with the Delawares Gibson located at Pittsburgh and engaged in the Indian trade. Wishing to transport a stock of goods to his posts in the west he received the following "passport" from the settlers committee who had taken matters into their own hands:

June 1st, 1765.

Viz. 3 caggs wine 20 loads dry goods

1 cagg sugar	1 load of trunks
34 caggs rum & spirits	23 weeding hoes.

We the subscribers being chosen by John Gibson with the consent and approbation of John Allison and John Rannalls Esqrs. to Inspect a quantity of Licquors. Dry goods &c which goods the said Gibson is about to carry to Ft. Pitt, In pursuance whereof we have examined all the loads included in the above invoice and have found no warlike stores or any article that in our opinion can be any advantage or enable the Indians to point their arms against the frontier inhabitants. Robert Smith

Francis Patterson

Cumberland County, SS.

To all his Majestys Liedge subjects to whom these presents shall come: with the concurrance and approbation of John Allison and John Rannalls Esqrs. you are hereby and in his Majesty's name to permit ye above named John Gibson with seven drivers and forty-one horses and Loading to pass unmolested as far as Ft. Bedford and to ye Alleganea mountain on his way to Ft. Pitt they behaving themselves soberly and inoffensively as becomes loyal subjects.

Given under my hand and seal Wm. Smith
being one of his Majestys
Justice of the Peace for said
County this 1st. day of June 1765.

Gibson had trading posts not only at Pittsburgh but throughout the western country. In 1765 he received permission from Col. Reid, Commandant at Ft. Pitt "to occupy and build upon a Lott in the New Town of Pittsburgh on payment of Twenty shillings yearly subject to such regulations as may be ordered by the Commander in Chief or by the Commanding officer of the District for the good of his Majesty's service." He was at Logstown (about where Economy now stands) in 1769 and in 1771 built a house and cleared 30 acres of land opposite Logstown; this 30 acres being part of 300 acres which he won in a lottery and which embraced the "old Indian Corn field." He had a home and a Delaware wife at King Newcomers Town on the Musking-

um and with the Delaware Chief White Eyes accompanied John Lacy thereto in 1773.

Gibson was present at the Indian council held near the present town of Chillicothe, Ohio, following the crushing defeat of the allied tribes by Gen. Andrew Lewis and his Virginia frontiersmen at Point Pleasant, Virginia. (West Va.) Oct. 10th. 1774.

Logan-Tagajute—a Delaware Chief whose terrible reprisals against the frontier for the murder of his family by Daniel Greathouse the previous May had opened the war, refused to attend the council. Gibson was dispatched to bring him in, when Logan, under an oak in the forest delivered the famous address refered to by Jefferson in his "Notes" as the most eloquent of all the Indian speeches.

> I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the white man my countrymen pointed as they passed and said 'Logan is the friend of the white man'. I had even thought to have lived with you but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Gresap (x) the last spring in cold blood and unprovoked murdered all the relations of Logan not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of Logan's blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. Logan would not turn upon his heel to save his life: for who is there to mourn for Logan now? Not one.

One cannot read these proud stately sentences without thinking the man who received and translated them from the dark gutteral Lenno Lenape (True Men) to the dignified easy flowing Anglo Saxon was no mean master of both.

The rumblings of the coming storm had reached the valley of the Scioto. Before leaving their mountain homes the Virginians had heard of Dunmore's dissolution of the

House of Burgesses for resolving to keep the day of the closing of the Port of Boston as a day of fasting and prayer. Their work having been done; their object accomplished and their dead buried on the banks of the Ohio at Fort Gower (Hockingport, Ohio) in the brown autumn, with none to witness save the silent river, the reddening forest and the gray skies above, the officers of Lewis' little army met and "having concluded campaign with honor and advantage to the Colony" and further "that we are a respectable body is certain when it is considered we can live weeks without bread or salt; that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but the canopy of heaven and that our men can shoot with any in the known world" unanimously resolved:

> "That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third while his Majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that we will at the expense of life and every thing dear and valuable exert ourselves in support of the honor of his crown and the dignity of the British Empire, but as the love of Liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defence of American Liberty and for the support of her just rights and privileges."

These resolutions were printed in the *Virginia Gazette* and no one knew better than Dunmore what privations they would endure and no one knew better than he how straight they could shoot.

Returning to Pittsburgh, Gibson, recognizing the sovereignty of Virginia accepted from Governor Dinwiddie an appointment as Justice of the Peace for West Augusta as all of Pennsylvania west of the mountains was called by those who adhered to the Virginia side of that controversy and with his fellow Justices George Croghan, John Campbell, John Connolly, Dorsey Pentecost and Thomas Smallman organized Feb. 21st, 1775, the first court held in Pittsburgh. The court remained in session only four days and adjourned to Staunton, Virginia. The next "Court Day" was May 16th. 1775, on which day the citizens formed a Committee of Correspondence of which Gibson was a member and on the

same day he was elected Colonel of the Virginia Regiment enlistment for which began at once in the wide territory in which he traded.

He and his command served under Washington in New York and in the retreat through the Jerseys and later, on account of his knowledge of the Indian character and language, he was transferred to the Western Department then under command of Brig. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh with headquarters at Fort Pitt.

The Treaty of Pittsburgh, concluded Sept. 17th, 1778, and which preserved the whole western country to the revolting colonies, was negotiated by Gen. Andrew Lewis and his brother Thomas, Cimmissioners on the part of Virginia, (the Penna. Commissioner was not present at any time during the negotiations) and on the part of the Delawares by

Koquethagechton or White Eyes
Hopocan or Capt. Pipe
Gelemend or Capt. Killbuck

and witnessed by

Lachlan McIntosh	Brig. Gen.
Daniel Broadhead	Col. Penna. Reg.
W. Crawford	Col.
John Stevenson	
Jno. Gibson	Col. 13th. Virginia Reg.
A. Graham	Ensign
Benj. Mills	Ist. Lieut. 8th. North Carolina
Lachlan McIntosh, Jr.	Brigade Inspector

Closing the negotiations Sept. 16th. White Eyes addressed the Commissioners as follows:

> Brothers: You desired us in the speech you made to us yesterday, that if we could think of anything for the advantage of both of us, that we would mention it. We now request that the Wise Brethren in Congress may be informed that it is our particular request that Col. John Gibson may be appointed to have charge of all matters between you and us. We esteem him as one of ourselves; he has always acted an honest part by us and we are convinced he will make our common good his chief study and not think only how he may get rich. We desire also that he may have charge of and take care of the

> Warriors of our people who may join you in the present expedition. When we were last in Philadelphia our Wise Brethren in Congress may remember we desired them to send schoolmasters to our Towns to instruct our children; as we think it will be for our mutual interest we request it may be complied with.

It would seem from White Eyes remarks that ignoring campaign promises on the part of the Wise Brethren in Congress is not a matter of recent growth.

The reduction of Detroit, the expedition referred to by White Eyes, was a pet project of Gen. McIntosh and one warmly endorsed by both the Pennsylvania and Virginia authorities, but the difficulties encountered in securing an adequate army and supplies therefor for a march of 300 miles through a hostile and sparsely cultivated country forced its abandonment as later it was abandoned when fathered by Thomas Jefferson and George Rodgers Clark. Had Clark succeeded in raising an army and the needed supplies, Gibson would have been second in command as his release for that service was personally solicited by Jefferson from Baron Steuben, with whom Gibson was hastening along the south bank of the James to intercept Benedict Arnold, who had already burned Richmond.

Gibson succeeded Col. Broadhead in command of the Western Department in 1780 and was himself succeeded in the fall of 1781 by Brig. Gen. Irvine. He served to the end of the war and was promoted to the rank of Brig. General by Congressional resolution Sept. 30th. 1783.

Yorktown surrendered and the Treaty of Paris accomplished Gibson beat his sword into a bung starter and returned to his trade at Pittsburgh which in a few years grew to enormous proportions as witness the following from the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Aug. 20th. 1786.

> From the 6th. of July last to the 10th. inst. (a period of 35 days) the following peltry was bought up by one trader in this place and mostly paid for in whiskey and flour, notes and other evidences of debt.

3173 summer deer skins	15 wild cat skins
94 bear skins	74 fall deer skins

84 beaver skins	37 elk skins
14 marten skins	29 fox skins
17 wolf skins	16 panther skins
67 pairs moccasins	

There was no money in the country; the money of the United States was worthless and that of the states of Pennsylvania and Virginia but little better. "Pieces of Eight"—the Spanish milled dollar, had long since disappeared. Trade was by barter and if the hunter and trapper did not take the whole value of his "catch" in supplies he was given a certificate in writing by the Trader acknowledging the number and kind of skins received which certificate passed current as a medium of exchange. Army Quartermasters bought supplies and paid for them with certificates expressed in terms of skins instead of money, as witness the following countersigned by Gibson when in command at Ft. Laurens, Ohio (Bolivar, Ohio).

> I do certify that I am indebted to the bearer, Captain Johnny , Seven bucks and one doe for the use of the States, this 12th. day of April, 1779.
>
> Samuel Sample,
> Asst. Q. M.
>
> The above is due him for pork for the use of the garrison at Ft. Laurens.
>
> Jno. Gibson, Col.

It has been surmissed that the use of the term "wildcat", as applied to various kinds of precarious promotion and financing, had its origin with this use of skins as money, and there is not much question that our present slang word "buck," meaning a dollar, had a similar origin.

In 1910 the Bank of Pittsburgh celebrated its centennial anniversary as the earliest established bank west of the Alleghany mountains, forgetting or ignoring the fact that in 1784 at "Falls of Ohio"—Louisville, Ky.—in a house boat, high and dry on the banks of the river where it had been left by a receding flood, and fastened to a stump with a rope, one John Sanders established a bank, or "Keep," as he called it, as witness the following certificate of deposit:

> Know all men by these presents, that Daniel Boone hath deposited six (VI) beaver skins in my keep in good order and of the worth of VI shillings each

skin and i have took from them VI shillings for the keep of them and when they be sold i will pay the ballance of XXX shillings for the whole lot to any person who presents this certificate and delivers it up to me at my Keep, Louisville, Falls of Ohio. May 20th. 1784.

John Sanders

Apparently Banker Sanders understood "bank interest" as well as any of his successors. He had however none of the modern aids to banking; no compulsory reserves; no Bank Examiner to throw out collateral or call for new or better endorsers and incidentally no Federal Reserve Bank to which he could pass the "buck", but it is not recorded that he ever failed to promptly meet all his obligations.

Gibson with Gen. Richard Butler as fellow Commissioner in behalf of Pennsylvania purchased from the Six Nations their title to the "Erie Triangle"—the triangular country jutting into Lake Erie surrounding the City of Erie.

He was a member of the convention which framed the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 and on Aug. 17th. 1791 became one of the Lay Judges of the Courts of Allegheny County. This was the court presided over as Law Judge by the famous Alexander Addison whose controversy with J. B. C. Lucas led to the former's impeachment, trial and conviction before the Senate of Pennsylvania. Lucas afterward removed to St. Louis, Mo., and was appointed Judge of the United District Court. The site of Judge Lucas' old home is now the site of the Carnegie Library and one block from St. Louis' "Congested District". When Judge Lucas built he was warned he was too far out; that the Indians would have his scalp within three months.

Quietly pursuing his trade, but ever loyal to the Government he had helped to establish, the Whiskey Insurrection found Gibson in disfavor with those who led that abortive attempt to destroy that which had cost so much to confirm and he was expelled the country.

Pittsburgh, Aug. 4 1794.

This is to certify to all whom it may concern that the bearer hereof Gen. John Gibson has been directed to depart the country by order of the Committee of the Batallions of Washington, Fayette, West-

moreland and Allegheny Counties assembled at Braddock's Field the 2nd. inst. which sentence the Committee of Pittsburgh was to carry into effect and to furnish him with a guard to a proper distance. Let him therefore pass in safety and without molestation.

James Clow,
Chairman.

Bradford's flight to the French possessions at the mouth of the Mississippi and the collapse of the Insurrection found Gibson again a trader until 1800 when he was appointed by President Jefferson Secretary of the newly formed Territory of Indiana, in which capacity he remained until Indiana was admitted as a state in 1816. He arrived at Vincennes, the Territorial capital, in July, 1800, and was Acting Governor until the arrival in January, 1801, of William Henry Harrison.

Indiana at that time embraced all of the present states of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan. Vincennes, the capital, was a long established French town with a newspaper and an academy and was the home of many French of Education and refinement. The Territory boasted only about 5000 whites but was inhabited by numerous and warlike tribes of Indians at the head of which was the renowned Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet and Medicine Man Pemsquatawah.

Gen. Harrison's frequent and prolonged absences from the capital fighting Indians was the occasion of Gibson being often called upon as Acting Governor. He was now over sixty years of age and his fighting days were over. This did not prevent him from taking an active part in all negotiations with the Indians and he was present during the famous interview between Tecumseh and Harrison. When the Indian Chief angrily interrupted Harrison and turned, to harangue his assembled warriors, Gibson who alone understood Tecumseh's sinister words, ordered up the guard and prevented a massacre. Similarly he was enabled at 72 years of age to relieve Capt. (afterward President) Zachary Taylor beleaguered at Ft. Harrison. Gibson County, Indiana, is named in his honor.

On admission of Indiana as a state in 1816 Gibson returned to Pittsburgh and his home near Braddock's Field, where he died April 16th. 1822. His remains lie buried in Allegheny Cemetery, Pittsburgh.

St. Louis, Dec. 12th. 1920.

NOTES AND QUERIES

RATES OF TOLL ON THE PENNSYLVANIA CANAL IN 1831

On dry goods, merchandise, and oysters, per ton, and cord-wood per cord, 3 cents per mile—and on all articles not specifically enumerated, passing northward or westward, the same.

On bark, in rafts, per cord, boards, sawed stuff, and timber in rafts, per 1000—deer, buffalo, and moose skins, household furniture, groceries, castings, blooms, and anchovies, rosin, tar, whiskey, and window glass, per ton, 2 cents per mile.

On pot and pearl ashes, agricultural products not specified, instruments of husbandry, (for individual use), salted-beef, pork, and fish, butter, barley, wheat, rye, corn, oats, and flax-seed, clover-seed, flour, cider, beer, charcoal, cotton, grind-stones, gypsum, hemp, hempen, yarn, pig iron, broken castings, white lead, rough marble, lime-stones, French burrs, salt, slate, tiles, leaf tobacco, heading, staves and hoop poles (in rafts), wood in boats, 1½ cents per ton per mile. On all articles not specified, going southward or eastward, the same rates per ton per mile.

On boards, plank, &c., in boats or scows, if going up stream, per 1000, and pig lead per ton, 1¼ cents per mile.

On bark in boats, per cord—boards, planks, &c., in boats, going down stream, per 1000, hay, iron, ore, lime, split laths, posts and rails, in rafts—dressed stone—straw per ton—shingles per 1000 (in rafts) timber in boats and scows. per 100 per cubic feet, 1 cent per mile.

On bricks, stones, heading and hoop poles, in boats or scows, ¾ of a cent per mile.

On pot and pearl ashes, clay, earth, gravel, and undressed stone, 6 mills per ton per mile.

On posts and rails, and shingles, if conveyed in boats and scows, half a cent per ton per mile.

On each boat for passengers, made and used chiefly as such, 25 cents per mile,—8 cents a mile for the boat and ¾ of a cent for each passenger of 12 years of age, at the option of the owner, making his choice at the commencement of the season. On each boat made and used for freight and passengers jointly, 5 cents per mile. On boats for freight exclusively, 3 cents per mile,—and on each passenger, on board of freight boats, half a cent per mile.

For passing outlet locks, at Middletown, every loaded ark, 1 dollar—loaded boat, 75 cents—empty ark or boat, 50 cents. On lumber in rafts or platforms, 8 mills per 1000, board measures. *The Pittsburgh Gazette,* May 20, 1831.

LINES OF POET FAIL TO SAVE THE "TREE THAT SHELTERED HIM"

NEW YORK, Feb. 4, 1922—The two great sycamores in the rear of the Woodward mansion at 462 West Twenty-second street, which once sheltered George Pope Morris, author of "Woodman, Spare That Tree," stand stripped as naked as the masts of a wrecked ship. Morris' lines could save them no longer.

Not a bough of the old trees was left untouched. They were cut, limb from limb, by woodmen of the Davy Tree Expert Company to prevent their falling.

The trees were more than 300 years old, but died two years ago through neglect. They shaded the house in old Chelsea where a British general once hid in escaping during Washington's occupation of New York. The place is now a girl's boarding school—*The Gazette Times.*

The Figure in the Crisis.

It should have been stated, in connection with Col. John P. Penney's article in the July, 1922, number of this magazine, on "The Critical Period in Pennsylvania History," that the speaker of the senate who was the main figure in that crisis was Col. Penney's father, Hon. John P. Penney.

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IV

BUST OF WILLIAM PITT

Presented to the City of Pittsburgh by Sir Charles Wakefield.

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Presentation of the Bust of William Pitt to the City of Pittsburgh.

On Thursday, September 14th, 1922, The City of Pittsburgh was the scene of a most interesting ceremony which had direct relation to its practical founding and naming a hundred and sixty four years ago. This was the presentation to the City by Sir Charles Wakefield, former Lord Mayor of London, of a fine bronze bust of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, the great English statesman, who was primarily responsible for the taking of the City of Pittsburgh from the French on November 25, 1758, and in whose honor the place was named on that day by General John Forbes.

Sir Charles Wakefield was induced to make his generous gift through the efforts of the Sulgrave Institute, an organization named after the home of the ancestors of George Washington and composed of Englishmen and Americans desirous of promoting good feeling between their respective countries. He therefore decided to present to this country two busts of great Englishmen noted for their sympathy with America, Edmund Burke and William Pitt. The first of these was presented to Washington, D. C. after his visit to Pittsburgh.

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Upon notification of his intention as to Pittsburgh the matter was taken up by the Chamber of Commerce, which enlisted the interest of Mayor William A. Magee, who appointed a committee of arrangements headed by William H. Stevenson, President of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. The other members of the executive committee were: Wm. M. Furey, Robert Garland, L. H. Burnett, Mrs. E. V. Babcock, W. M. Jacoby, Gen. Albert J. Logan, H. C. McEldowney, George S. Oliver, A. C. Terry, E. N. Jones, secretary to the Mayor, James Francis Burke, Charles W. Danziger, Wm. H. French and Harry C. Graham.

The 164th anniversary of the battle of Grant's Hill fought between the British and Colonial forces and the French and Indians was chosen as the date for the ceremony, the scene being the Pittsburgh City-County Building situated on the hill. The battle was fought for the possession of Fort Duquesne, but resulted in the defeat of the British and Colonials. Nearly a month later, however, on October 12th, 1758, they were successful in the battle of Loyalhanna, as a result of which Fort Duquesne was abandoned by the French and taken possession of by the British and Colonials on November 25th following.

Sir Charles Wakefield and his party reached Pittsburgh on the morning of September 13th. He was given a luncheon at the Chamber of Commerce, where he spoke pertinently and forcefully, as did his companion, Sir Arthur A. Haworth of Manchester, at a meeting in the auditorium presided over by William H. Stevenson, where he was introduced by President Wm. M. Furey of the Chamber. In the afternoon the party was taken for an automobile ride through the city, visiting the residence of ex-Mayor E. V. Babcock in Valencia, and in the evening attended a dinner at the William Penn Hotel. In his remarks before the Chamber of Commerce, Sir Charles Wakefield said in part: "We must increase the output of comradeship of both employer and employee." He expressed the thanks of the visiting delegation for the cordial welcome, told how he had spoken to the combined forces of British and the United States on the battle line in Belgium during the world war,

and spoke with deep feeling of hearing how the American soldiers responded with "Fight the Good Fight."

"I should like to see those good old times come again in one respect," he said. "I mean the unity of the trenches, the comradeship. I wish we might see the world's spiritual forces united as were our military forces in those great days."

In the party with Sir Charles Wakefield were: Lady Wakefield, Miss Freda Wakefield, Sir Arthur A. Haworth, President of the Merchants Exchange of Manchester, and Lady Haworth, Lieutenant Governor McCallum Grant of Nova Scotia and Mrs. Grant, Hon. D. B. Edwards, Deputy High Commissioner of Australia, H. S. Perris, a director of Sulgrave Institution, Harold Spender, writer, Captain M. L. DeVoto, John A. Stewart of New York, Chairman of the American Branch of the Sulgrave Institution, W. L. Humphrey, Secretary of the Institute, and Miss Ethel Armes, Secretary of the American Branch of the Sulgrave Institution.

At the dinner in the evening at the William Penn Hotel Chairman Stevenson presented James Francis Burke as the toastmaster. Speeches were made by Lieutenant Governor Grant, on "Our Next Door Neighbor;" by John A. Stewart, on "The Sulgrave Institution in Its Relation to the English Speaking race;" by Hon. D. B. Edwards, on "Hands Across the Sea;" and by Sir Charles Wakefield, Mayor W. A. Magee, Harold Spender and H. S. Perris. Dr. Hugh M. Kerr delivered the invocation. Andrew B. Humphrey proposed a toast to President Harding, Mayor Magee proposed a toast to King George IV, and Mrs. Perris proposed a toast to Mrs. Harding.

The next day, September 14th, at noon, the bust of Pitt was presented at a meeting held in front of the City-County Building, presided over by William H. Stevenson, who introduced the various speakers. Addresses were made by Governor William C. Sproul, Governor of Pennsylvania, Sir Charles Wakefield, and Mayor William A. Magee. Dr. William J. Holland delivered the invocation.

Sir Charles Wakefield, in presenting the bust, which was wrapped with British and American colors, told briefly

the story of Pitt's life and paid glowing tribute to the American and British Sulgrave Institution through which the bust was presented. In part he said:

"It is my great privilege to offer this bust of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, prime minister of England and champion of American rights, to the City of Pittsburgh, as a token of friendship from the British to the American people.

"They will, I am sure, prize this fine bust of William Pitt, as much as we in London value that magnificent statue of Abraham Lincoln, which stands in the very shadow of our House of Parliament. The controversies in which Chatham played his heroic part are dead; the healing hand of time has smoothed out all the roughness and bitterness of that great struggle for liberty. English historians and the English people have long since condemned the mistaken policy of George III and his subservient ministers, which alienated the affection of the American colonies.

"The triumph of the cause of liberty in America was a trumpet call to its lovers everywhere and in winning freedom for themselves, your ancestors helped to win it for us also. They were Englishmen and appealed to English principles of liberty and justice in their uprising. And this appeal has been allowed, and their victory acclaimed by Englishmen throughout the world for many generations past.

"In honoring the great figure of Pitt today our thoughts are, in a small measure, and by way of gratitude and admiration for him, in the past; but in a greater measure they are turned to the present and the future.

"There are now no hereditary misunderstandings, or lingering jealousies or antagonism, between the British and the American people.

"Our mission to America and, to your splendid city of Pittsburgh, is to bring a message of comradeship and fraternity, an assurance of good will and of our desire for every kind of cooperation between our two great nations.

"Our ceremony today reminds us that we have great memories in common. We too, have more recent memories of our common sacrifices to secure the victory of democracy

in arms against the oppressor.

"When we look, therefore, at this statue, let us remember how easy is our journey along the road which Pitt so well pointed out, and resolve that we will do all in our power to maintain the priceless boon of Anglo-American comradeship."

Governor Sproul in his speech lauded Pennsylvania for its keystone part in every great American crisis, and said that of all the vast tonnage of munitions which went forward in the world war, Pennsylvania contributed eighty per cent and Allegheny County sixty per cent.

He declared that the State of Pennsylvania and the city of Pittsburgh are honored in two monuments that are everlasting—the name given the former in honor of its founder, William Penn, and the latter the name of William Pitt. Had the advice of the latter been heeded, said the Governor, many struggles in the state and Allegheny County might have been avoided in after years. Such gatherings as that of the day, he said, serve to better relations between nations, creating a clearer understanding and knowledge, each for and of the other, and by that bringing a boon to all mankind.

The relationship between the United States and Canada, the speaker said, with a frontier of several thousands of miles unguarded and unfortified is the sort of relationship which should prevail among all nations. The Governor spoke in glowing words of the part Canada had taken in the World War, and with a touch of pathos mentioned the large proportion of the population which enlisted in the service and who made the supreme sacrifice on the field of battle.

Mayor William A. Magee said in part: "The gift which we are receiving today is one which the people of Pittsburgh will appreciate to the full. It symbolizes the relationship of our community to one of the outstanding figures of the history of modern times. We are proud of our name.

"The possession of the strategic, military and economic point at the headwaters of the Ohio River was the cause of the great Seven Year's war, the only war previous to the last war, that was waged on a nation-wide scale.

"The decision of arms at this place hastened the growth of democratic ideals by perhaps generations if not centuries.

"Our great patron saint, the outstanding figure of his time, was foremost in support of popular government. The American nation was his child.

"We are proud in being known to the world by his name. We are, in physical embodiment, his commemoration, This statue will remain in this building, the seat of our municipal government, a silent witness, constantly reminding those who follow after us not only of the glorious days which were the fruit of his deep wisdom and boundless energy, but of much more still, the enduring effect upon the lives of untold millions of people determined by the events that transpired here more than 160 years ago."

In introducing the speakers Chairman Stephenson made the following remarks:

"The tie that binds the English speaking people together is the history of their achievements in the civilization of the world.

"Our gathering here today is signalized by an appropriateness of time as well as of location and above all of purpose. That purpose is to forge another link in the strong and unbroken chain of friendship that has for more than a century united the English speaking peoples,—Britons and Americans,—common descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race and equal heirs to its great constitutional principles and traditions.

"For near here and within sight of the windows of the graceful tower, which rises to my right over the temple of justice, is the point where Fort Duquesne stood and where Fort Pitt arose, the final possession of which decided the destiny of the vast territory lying between the Alleghanies and the Rockies and made sure the creation of this great nation.

"Upon the exact spot where we are now standing just 164 years ago today, one of the notable conflicts waged for the possession of the Forks of the Ohio was fought.

"Here on the 14th of September 1758, Major James Grant, a British officer with about 600 Highlanders and about 200 Pennsylvanians and Virginians fought a losing battle with the French Canadians and Indians.

"British and American blood was shed in a common cause. This battle was the culmination of French success and power in a struggle which finally resulted in the raising of the British flag over Fort Pitt, which thus assured the domination of the Anglo-Saxon race in North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the Gulf of Mexico.

"Added to the appropriateness of the time and location of this great gathering is that its special object is the reception of a lifelike and artistic bust of the great English statesman, a true and courageous friend of America, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, whose name this great city of ours appropriately bears.

"It is he who thundered in the English Parliament, 'We may bind the Colonists trade, confine their manufacturers and exercise every power whatever except taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.'

"He also said, 'Adopt more gentle methods in dealing with America for the day is not far distant when America may vie with this Kingdom not only in arms but in arts.'

"On May 30th, 1777 he said, 'You may ravage, you cannot conquer. It is impossible, you cannot conquer the Americans,' and from that day, one hundred and forty-five years ago to this day, the Star Spangled Banner has never been lowered to a foreign enemy.

"The donor of this bust of the Peerless Statesman William Pitt, is a distinguished Englishman who has the honor of being the chief executive of the great English metropolis, London.

"But this bust of the foremost English advocate of freedom and constitutional rights will not stand here alone as an evidence that we remember and revere the memory of William Pitt. It can be truly said, 'If you seek his monument look around.'

"George Bancroft, the historian, wrote, 'Pittsburgh is the most enduring monument of William Pitt. As long as the Monongahela and Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, as long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the Gateway of the West.'

"Our honored guest, Sir Charles Wakefield, with Lady Wakefield and friends, has journeyed across the Atlantic to present under the auspices of the Sulgrave Institution his gift to the city of Pittsburgh, this bust of the great friend of America so that his features may be constantly before us and also to inspire us with the high and lofty purpose of fostering a fraternal spirit and good feeling between the English speaking people of America and Great Britain.

"This great audience is a credit to the memory of William Pitt and an expression of gratitude to the distinguished Englishman for this beautiful lifelike bust of William Pitt which will now be unveiled by the donor's daughter, Miss Freda Wakefield."

The bust was then unveiled by Miss Freda Wakefield, daughter of the donor. Following the ceremony there was a luncheon at the William Penn Hotel, then the party was taken to the Block House, where they were met by a reception committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution. From there, the visitors proceeded to the Carnegie Institute, where they were received by the President, Samuel H. Church, Mrs. Church and officials of the Institute.

In the evening, there was a dinner at the Pittsburgh Golf Club presided over by Samuel H. Church, after which the visitors departed for Washington, D. C.

(Article furnished the editor by the Chairman of the Publication Committee of this Magazine)

SOME ASPECTS OF PITTSBURGH'S INDUSTRIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CIVIL WAR.

Pittsburgh as an industrial and commercial center is today universally known. Its position among the cities of the United States is unique. As a manufacturing center it is more noted since the products particularly of the steel mills are shipped to all parts of the world. Such epithets as "Smoky City," "Steel City" and the "Birmingham of America" bear witness to the fact.

The above could not be said of Pittsburgh prior to the Civil War. At that time it was known as the "key to the west," being the appropriate name given by those hardy, restless pioneers, who were tired of eastern aristocracy and desired to found a better home in the democratic west. Still, the position of Pittsburgh as the "key to the west" remains, but far different is her present position as such. It is no longer a pathway whereby settlers can enter the virgin forest and field of the west, but on the other hand is a point where many other cities buy their supplies.

At the time when the Southern States were seriously contemplating secession, Pittsburgh would seem (to the average man of today) to be in a precarious position. It had been accustomed to ship coal, iron, agricultural implements, and other products to the South. It would have been, therefore, not unnatural for its inhabitants and business men to at least sympathize with the seceding states. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth.

Immediately after the election of Lincoln, the Southern States started on a period of gigantic seizure of government property. This began with the seizure of forts and arsenals, which were located within the boundaries of the dissatisfied states. Then, with many southern states-rightsmen in the cabinet of President Buchanan, much ordnance and other munitions of war were shipped south. This was particularly true of the Secretary of War, Floyd. Mainly

Paper read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on May 31, 1922.

through his efforts several northern arsenals were relieved of much of their supplies, which were ordered south. Among the victims of such an order was the Allegheny Arsenal, located at Lawrenceville. An order was received by Major Symington, officer in charge of the arsenal, to ship one hundred twenty-pound guns to New Orleans, destined for Texas. The order was received on December 23, 1860. (1) The moment this order became known to the people much excitement resulted. A petition, signed by a number of influential citizens was sent to the mayor requesting him to call a public meeting, for the purpose of preventing the removal of the guns.

The Commander-in-Charge of the arsenal failed to give a satisfactory answer as to the destination of the guns. As a result, a meeting was called for the 27th of December; where a committee composed of Messrs. Wilkins, Shaler, Robinson and Williams read an order addressed to President Buchanan. (2) Excitement ran high. After passing a few resolutions expressing indignation and injustice at the removal of guns, the meeting adjourned.

Excitement went a pitch higher when General Moorhead received an answer to his telegram sent to Edwin M. Stanton, Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs, to the effect that the shipment of the guns was to be prevented. (3) A contract had been made with the "Silver Wave" to carry the guns to New Orleans, (4) and the guns were being hauled to the wharf, when the above answer was received. Plans were prepared for the forceful prevention of the removal of the guns, when the Floyd order was countermanded, January 3, (5) and further trouble was avoided. These happenings clearly show that Pittsburgh was anything but in favor of secession.

As has been stated before, Pittsburgh was considered the "key to the west." It would, therefore, be of great value to ascertain Pittsburgh's efforts in helping to withstand the Confederate attack in the west and its contributions to this end.

In this respect the spotlight is turned on Ellet's Ram Fleet, which was a part of the Mississippi Flotilla. It was the object of the flotilla to co-operate with the land forces

under Grant. It was Ellet's purpose to repulse the rebel ironclads around Memphis, Island No. 10, and other southern strongholds. (6)

With this end in view Ellet purchased five of the nine boats, which were to constitute his fleet, at Pittsburgh. These were the Lioness, Sampson and Mingo, "three powerful Ohio river stern-wheel tow boats" and the Fulton and Homer, "two small stern-wheel tow-boats, as tender and dispatch boat for the fleet." (7) In addition to these, one battery barge was also purchased here. Ellet in making his report to Commodore Foote, refers to the Pittsburgh tugs as "three of the strongest and swiftest stern-wheel coal tow-boats." (8)

These were obtained as a result of instructions from Secretary of War, Stanton, March 27, 1862, which ordered Ellet to proceed immediately to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and New Albany and take measures to provide steam rams for defense against ironclad vessels in western waters. (9)

To see that Ellet's motive and Stanton's purpose were realized we need only to study the engagements of the Ram Fleet. At Memphis and Vicksburg it did memorable work, but more noteworthy was its engagement up the Yazoo where Farragut and Grant profited as a result. (10)

When the North proclaimed the blockade of the southern ports, ironclad vessels had not as yet made their appearance in the Navy. It was not until August 3, 1861, that Congress made provision for the investigation and construction of ironclad steamships or steam-batteries. (11) As a result of this act, three ironclad vessels were recommended to be built. Seventeen proposals were submitted to the board appointed by the Secretary of the Navy. Of these only three were accepted, being those of J. Ericson, New York; Merrick & Sons, Philadelphia; and C. S. Bushnell & Co., New Haven, Connecticut.

J. Ericson, as is commonly known, built the Monitor, which won that ever famous engagement with the Merrimac in Hampton Roads, March 9, 1862. This resulted in an increased number of orders for ironclads. Almost immediately after the contest, the government issued orders for ten Monitor type batteries. (12)

Pittsburgh also profited indirectly by the Monitor-Merrimac engagement. A contract was awarded Mason and Snowden in 1861, for the construction of a Monitor type boat. The specifications were somewhat different from those under which J. Ericson worked. This boat which was christened the Manayunk, was not launched until December 18, 1864. The cost was approximately $583,000. (13)

Though only a third class Monitor, it was nevertheless four times the size of the original Monitor, being 224 feet long, 33 feet wide and drawing 14 feet with a tonnage of 1034. (14) Thurston in refering to it says: "This vessel was pronounced by good naval authority as a most admirable boat, in all respects safe to sail around the world." (15)

Another boat of the same type which was also built by Mason and Snowden was the Umpqua. It was contracted for in 1863 and completed in September, 1866 at a cost of $595,652.66. (16) Being intended for river service it was somewhat lighter than its mate, the Manayunk. Its revolving turret—commonly known as "Cheese Box," was 9 feet high and 20 feet in diameter, being armed with an "eleven inch gun and one 150 pounder." On the other hand the turret of the Manayunk was 21 feet inside and somewhat stronger armed with two 15 inch guns. (17)

In addition to these two monitors two other smaller ironclads were built during the Civil War by Pittsburgh firms. Hartupee and Tomlinson was the fortunate firm in this case. The contract was awarded to them in 1862 although the boats were not launched until January 1865. These monitors were named the Marietta and Sandusky and were produced at a cost of $470,179.14. (18)

The production cost of these war vessels may seem trivial if viewed by present day standards, but two things must be taken into consideration: first, that the iron-ship was then in its infancy, and second, that the superdreadnaught was not even a dream.

Nor was Pittsburgh's naval energy entirely devoted to the building of ironclads, for in the field of deck plating and iron armor its position was prominent. Bailey, Brown and Co., produced half the iron plate for the Kensington, a mill-

ion dollar ironclad under construction at Philadelphia in the year 1862. (19)

Two other million dollar ironclads, the Meantonomah, and Tonawanda, were covered with Pittsburgh armor plate. The former was built in New York by the Novelty Iron Works and the latter in Philadelphia by the firm of Merrick and Sons. (20) The plating for these vessels was furnished by the firm of M. K. Moorehead and G. F. McClave at a cost of $222,000.40. (21)

Pittsburgh also furnished one half of the armor plate for the Ironsides, an $800,000 vessel, under construction at Philadelphia. (22) On this subject the Gazette says: "It may not be generally known that the immense iron plate for the new iron plated steamships now being built at Philadelphia by Messrs. Merrick & Son. for the government, are being manufactured in this city at the works of Messrs. Bailey, Brown & Co. The plates are 15 feet long, 28½ and 30½ inches wide and four inches thick." (23) Newspapers of Pennsylvania at that time made frequent note of the fact that Pittsburgh forges could turn out sufficient armor plates to cover every vessel in the navy.

Prior to the construction of Ericson's Monitor, the officials of the Navy Department doubted the ability of American foundries to produce plating of the 4½ inch thickness. However true the basis for their statements may have been, later facts did not support their contention. So great was the demand for iron plate that during the year 1863, in Pittsburgh alone, many rolling mills were constructed. Among these were Messrs. Lyon & Shorb, the Messrs. McKnight and Messrs. Reese, Graff and Dull. The newly constructed mill of the Messrs. McKnight had a capacity of 50 tons of armor plate per week, while Messrs. Reese, Graff and Dull's plate mill had a capacity of 100 tons per week. The plate mills were constructed for the purpose of rolling armor plate for naval use, 10 feet long, 1 to 1½ inches thick, and weighing from 1600 pounds to a ton each. (24)

Pittsburgh's industrial ingenuity and energy did not limit itself to naval construction but made a more enviable record in the manufacture of immense engines of war. In

the ordnance department, Pittsburgh's position is especially prominent. For these facts it is best to state the history of the Fort Pitt Foundry.

This industrial plant was established in 1803 and continued in existence until about 1870. It was originally located at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Smithfield Street where the Park Building now stands. During the Civil War it was located at 28th Street in Allegheny.

To it belongs the honor of supplying our government with ordnance for three wars: the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the Civil War. Even Perry's famous victory on Lake Erie was aided materially by the service of Pittsburgh cannon cast at this Foundry. (25) However as the Civil War concerns us most, let us turn our attention toward its contributions to the Union Forces.

Among the productions of the Fort Pitt Foundry, the big guns must receive primary consideration. The first of these, the 'Union' was a twelve inch rifled cannon, weighing 26 tons. It was completed in the latter part of May 1861 and shipped on the 31st, (26) destined for Fort McHenry. On reaching its destination it was favorably tested, much to the dismay of the troublesome Baltimoreans. A correspondent who was an eye witness of the official test wrote: "Some idea of the range of this immense missile may be formed from the fact that it fired the huge ball (of 500 lbs.) six miles. The effect was tremendous—shells were thrown through the long sand bank; the force of the firing shook the ground as no other gun has ever done before." (27) At the time this was considered the largest cannon in the world. (28) Though a subject of much comment at the time, many guns similar to the 'Union' were turned out during the period of the War. In all the Fort Pitt Foundry furnished to our government one thousand one hundred ninety-three guns, during the period ending June 30, 1865. This lot included 8, 10 and 12 inch siege mortars, 4½ inch rifled cannon, 8 and 10 inch howitzers, and 8, 10, 12, 15 inch columbiads and 20 inch "Rodmans." The total value of these contributions was approximately $1,600.000. (29)

We are prone to underestimate the value and number of guns, if no comparison is made with the total purchased

at that time. For the entire period of the war, our government purchased seven thousand, seven hundred thirty-one cannons, mortars and columbiads. (30) In other words the Fort Pitt Foundry alone furnished 15% of the entire amount of large ordinance purchased by the government for use in the Civil War.

Among the ordnance furnished by the Fort Pitt Foundry there were seventy-three 15 inch Rodmans, the price of which was $485,500.00. This again may seem insignificant to us, who in the late war have been accustomed to billion dollar appropriations, but let us not forget that only eight 15 inch guns were purchased elsewhere, which clearly shows that the Fort Pitt furnished 80% of these big guns. (31)

At this point it would not be inappropriate to observe the position held by the Fort Pitt Foundry, both at home and at Washington. From the above data it is evident that there is much truth in the statement made by the *Gazette*, commenting upon the outbreak of a fire there: "It is here that all the big guns are cast for the government and the destruction of these works would be almost as disastrous as the loss of a battle." (32)

In his report for 1864, H. A. Wise, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance says: "The Fort Pitt Foundry, with its immense facilities and very great experience in the art of founding cannon, was at first the only establishment willing and able to undertake the task of making the 15 inch gun!" (33)

The Confederates had as their main support in the manufacture of guns, the Tredegar Iron Works, Richmond. Its capacity was only two Dahlgren guns per week; this was greatly surpassed by that of the Fort Pitt Foundry, which produced twelve guns of the largest caliber per week. (34)

A product which excited much comment was the famous 20 inch Rodman gun. The first one, as would naturally be expected, was cast at the Fort Pitt Foundry on Feb. 12, 1864, at a cost of $32,000. (35) It was cast in the presence of many distinguished men, including Major Rodman, the inventor of the principle. The *Gazette* described the cast-

ing as "one of the greatest feats in iron founding yet achieved."

In ascertaining the facts in the greatest feat in iron founding yet achieved, it is seen that 80 tons of molten metal were required. The gun was cast hollow, and the core was kept cool by a constant stream of cold water passing through it. In the finished state it weighed 56 tons, being 20 feet long over all, (the bore being 18 feet long.) The maximum diameter was 64 inches, minimum, 34 inches. (36) It fired a 1000 pound ball from a 750 pound shell, charged with 100 pounds of powder.

This gun was also at its time the largest gun in the world; with the exception of the stone throwing bronze gun at the Dardanelles. (36)

This gun had a great moral effect upon the enemy. It seemed, however, that those firing the gun were in greater danger than those fired upon. This was due no doubt to the imperfect and somewhat primitive method of casting. That this is true can be inferred from the fact that very few such guns were cast.

The first order for shells purchased in this district by the government also came from Fort Pitt, and consisted of 440-8 inch shot and 812-8 inch columbiad shells. (37) The first contract for projectiles was also made with the Fort Pitt Foundry on April 25, 1866, for one thousand 8 inch columbiad shells and five hundred 8 inch balls of reduced caliber. (28)

From April 9, 1861, to the end of the fiscal year June 30, 1863,the Fort Pitt Foundry furnished 33,071 cannon balls, shells and other projectiles valued at something like $100,000. But the record for the production of the greatest number for the period belongs to Smith, Park & Co., who furnished 196,320 projectiles valued at $92,000. Among the firms which furnished projectiles were Anderson & Phillips, Pennock, Hart & Co., and J. C. Bidwell of the Pittsburgh Plow Works. These collectively furnished 29,537 projectiles valued at $103,085. (39) These figures, large as they are, however, do not mean much to us until we discover that they represent 10% of all projectiles purchased by the

Government during the period from the beginning of the Rebellion to June 30, 1863. (40)

From June 30, 1863, to June 30, 1865, the Fort Pitt Foundry has the record for the largest number of projectiles. For this period it sold to the Government 161,000 projectiles at a cost of $104,719. Smith, Park & Co., sold during the same period 110,645 projectiles at a price of $88,-721. Pennock & Totten furnished 5,527 projectiles at a cost of $7,636. Joseph Pennock furnished 28,260 projectiles at a cost of $61,526. (41) On consulting the *House Executive Documents* it is seen that during this final two year period the Pittsburgh firms again furnished 10% of all projectiles purchased by the Government. (42)

The Fort Pitt Foundry is a subject of both pride and value to Pittsburgh. As has been stated before in this paper, it contributed greatly to our Government in surmounting the difficulties of the various wars, and its last service was in helping to save the Union.

Further enlargement is necessary before the full force of this view is realized. From available records it has been found that the Fort Pitt Foundry furnished more ordnance than any other firm with the exception of the Colt Patent Firearms Co., Hartford, Conn., and Robert P. Parrott, Cold Spring, N. Y. Among the strong competitors were E. Remington & Son of Ilion, N. Y., Savage Arms Co., of Middleton, Conn., and Sharps Rifle Arms Co., of Hartford, Conn. (43) The sad part connected with this is that the Fort Pitt Foundry left no successors in the firearms field while its competitors are to-day internationally known.

Pittsburgh did its part in providing comfort for the Union boys by furnishing 19,778 blankets and 37,893 articles of clothing as well as 675 tents for the first of the war. (44)

From the *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle* of September 11, 1861, we glean this item, "Four thousand sets of harness have been contracted here. Each set will harness a four mule team. About two thousand sets are now ready for delivery and the balance will be put through with the least possible delay."

It is to be regretted and lamented that records on this subject are sadly inadequate and have for the most part been destroyed as "useless documents." (45)

However, in the *Rebellion Record of Allegheny County for* 1861 *and* 1862, we find that "No provision having been made either in this city or Harrisburg, by the authorities, in 1861, for uniforming the three month volunteers, the men demurred from going until they were suitably clothed. B. F. Jones, Esq., assumed the task of equipping one company and depositing his check for $3000 ordered the clothing to be furnished, and set about collecting the amount to reimburse himself. Over $13,000 were collected in a day or two, and with this ten companies were uniformed." (45) The material furnished consisted of uniforms, undergarments, overcoats, caps and blankets, and was furnished by the following firms: Morganstern and Brother, Louis Kiehnieson, J. M. Little, J. C. Watt, A Frowenfield and Brother, and C. H. Paulson. Of the companies outfitted, the Duquesne Greys and the Washington Infantry still survive as active military organizations.

In addition to this local contribution, Pittsburgh firms supplied the Government with 871 wagons furnished for the most part by Phelps, Parke & Co., and Mr. Aeschelman, (46) and the *Gazette* of September 12, 1861, says, "We learn that Mr. J. C. Bidwell, proprietor of the Pittsburgh Plow Works has received a contract from the government for the construction of fifty-four heavy gun-carriages."

Pittsburgh's splendid relief work, which unfortunately is not in the province of this paper, was aided indirectly, by the manufacture of 35 ambulances which were supplied to the government.

To keep the fires of industry burning, something like 5,500,000 tons of the famous Pittsburgh coal were mined during the Civil War. This was 423,000 tons more than for any preceding period of similar duration. (47) To transport the Civil War tonnage of coal in this district would require 75 miles of barges.

Though only a dim perspective of the industrial contribution of Pittsburgh has been obtained, still this is enough

to show that Pittsburgh with a population of only about 50,000 (48) contributed largely to the success of the Northern cause and further that there was great sincerity and unity of purpose among its citizens in their enthusiastic support of this cause.

Louis Vaira.

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FLINT, JASPER AND CHALCEDONY ARROW POINTS

L. R. Lane Collection, State Museum, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

The Archaeology and Early History of the Allegheny River.

Very little has been written concerning the archaeology of the region along the Allegheny River. One reason for this lack of material relating to this most historic field of investigation is because there has never been any real scientific work done in it, and very little has been done to collect and to study the archaeological material which has been found in it.

It is very strange that such should be the case, as this river valley has seen more changes in the early aboriginal occupation than any other valley in the state.

The author, in a recent number of *Pittsburgh First* gave a sketch of the various Indian peoples who have lived along the course of this stream. Among these are the Akansea, the Cherokee, the Erie, the Black Minquas and the historic Seneca, Delaware and Shawnee. — There would, therefore be mingled the cultures of the Siouian, the Iroquoian and the Algonkian groups.

There is some reason for thinking that the earliest occupation of this region, like the greater part of Pennsylvania and New York, was Algonkian. The very oldest types of cultural remains and the most badly weathered which the author has seen, belong to this prehistoric Algonkian culture. Next comes the Iroquoian, including the Cherokee, Erie and Seneca. The last cultural remains are those of the historic period, when the Seneca, the Delaware and Shawnee came into this region.

The State Museum has recently purchased, through the Historical Commission, a most unique collection of Indian artifacts which were collected by L. R. Lane, of Freeport, along the Allegheny River between Oil City and Pittsburgh. Mr. Lane spent his spare time during a period of 40 years in gathering these fine specimens—which are now in the State Museum. This collection is of real value as Mr. Lane remembers where he found each one of the large artifacts.

Among the artifacts are many beautifully made arrow points of flint, jasper and chalcedony. Some of these are Iroquian, but the majority are Algonkian. There is a very finely made ceremonial knife of blue flint which measures 6¾ inches in length by 3¾ inches in width. A large stone ax, or celt, which was found near the mouth of the Kiskiminetas is 6½ by 5½ inches. But, probably the rarest specimens in this collection are three flint fish-hooks, which were found at the mouth of Bear Creek in Armstrong County, about one mile south of Parker City. Mr. Lane found these when excavating for a pump station for the Standard Oil Company. These fish-hooks measure ¾, 7/8, 1 and 1½ inches in length. They are without question genuine and are the only genuine flint fish-hooks which I have ever seen from the Allegheny River Valley. The collection covers the Allegheny River Valley from Oil City to Pittsburgh. Some of them were found at Bear Creek, Bradys Bend, Poketas Creek, Sugar Creek, and at various places along these streams.

Nearly all of the Indian villages which are mentioned in the early records belong to the historic period. None of them were very old and all of them were occupied after the Indians had fire-arms. The stone and flint artifacts found along the Allegheny are of very fine workmanship and belong to the period when the river was occupied by the ancestors of the Cherokee, who were called Alligewe in the early traditions, and after whom the Allegheny River was named. There is a very striking resemblance between the finely chipped arrow and spear points found on the Allegheny and those found in the southern region occupied by the Cherokee.

The earliest written record of the Indian villages on the Allegheny river is that which is contained in the "Account of the voyage on the Beautiful river made in 1749 under the direction of Monsieur de Celoron. by Father Bonnecamp."

In this account, which is given in "The Jesuit Relations", Vol LXIX, pages 150-199, an Iroquois village, called "Kananouangon", is the first one mentioned as being situated on the Allegheny. It was at the mouth of the Cone-

FLINT FISH-HOOKS

FLINT POINTS

L. R. Lane Collection, State Museum, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

wango river, just above the site of the present city of Warren. Another village which Bonnecamps mentions as "La paille coupe," was at the mouth of Broken Straw Creek, near the site of the present Irvineton. The English name of the Creek is a translation of the French name of the village as given by Bonnecamps. The name given to this village by the early English traders was Buckaloon. This may be a corruption of the Delaware name, Poquihhilleu, which signifies "broken". The Iroquois name of the village, Koshanaudeago, is given by Ellicott and Howell on their maps of 1787 and 1792.

The deserted village of Arigues, mentioned in this account, is the village of Kittanning. The "l'ancian village des chouanons" was probably Chartiers Old Town, and "un village de loups" was probably Shannopins Town. Bonnecamps mentions Chiningue, which was the village known to the English as Logstown. He says of this village, "The village of Chiningue is quite new; it is hardly more than five or six years since it was established. The savages who live there are almost all Iroquois; they count about sixty warriors. The English there were ten in number, and one among them was their chief."

The map of Lewis Evans, 1755, notes the number of Indian villages on the Allegheny. Among these are Buxaloons, which is the same as Bonnecamp's La Paille Coupee; Kuskusdatening, which is the village called Goshgoshing by Zeisberger. This was the first Moravian Mission on the Allegheny and was established by Zeisberger in 1767, near the present Tionesta. It was here that Zeisberger was brought into contact with the chiefs from the Beaver river, at whose invitation he removed to the site which was later known as Friedensstadt.

The Evans map also notes Wenango, the Venango of the Colonial Records, at the site of Franklin; Kittaning, Chartier Old Town, Sewickleys Old Town, Shannoppins Towns, Loggs Town, Shingoes Town and Kiskushkes. The location of these historic Indian villages is so well known that it is not necessary to give them more extended notice. All of them belong to the period following the migration of

the Delaware, and Shawnee from the Susquehanna, from 1727 to 1755.

The historic occupation of the upper Ohio and Allegheny was of short duration, not more than twenty-five years. Previous to that period there was a time when there were no permanent villages in the region. Before that period, when Western Pennsylvania was the hunting ground of the Iroquois, was the period when the Akansea, the Erie, the Black Minquas, the Cherokee and probably the Shawnee occupied it. This period has left no written records. No explorer or Jesuit Missionary has left a "Journal", telling of the villages or the people who occupied them. This record is written only in stone and flint artifacts made by the people who once lived along the Beautiful river. To try to read this record is the work of archaeologists. It seems rather strange that this rich field of investigation has been so sadly neglected. Pennsylvania was a center of migration back as far as we can trace the path-way of the aboriginal Indian. And yet when we reach such a recent period as 1700, we begin to walk in the mystery of tradition when we reach the shores of the Ohio River. More is known of the Aztec and Inca culture of a thousand years ago than of the culture of the upper Ohio of three hundred years ago.

Geo. P. Donehoo.

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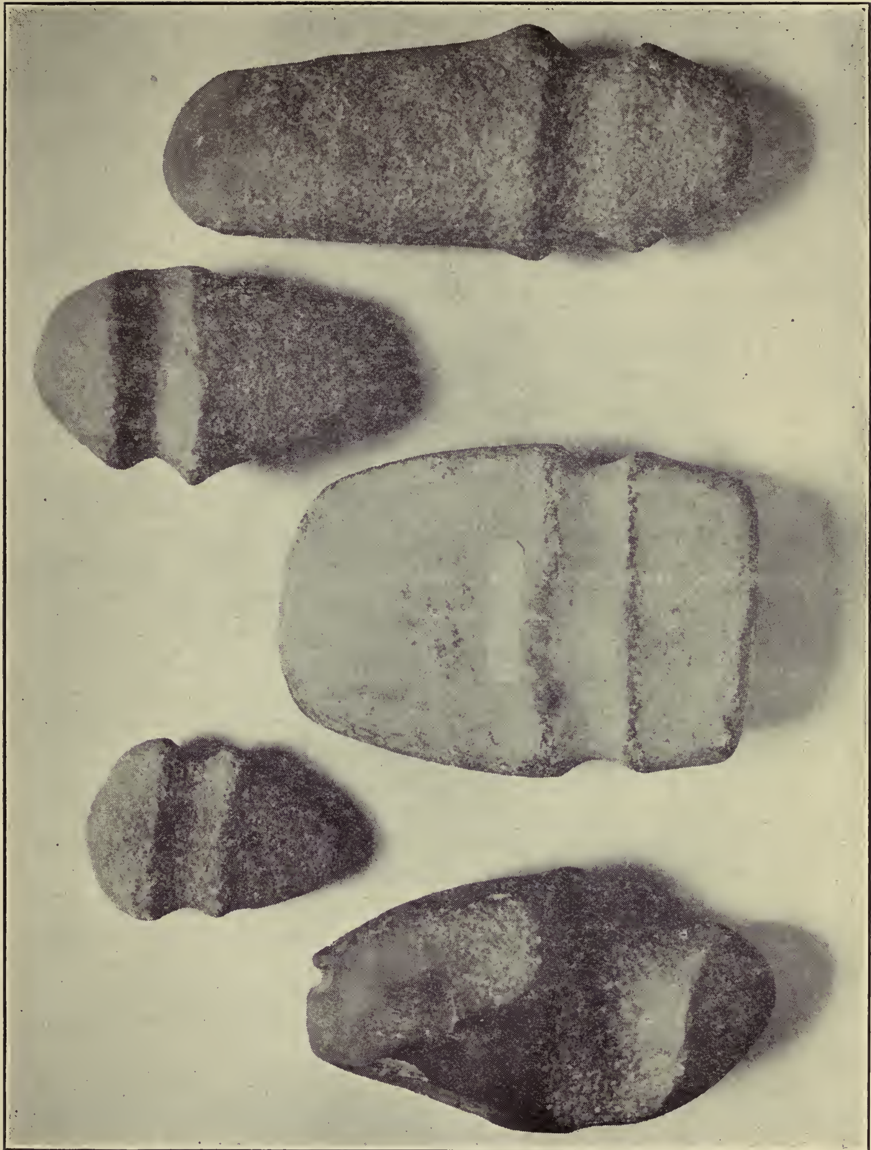

STONE AXES
L. R. Lane Collection, State Museum, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Western Pennsylvania and the Election of 1860.

Pennsylvania, previous to 1860, had been a strong Democratic State and had come under the sway of Buchanan, who had controlled Pennsylvania politics in the years preceding. From the election of Jackson, in 1828, until the election of Lincoln, Pennsylvania, with one or two exceptions, had been mainly Democratic. But now, in 1860, had come a great political revolution, for instead of giving the Democrats a majority, as had been the case, Pennsylvania gave Curtin the surprising majority of 32,084, (1) and Lincoln a majority of 56,673 over the combined votes of his three competitors. (2) This large a majority surprised even the Republicans themselves. (3) In this election, furthermore, the Democrats received such a setback that they have never recovered the strength and prominence that they enjoyed previously. Now, such a revolution must have had some strong cause back of it, and it is the purpose of this paper to discuss why and how this change came about.

It was early recognized that Pennsylvania was to be the battle ground of the campaign. If Lincoln was to be elected, he had to have the support of all the Northern States. Especial significance was attached to Pennsylvania since she was to elect a governor in October. As early as November first, 1859, Lincoln wrote to W. E. Frazer, "It is certainly important to secure Pennsylvania for the Republicans in the next presidential contest", (4) and throughout the ensuing campaign, this idea was stressed. (5) The *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette* of August 21st, 1860 said, "The great fight of November is to be settled in Pennsylvania by the preliminary fight in October. If we elect Curtin, ... the election of Lincoln will be settled; if we lose Curtin, ... the fight in November will be close and doubtful." (6) "As Pennsylvania goes, so goes the Union." (7) The *Pittsburgh Post* said, "Circumstances point to the old Keystone, a State which must decide the pending Presidential contest." (8)

*Paper read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania May 31, 1922.

The campaign preliminaries in Pennsylvania started in January, when the friends of Simon Cameron started to mention him as a candidate for the Presidency. His name was rapidly taken up and great enthusiasm was manifested for him in the Opposition Press. The *Washington Reporter* said, "The union of the opposition forces so essential to success in the coming Presidential struggle could best be secured by the nomination of either Bates, Cameron or Dayton" (9) and the Republicans of Fayette (10) and Mercer Counties instructed their delegates to the State Convention to "support all measures calculated to secure the nomination of Simon Cameron at the Chicago Convention." (11) Lincoln himself was not adverse to supporting Cameron, if he was nominated, for he said, "If the Republicans of the great State of Pennsylvania shall present Mr. Cameron as their candidate for the Presidency, such an indorsement for his fitness for the place could scarcely be deemed insufficient." (12) At the State Convention, "The enthusiasm for Senator Cameron was unbounded, carrying all before it, and overshadowing the claims of all his distinguished competitors" (13) and by a vote of 127 to 4, (14) the delegates to the Republican National Convention were "instructed to cast their votes for Hon. Simon Cameron while his name remained before that body." (15) Accordingly, Cameron's name was presented to the National Convention at Chicago, and on the first ballot he received 47 ½ votes out of the 53 cast by Pennsylvania. However, it was thoroughly understood that Pennsylvania's first vote was merely a "complimentary vote for a favored son" (16) and did not determine how she would vote in the remaining ballots. On the second and third ballots, Cameron's name having been withdrawn, (17) most of Pennsylvania's votes were thrown to Lincoln so that on the third and deciding ballot, Pennsylvania gave Lincoln 52 votes out of 54 cast. (18) The same evening her delegation brought on the platform a banner bearing the inscription, "Pennsylvania is good for 20,000 majority for the Peoples candidate for President." (19) Pennsylvania, and especially Cameron, had much to do with the nomination of Lincoln and particularly with the defeat of Seward. This state, as has been said above, was debatable ground and it

was admitted that if she was ignored in the nomination the Republican party would have to do without her at the election. (20) It was the determined position of the doubtful states, and especially Pennsylvania, which prevented the nomination of Seward for the delegates from these States said they could not carry their home States for Seward. (21) In Pennsylvania, Seward was opposed on account of his radical views in regard to slavery and also on account of his opposition to the American Party, to which most of the Republicans of this State had belonged.

The news of Lincoln's nomination was received in Allegheny County and the neighboring Counties with "joyful and enthusiastic acclamation on the part of the Republicans." (22) In Pittsburgh, cannon were discharged from Boyd's Hill and flags were flung to the breeze. (23) In Washington, "A large and enthusiastic meeting convened in the Court House to ratify the nomination of Lincoln and Hamlin" (24) and although the notice of the meeting was short and there was a heavy rain, the Court Room was filled. (24) Cameron, the political boss of the State, "made an excellent speech. . . . . endorsing the nominations of Lincoln and Hamlin in a most cordial and emphatic manner." (25) Practically all the Opposition journals in the State favored Lincoln and, on this point, the *Gazette* said, "There are at least 150 Opposition journals in Pennsylvania, and of these, two, or at most three, support the Baltimore nominations", (26) the rest favoring Lincoln.

Meanwhile, the Democrats had held their convention at Charleston, which resulted in the withdrawal of the radical element of the South. (27) The Democrats of Western Pennsylvania were practically a unit in desiring Douglas, for we find the *Post* remarking, just before the delegates left for the second National Convention, "It is idle for the delegates from Western Pennsylvania, who are now about to go to the Democratic Convention at Baltimore, to pretend that they do not understand the wishes of the people whom they represent, in regard to the Presidential nomination. Too often and in too many ways the people have spoken out for Douglas to leave any doubt that he is their choice." (28) After the permanent split, the *Post* claimed that Douglas

was the regular nominee of the National Democratic Party, saying, "The Senator from Illinois was nominated fairly and honorably, according to every Conventional rule and usage of the party," (29) and "There is—there can be—but one candidate of the National Democratic organization, and that candidate is Stephen A. Douglas. . . . The agents of the people at the Baltimore convention nominated Mr. Douglas; from that day it was a closed question." (30)

The main issues of the campaign, it seems, were (1) tariff, (2) slavery in the territories and (3) sectionalism. The first of these, the tariff question, played an important role in the election. Pennsylvania at this time was just recovering from the Panic of 1857, which had crippled the industrial interests of the State to a large extent. As the tariff then in effect was a low Democratic tariff, it was decided that the remedy was a high protective tariff, which the "people considered essential to their prosperity." (31) The demand in this State for a protective tariff led to the introduction of a tariff plank in the Republican Platform of Chicago. (32) The Republicans, seeing their opportunity, took a strong stand on the matter of a high tariff, (33) saying that protection was "one of the cardinal purposes of the national government," (34) "one of the cardinal doctrines in their creed" (35) and citing Curtin as a lifelong advocate of protection. (36) The Democrats, realizing the importance of the tariff question, also came out strongly for a protective tariff, (37) although they were somewhat handicapped by the fact that the National Democracy was for free trade or a low tariff and also by the fact that the Panic of 1857 had occurred under a Democratic Administration and tariff. (38) Both parties had tariff planks in their county and state platforms. (39)

Another important issue was that of extension of slavery. The Republican Party was fundamentally an anti-slavery party and as such received support in the other Northern States. Although in Pennsylvania the tariff was a vital issue, especially in the manufacturing districts such as Allegheny County, yet slavery was of some importance. But in their opposition to slavery, it must be remembered that the Republicans did not assume as radical a stand as

did the Abolitionists. They were willing that slavery should remain in the Slave States but they were opposed to its extension in the territories. (40) The two main arguments of the Republicans against slavery were: first, the unconstitutionality of slavery, and second, the effect of the spread of slavery upon free labor.

As to the unconstitutionality of slavery in the Territories, the Republicans declared emphatically that the Constitution did not recognize slavery and called attention to the fact that the revolutionary fathers "excluded the words 'slave' and 'slavery' from the Constitution and that Madison said he thought it wrong to admit into the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man," (41) and that their "policy. . . . was to make the national domain all free." (41) The Republican State Convention, in an Address to the People of Pennsylvania said "That the dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries Slavery into all or any of the territories of the United States, is a new and dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of the instrument itself, with its contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, that it is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the people." (42) The *Lincoln Herald*, quoted by the *Gazette*, said, "The Constitution of the United States does not establish or prohibit slavery. Slavery is an institution growing out of State laws and cannot exist beyond the limits of such State. The natural condition of all Territories is freedom, and should be kept free." (43) The Republicans said further, "With the Constitutionally guaranteed rights of the Slave States, they have not and never will intermeddle. . . . . Where slavery is under the Constitution they will never enter to disturbe it or meddle with the existing relations of master and slave. But when the question of new states arise, when the virgin soil of broad land is to be subdivided into new confederacies, then the Republican Party claim to be heard in behalf of Freedom, and will not be slow to enter its solemn protest against the desecration of one other foot of free soil to the barbarous and anti-Christian institution of slavery. Hands off

where slavery now exists under the Constitution, ... but no more slave States." (44)

The other argument of the Republicans against the spread of slavery, namely, that of the effect upon free labor, had much more influence than the one just mentioned. The Democrats, especially those of the South, were working for the spread of slavery into the territories and, with the aid of the Dred Scott decision, for the spread of slavery into the free States. The Republicans made much of this fact to appeal to the working men of the manufacturing districts. The Republicans in 1854 had lost Pennsylvania on an anti-slavery platform, showing that the slavery issue was not very strong. (45) But now it was brought nearer home by showing the effect that slavery would have upon the laboring class of Western Pennsylvania. Blaine showed the importance of this issue very plainly when he said, "The moment the hostility to slave-labor in the territories became identified with protected labor in Pennsylvania, the (Republican) Party was inspired with new hopes, received indeed a new life." (46) The *Gazette* made good use of statements expressed by Southern leaders and Papers regarding slavery and the working class, such as: "We believe capital should own labor," from a speech made by H. V. Johnson, the running mate of Douglas; "The South now maintains that Slavery is right, natural and necessary, and does not depend upon difference of complexion. The laws of the Slave States justify the holding of white men in bondage," from the *Richmond Enquirer*; and "Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black. . . . Master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child, and the Northern States will yet have to introduce it. The theory of free government is a delusion," from the *Charleston Mercury*. (47) The *Gazette* used these quotations with great effect. They showed the laborer the danger he would encounter in working in competition with slaves, and also showed him that in the end he would probably become a slave himself or, if not a slave, a "poor white." The *Gazette* remarked further "It is remarkable that Southern Senators, in speaking of poor men and working men, invariably speak

of them in opprobious terms. Sen. Hammond called them 'the mudsills of human society;' Mr. Wigfall denounced them as 'criminals' and declared poverty to be a crime; and here comes Mr. Green who stigmatizes them as 'poor, infamous scoundrels' and 'lazzaroni.' There is no discrimination — no exception. Every man who is poor and compelled to work for a living is, in the eyes of these aristocrats, infamous and base from the very fact of being poor. And these men are Democrats — leaders in the Democratic Party — its advocates and oracles." (48) Edgar A. Cowan, in a speech in Pittsburgh on Sept. 26, said, "I am not asking you to liberate the slaves — I am no abolitionist; it is the poor white men we want to liberate, first," (49) and Carl Schurz condensed the Republican stand as follows: "To man — his birthright; To Labor — freedom; To him that wants to Labor—work and independence; To him that works — his dues." (50) The Republicans made so much use of this argument that they were enabled to say, towards the end of the campaign, "The real and true issue between the two great parties which underlies all the struggles and strife, is, whether the power of government shall be exerted to protect free white labor or black slave labor. Divested of the shams and deceptions, that is the whole contest when narrowed down to its practical point." (51) Now, with this argument of protected white labor and the argument of protection to the industries, we can see that the Republicans would have a great hold upon the people of the Pittsburgh district.

The Douglas Democrats in Western Pennsylvania took a middle stand on the slavery question, advocating "popular sovereignty" and "non-intervention by Congress." The Democratic State Convention states their stand very well in the following resolutions: "Resolved, That we deprecate the continued agitation of the slavery question in Congress and among the people in the different sections of the Union, believing, as we do, that it tends to weaken the bondage of our common union — to excite animosities and create heart-burnings between the members of the same great family, and can accomplish no possible good. Resolved, That we continue firm in the opinion that Congress has no power to

legislate on the subject of slavery in the States, nor would it be expedient for Congress to establish it in any territory, nor to exclude it therefrom. Resolved, That the question of the right of the citizen to hold his slaves in the Territories of the United States is a judicial, and not a legislative question, and its decision is committed exclusively to the courts." (52) Johnson, the candidate for the Vice-presidency, devoted the whole of his speech in Pittsburgh to the question of slavery and non-intervention by Congress. (53) The *Post* says "The Democrats, at least in the North, are not slavery propagandists. Where slavery exists, they are willing to defend it from all interference of outside aggressions. They are willing that the people of new territories and new states shall decide for themselves whether the institution shall exist within their borders or not." (54) The Democrats also accused the Republicans of being Abolitionists, saying that "The great object of every Democrat in the present campaign should be to defeat the Abolition Candidate Lincoln," (55) and the *Washington Review* condemned Lincoln several times for being an Abolitionist. (56)

The third great issue of the campaign, which was used mainly by the Democrats, is that of sectionalism. The Republicans, of course, were strictly a Northern Party, there being no Republicans in the South. The *Post* says, "The prominent candidates are Lincoln and Douglas. The one represents Sectionalism—the other Nationalism," (57) and a little later sums up the situation thus, "The Republicans are trying to elect a President for the North. The Bolters are trying to elect a President for the South. The National Democracy are trying to elect a President for the whole Union." (58) The Republicans denied the charge of sectionalism saying that they "indignantly hurl back in the teeth of its utterers the foul imputation of *sectionalism* and *one ideaism* so flippantly imputed to them by the subsidized press of the Democracy, and boldly assert their just claims to be considered the broad comprehensive national party of the Country." (59) The *Post* also professed to see a connection between Republican Sectionalism and Southern threats of disunion, for it said, "The very foundation of the

Republican party of the North is a mad fanaticism which has brought the country to the verge of destruction. It is the principles of Republicanism openly avowed by its leaders as the issue of the campaign, which have aroused in the South those fierce disunion sentiments. . . . .Northern fanaticism has bred Southern Disunionism." (60) A variation of the sectionalism argument used by the Democrats was that the aggression of the Republicans was leading to the severance of the commercial relations between the North and the South. The Democratic County Convention at Pittsburgh approved the following resolution: "Resolved, That we . . . . . disapprove of all attempts to alienate the South from the North, by interference with Southern institutions, because such interference leads to a breaking up of the international trade between the citizens of the several States, a trade which has been a source of vast profit to Pennsylvania and because an interruption of that trade must seriously interfere with the market for the great staples of our commerce, ... that give employment to thousands, that confer wealth and prosperity upon our cities, and secure a market for the produce of the farmer." (61) The *Post* said, prior to the meeting of the Convention, " Already the business men of the North begin to feel the influence of the present political estrangement from the South. The natural effect of such aggression as the North is making upon the South is to destroy the business relations between the two sections. . . . . The Southern people are quietly but firmly making their arrangements to cut off their business intercourse with the North. They are forming among themselves non-intercourse compacts and are directing their trade as far as possible away from the Northern manufacturers and business men." (62)

Although the Democrats were of one mind in their purpose of defeating the Abolitionist candidate "Lincoln," they were nevertheless engaged in a family quarrel. Buchanan, the Democratic political boss, supported the Southern Democrats both before and after the Democratic Conventions, thinking that the road to power lay through the South. (63) The majority of the Democrats of the State, however, favored Douglas. Buchanan brought to bear all

the power possible to secure the State for Breckenridge, but failed. The main struggle between the two factions was in regard to the Democratic State electors. The electors had been named at the State Convention at Reading before the National party had split. The question now arose, Whom shall the electors vote for in case the Democrats carried Pennsylvania, Douglas or Breckenridge? It was clearly seen that, if the Democrats expected to carry the State in both elections, they must present a united front (64) and accordingly, all efforts were made to do this. At a meeting of the State Central Committee held in Philadelphia early in July, "Mr. Welsh's compromise plan to have but one electoral ticket, unpledged to either, but to cast its vote, if elected, for the Democratic candidate most likely to be successful, was . . . . . adopted." (65) This plan was denounced by the people and the press as an "infamous proposition." (66) The *Post* said that it was willing to support a single electoral ticket but maintained that the decision as to whom the electors should vote for should be left to the people and not to the State committee or to any future contingencies which the people cannot control as they wish. (67) Richard Vaux, the head of the Electoral ticket also refused to approve of this compromise. (68) The Douglas faction, at a convention at Harrisburg, likewise opposed this attempt at coalition and further resolved to demand that the State Committee should rescind this action and come out for Douglas, at their Cresson meeting of August 9th, 1860. (69) At the Cresson meeting, the State Committee "resolved on a Fusion ticket, headed by the names Douglas and Breckenridge, the vote of the electors to go to the one who has the highest number of votes in the State." (70) The *Post* approved of this plan, saying, "The first object now is success, and to do this, we must have a united and harmonious organization, as against the common enemy. . . . . We shall sustain the action of the Committee at Cresson, because it is the only way we see to preserve the integrity of the State organization under present circumstances," (71) and "We are for it, because it will elect Mr. Foster, Governor, and preserve our good old Democratic party a unit." (72) Some of the more radical Douglas men, however, objected to this

compromise and "kicked out of the traces." (73) The Douglas State Executive Committee, on the 15th of August, resolved to place a "clear Douglas electoral ticket" (74) in the field. (75) The *Post* "as the friend of Mr. Douglas, and an ardent desirer of his success" condemned the movement, (74) and said further, "No true friend of Douglas can, with any consistency, favor this Harrisburg movement. It is, in fact, a Bolter's ticket." (74) This ticket, however, was withdrawn on October 18th, (75) enabling the Democrats to present a united front in the Presidential election.

In the October election for Governor, Curtin, the Republican candidate, carried the State with a vote of 262,396 to 230,312 for Foster. The result in Allegheny and the surrounding counties was as follows: (77)

County	Curtin	Foster
Allegheny	15,879	9,190
Westmoreland	4,830	5,276
Butler	3,526	2,548
Beaver	2,682	1,717
Washington	4,768	4,206

In the Presidential election in November, Lincoln carried the State with a vote of 268,030 as compared with 178,871 for the Fusion Ticket, 16,677 for the Douglas Straight ticket and 12,809 for the Union Party. The result by counties was as follows: (78)

County	Lincoln	Fusion	Douglas	Bell
Allegheny	16,725	6,725	523	570
Westmoreland	4,887	4,796	13	13
Butler	3,640	2,332	13	22
Beaver	2,824	1,620	4	58
Washington	4,724	3,975	8	91

An examination of these figures reveals that in the industrial centers, such as Allegheny County, where the main issue was tariff and protected free labor, the Republican majority was large, whereas in the agricultural counties, where the issue was the extension of slavery, the vote was nearly even. It would appear that the result of the October election influenced somewhat the November election in as much as we find that in almost every case, the Republican vote was larger and the Democratic correspondingly small-

er. This is possibly due to the natural desire of those who had no decided opinions, to be on the winning side. Westmoreland County, which went Democratic in the State election by a majority of about 450, owing no doubt to the fact that it was Foster's home County, gave the Republicans a majority of 90 votes in the Presidential election.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize these two facts: first, that the success of the Republicans in Western Pennsylvania was due largely to their strong stand on the questions of tariff, protected free labor and non extension of slavery, and in part to the split in the Democratic Party; second, that the success of the Republicans in Pennsylvania contributed in a marked degree to their success throughout the Nation.

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19. Ibid., May 19, 1860.
20. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1860.
21. Ibid., May 31, 1860.
22. Ibid., May 19, 1860.
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24. The *Washington Reporter*, May 24, 1860.
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26. Ibid., June 5, 1860. also May 28, 1860.
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53. *Post*, Sept. 25, 1860.
54. Apr. 30, 1860.
55. *Post*, July 31, 1860. See also *Post*, Sept. 15, 1860.
56. May 31; June 7 and 14, 1860.
57. Oct. 23, 1860.
58. Nov. 2, 1860.
59. *Gazette*, Feb. 22, 1860.
60. June 30, 1860.
61. *Post*, Jan. 26, 1860.
62. Jan. 10. 1860.
63. *Gazette*, July 3, 1860.
64. Ibid., July 11, 1860, quoting the *Greensburg Argus*.
65. *Gazette*, July 6, 1860.
66. Ibid. July 11, 1860, quoting the *Greensburg Argus*.
67. July, 16, 1860.
68. *Gazette*, July 13, 1860.
69. Ibid., July 28, 1860.
70. Ibid., Aug. 11, 1860.
71. Aug. 11, 1860.
72. Sept. 3, 1860.
73. *Chronicle*, Aug. 16, 1860.

74. *Post*, Aug. 17, 1860.
75. *Gazette*, Aug. 17 and 20, 1860; *Post*, Aug. 17. 1860.
76. *Post*, Oct. 20, 1860.
77. Official returns, *Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1860.
The result in the other counties of Western Pennsylvania was as follows:

County	Curtin	Foster
Fayette	3,382	3,556
Greene	1,529	2,669
Somerset	2,977	1,372
Indiana	3,672	1,886
Armstrong	3,474	2,698
Lawrence	2,645	959
Mercer	3,624	2,794
Venango	2,581	2,142
Clarion	1,795	2,297
Crawford	5,277	3,178
Erie	5,613	2,469
Warren	2,112	1,172

78. Official returns, *Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1860.
The result in the other counties was as follows:

County	Lincoln	Fusion	Douglas	Bell
Fayette	3,454	3,308	24	147
Greene	1,614	2,665	26	17
Somerset	3,218	1,175	--	1
Indiana	3,910	1,347	--	22
Armstrong	3,355	2,108	--	50
Lawrence	2,937	788	16	31
Mercer	3,855	2,546	2	49
Venango	2,680	1,932	6	6
Clarion	1,829	2,078	--	12
Crawford	5,779	2,961	62	--
Erie	6,160	2,531	17	90
Warren	2,284	1,087	4	--

The Attitude of the Pittsburgh Newspapers Toward the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

In writing the paper, all quotations from the newspapers have not been given for the reason that at times all the journals duplicated their stories. However, all the details of interest and importance have been carefully recorded, and it is proper to call attention to the fact that, while at times the sentences are not as smooth as they might be, they are nevertheless, exact quotations from the newspapers of that period. The quotations from the German newspapers are necessarily loose translations, but the original meaning has not been changed.

Douglas' name was sometimes spelled "Douglass", but we have accepted the modern spelling, and used it throughout the paper.

The Kansas Nebraska strife, which agitated the entire country during the first half of the year 1854, is discussed at length in the various Pittsburgh newspapers of that period. (*)

At times, various issues of local or national opinion, flooded the papers, and the Kansas-Nebraska issue was lost sight of, but never for a long period. It is interesting to note the conflict between the local editors, and to note the personal attacks which often creep into the editorials.

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*The sources sought in writing this paper, are as follows: The *Evening Chronicle;* The *Pittsburgh Gazette*; The *Pittsburgh Post,* and the German paper, *Freiheits Freund.* There were several other newspapers published in Pittsburgh during this period, but they are not on file at the Central Library. There is a complete copy of *The Iron City,* but inasmuch as it was edited by Barr & McDonald, the editors of the *Chronicle,* I found that the editorial opinions were the same, and so did not include that paper in this research.

The first article is in the *Gazette*, written by one Junius, who was a Washington correspondent for this journal. On January 10th, he writes: "The bill and the report from the committee on territories must be a signal for the reopening of the slavery agitation. They (the slaveholders) never cease from aggressions; they are as treacherous, crafty and dishonest, in policy, as they are bold and unscrupulous in action." Several days later, this same man writes: "I always regarded the Missouri Compromise as a cheat and a fraud, but slavery has had the benefit of it, and now, after the lapse of 35 years, on the very first occasion that the North demands the performance of the conditions in her favor, the bill is to be repealed. To state such a proposition is to cover with infamy all who advocate it." Later, (Jan. 16), he says: "We admire their spunk and indomitable energy; three slave states in one year is doing a pretty fair business. Nebraska will come in, polluted with slavery, if the South can induce slaveholders to go there, which is doubtful. The North and the Electoral College will put itself out of breath, to catch the runaway negroes from their Southern masters, as a testimony of her fidelity to the Compromises of the Constitution."

On January 18th, the *Post*, which during the entire controversy, until the final passage of the bill, rarely mentions the matter in its editorial columns, carries this notice under "Congressional": "Mr. Douglas gave notice that he would, on Monday, take up the Nebraska Bill. Mr. Sumner read an amendment, which he gave notice he would offer to the Nebraska Bill, providing for exclusion of slavery."

Two days later, Junius writes: "Douglas' Nebraska enormity has emboldened the slavery propagandists, in Congress, and today, Dixon of Kentucky, a bigot of the first water on that question, submitted a resolution, repealing the Missouri Compromise in express terms. This need excite no surprise. No exhibition of treachery, craft or audacity, ought to surprise the country after what has happened during the past five years. Dixon's resolution is no worse than Douglas' bill, which accomplishes under a covert and sneaking pretense, the same thing." The next day, Junius writes: "Dixon's bill is an amendment to the Nebraska Ter-

ritorial bill, and as such, is a rather bolder sample of treachery and political rascality, than if offered by itself."

On January 26, Junius says: "The Committee on Territories is about to report a bill which divides the territory embraced in Douglas' bill, into two states. Slavery is rampant, pugnacious and extortionate." Several days later, anent a meeting which was to be held in Pittsburgh, to protest this bill, the *Gazette* says: "We hope that there will be a meeting in Pittsburgh, which will do honor to the city, and to the cause of freedom and the country." Speaking of this meeting, the *Post*, which was Democratic in views, says: "The meeting was largely attended by Whigs, Free Soilers and a few Democrats." On the last of the month, however, there is a touch of wrath, in the tone of the *Post*: "In speaking of the bill introduced into the United States Senate by Senator Douglas to organize the territory of Nebraska, the *Tribune* draws largely on the billingsgate vocabulary, for terms to express its wrath against all Congressmen." The article is headed "The Rascals at Washington."

The *Gazette*, is the first paper to admit that the bill has a very good chance of passing. On February 1st, it contains this article: "For our part, we think that the bill will go through the Senate, and through the House, if the administration insists on it. Nothing can stop it, but a terrible storm of indignation in the north." Remarking on Douglas' speech in the Senate the next day, this same paper states that: "Mr. Douglas' speech was insolent and bullying in its tone, coarse in its invective, and contemptible in its argument. The answers of Messrs. Chase and Sumner were firm and determined, but dignified." According to the *Freiheits Freund*, this opinion is prevalent: "Since the country is at peace, and the parties have nothing to do, the politicians had to stir up agitation; hence the Nebraska Bill. Douglas has his eye on the Presidency, and is playing his cards accordingly. But the little giant is no longer a little giant. The South will praise him, nourish him—but what else?"

We find that the controversy is particularly fierce during the month of February. We can't help but have

respect for the editor of the *Post*, who passes up many chances to pick quarrels with the other editors of the city, and we can well censure the editor of the *Gazette*, who is always begging for yet a little more time to air the matter. An excerpt from the paper, (Feb. 3), will make this clearer: "The people are beginning to awake. If they have but time, to become fully aroused, Douglas' bill may yet be defeated."

Here is a quotation from one of the few editorials in the *Post*: "That man must be blind, who does not see in advance, that it must triumph. The very certain effect of its enactment upon the future of the slavery question as a national issue, also operates to incline towards it, moderate legislators who are tired of the interminable ding-dong on Abolitionism, in the Halls of Congress. They favor it, to the end of ridding the national councils of that worse than useless nuisance." (Feb. 4.)

The *Chronicle* of the same date gives what seems a plausible excuse for the silence of the Democratic *Post*: "There appear to be but a few Democratic papers, throughout the entire country, at all disposed to break cover on the infamous proposition thrown out by Senator Douglas. The reason why the Democratic press of the North is so quiet upon the diabolical plot, is not entirely unaccountable. There never was an administration which dispensed with equal prodigality, fat living to editors of Democratic journals, or so cunningly subdivided its patronage among those not otherwise provided for."

On the seventh day of the month, we find a little tilt between the editors of the *Gazette* and the *Post*. As a rule, the *Chronicle*, while Whig in its feelings, took a rap at both of these journals.

Several days later, (Feb. 8), the *Gazette* issues this warning: "Look out, Slavery! Having broken your solemn contracts, be prepared to see the North laugh to scorn your prating about checks and balances and compromises. No faith will be kept with traitors." The very next day, the *Post* carries this article: "The *Gazette* is mad. Were it left to us, we would repeal forty Missouri Compromises, if by so doing the dangerous and worse than useless slavery

discussions could be excluded from the Halls of the National Legislature. Nor do we dread the oft repeated lie, that all who are opposed to slavery agitation in Congress are friends of slavery."

As said before, time and time again we find the pitiful plea of the *Gazette*: "Only give the North time." And yet the North had as much time to work against the bill, as the South to work for it! The *Post* carries an article about this time, (Feb. 11), which is interesting: "That slavery can ever find a permanent footing in Nebraska, or Kansas, no intelligent man can believe. Slave labor can never be desirable or profitable in those regions. In California, much further South, the people decided the question for themselves, and resolved on the exclusion of slavery. Once settle the principle that the question of slavery shall be decided by the people of each state and territory, and the agitators occupation is gone."

The German paper, on the same day, breaks away from the controversy over the papal nuncio, who was in this country at this time, long enough to say that "slavery is a misfortune for the entire country, and wretched enough, without opening up new territory for it." Junius appears on the scene at the same time, and we quote him: "The abominations of the Nebraska bill have actually sickened me, and for the last two days I have been hardly able to hold a pen. I may say with the hymnist,

'Sin revived,
And I died.' "

During the next few days, (Feb. 13 and 14), the various Whig journalists take a dig at Senator Douglas. The *Chronicle* says: "The Spoilation Bill of Mr. Douglas is working its way through the Senate with commendable alacrity. Mr. Douglas may succeed, but his death knell is already sounding. The high office his ambition pants for, will be given hereafter by the millions of the North, and not by the Thousands of the South." The *Freiheits Freund* also says: "We hope that Mr. Douglas will overreach himself, and that he will fall, and that with him will go the Nebraska bill. A strong opposition is forming in the North, which the Little Giant will be unable to break."

Seward delivered his great speech against the bill on the 18th, and in the issues of the 20th and 21st, the *Gazette* simply bubbles over in its praises of him. The *Post* does not even carry an editorial comment on the speech, but the *Chronicle* says: "The *Gazette* is head over heels in the Nebraska movement, and contains this morning, a great part of Senator Seward's speech." It isn't until four days later, that the *Post* says in two lines: "Mr. Sumner delivered a speech against the Nebraska bill. And the *Gazette* covered most of its front page with the speech!"

On the 1st and 5th of March, the *Post* quotes Everett, the Whig candidate for the Presidency: "I believe that it is admitted that there is no material interest at stake. A domestic servant may be taken there, (Nebraska), a few laborers, but it will never be a slave state." On March 4th, the *Chronicle* announces the passage of the Bill as follows: "This bill of abominations has passed the Senate finally, by a vote of more than three to one; the hopes of the country now rest with the House. Freemen, Watch, and Pray!"

About this time, the German paper again appears to take an interest in the situation, and publishes speeches of protest against the bill.

In its issue of March 11th, the *Gazette* sounds rather optimistic: "There is a lull in the storm at Washington, on the Nebraska Bill. It is not yet reported to the House, and the opposing forces can marshal their strength." On the same date, the *Freiheits Freund* carries an editorial, in which it appeals to the German citizens to go to Nebraska, and thus make it a Northern community. From now on, the editorials in this paper are reprints of New York journals, and hence lose their interest for us.

On the 15th of this month, a little local spice was injected into the question, and all three papers took a hand. The *Gazette* called a meeting of all local clergy, to protest the bill, and the response was immediate. The *Chronicle* comes out with this article: "Anti-Nebraska Meeting of Clergy." "The above notice is prominently displayed this morning, in the Protestant organ, the *Gazette*. We, being perfectly sound on the Nebraska question, may escape the charge of impertinence, by dissenting, in toto, to any such

demonstration. The clergy overstep their function, when the border of the political arena is penetrated." The *Post* says: "The *Gazette* says that not one of the clergymen of this city has refused to sign the Anti-Nebraska remonstrance. That is not true. Several have refused. There are some few clergy in Pittsburgh, who choose to abide by the sacredness of their calling, and not undertake to regulate political affairs." Of course, this incident does not have a direct bearing on the question at hand, but it throws a sidelight on the manner in which the various journals took a slap at each other. The other papers promptly forget the matter, but the *Gazette* continues to talk about it, and as late as the 30th, we find this: "As to the disinterestedness and respectability of the demonstration made by the Ministers of the Gospel, it must be equal in that respect to the uproar of the officeholders in favor of it."

During the month of April, the papers carry little on the subject. The *Gazette* carries an occasional notice of a ministerial meeting in some part of the country, held to protest against the bill. The German paper takes a shot at the Southern German organs, which are upholding the Nebraska Bill. In the latter part of the month, our old friend Junius crops up again, and he tells us that: "Mr. Benton made a powerful, caustic and witty speech against the Nebraska swindle. I venture to say that within a month, the organ of the administration will deny that it ever approved of the repudiation of the Missouri Compromise."

In the next month, May, the storm breaks out with renewed vigor, and up to the passage of the bill in the two bodies, the *Gazette* and the *Chronicle* carry many articles about it. In an editorial of the 6th, Junius portrays what has happened during the past three years, since the discussion of slavery has been so violent, and he predicts that if the bill is passed, that it will eventually lead to a rupture between the two sections. The *Post,* several days later, announces that "there is now a strong prospect that the Nebraska Bill will pass the House of Representatives, as it came from the Senate, except that the Clayton amendment will be stricken out." On the same day, (May 12), the *Gazette* carries this editorial: "The Outrage is to be con-

summated. Our own impression is that the administration has secured by coaxing, threats and bribery, a sufficient number of the wavering and doubtful, to carry the measure through, and that they will proceed in the most summary fashion."

On the 16th, the *Gazette* announces with glee: "The Administration organs, who are so anxious for the triumph of slavery in the Nebraska bill, are overwhelmingly indignant at the course of the Anti-Nebraska members in Congress, in resorting to revolutionary methods to prevent the passage of that monstrosity. Baffled men may be allowed to vent their spleen. Let the conspirators rave!" On the next day, the same paper, on its editorial page, gave the names of the Pennsylvania members in Congress, who had voted for the taking up of the bill. The names were blocked in, with heavy black lines, and the column was headed "The Roll of Infamy."

On the 17th, the *Post* carries a few lines, stating that an Anti-Nebraska meeting, which was to be held in New York City, had turned out to be a failure. The same day, the *Chronicle* states, that in its opinion, Douglas' bill would pass. On the 20th, the *Gazette* carried a two-column editorial, entitled, "The Tremendous Designs of Slavery."

On May 24, all the papers carry the news of the passage of the bill. We will quote all of them:

The *Gazette*:. "The deed is done! The astonishing perfidy of the free states of the Union has been consummated by the aid of forty-four traitors to the rights, interests and honor of the North. But are the people powerless? Have they no remedy? Thank God they have the means of redress in their own hands. All that is wanting, is the spirit and the patriotism to use the power they possess. Let the cry of REPEAL be sounded. Let us do this, and the Southern slaveholders will live to curse the day that they stooped to such pliant tools as Pierce, Douglas & Co."

The *Freiheits Freund*: "The Little Giant Triumphs. Sad must be the heart of every friend of this country, when he sees this unfortunate mass rule, as nothing else than a perpetuation of the stain on the republic—negro slavery!"

The *Chronicle*: "The deed is Consummated. The Neb-

raska-Kansas, Douglas "niggerhead" treason has been consummated by a Pierce Congress. The black flag is unfurled. The South waves it in triumph, and will not cease to flap its folds in the faces of Northern Dough-faces."

The *Post*: "Two more free territories are thus organized, that in a very short time will contain a sufficient population to entitle them to admission as states of the Union. And as free states they will come, as free as Illinois, Indiana, Ohio; as large and fruitful, and in no long time as populous and wealthy."

On the 27th, while all the other papers carried columns about the "infamy," the *Post* says: "The Nebraska Bill has passed the Senate, as it went from the House of Representatives, by a vote of 35 yeas, to 13 nays. Immediately after the passage of the Nebraska Bill, a salute of 100 guns began firing from Capitol Hill." Two days later, it carries this short, but sarcastic item, headed "Nebraska Grief!" "The Church bells were tolled for an hour at sunset, last evening, on account of the passage of the Nebraska Bill."

On the 30th, the *Freiheits Freund* has an editorial, which tells of the fierce opposition in the North, to the bill. It says that the North is now fully aroused, and then ends up with these words: "Too late!"

Beginning the 30th, and up through the 5th of June, the *Gazette* carries articles both on the front page and in the editorial page, about "this outrage." On the 31st, it states: "The North has been robbed, insulted, outraged in the most tender point, and dough-face editors tell us that it is all a humbug, and that Pierce, Douglas & Co., and the editor of the *Post* are not in favor of the extension of slavery. Oh no, of course not. They are ardent lovers of freedom, and opposed to slavery. Strange that anybody should doubt it." Under the same date, the *Post*, in a three-fourths column editorial, says: "We like not slavery, but we like good old-fashioned democracy, and we hope all its principles will be maintained and universally applied."

On the 5th of June, the editor of the *Post* takes his innings for all the insults that he has taken in the past five months, and he rubs it in on the Whigs, and the editor of the *Gazette* in particular. In a long editorial, he asserts:

"That editor (of the *Gazette*) knows that his clamor against the Nebraska Bill is a false alarm, a humbug got up to deceive the people, and drive them into the ranks of Abolitionism. He knows that the bill, as it passed, is far more favorable to the North than to the South, and that slavery will never exist in those territories. How long will the people be deceived?"

The next day, there is a full column editorial, entitled: "Why They Hate It." It follows, in part: "The Kansas-Nebraska bill, which has now become a law, has excited the wrath of the Whigs and Abolitionists beyond measure. Why do they oppose it so fiercely? It has created an irreconcilable breach in their party, and utterly destroyed it for national influence. Agitators by profession, they find that slavery is driven out of the Halls of Congress; hence their impotent cry of "Repeal." It is their only chance for continued agitation. The Nebraska Bill does not favor slavery. It favors freedom, and will soon add two new free states to the confederacy."

The last article appears in the *Post*, on the 11th of June. It is a copy of the law in full, with no editorial comment.

A paper such as this, would indeed be incomplete, if the writer did not state his reactions to the various views expressed by the several newspapers. One cannot help but sympathize with the editor of the *Post*, for inasmuch as that journal was an administration paper, it had to choose its words carefully. But the question is bound to rise: "How were the readers of the *Post* kept acquainted with the situation?" For when the bill was being discussed throughout the nation, the *Post* carried only a few meager lines about it. The editor, then, is open to the criticism that he surpressed real news, in attempting to shield the administration. However, it cannot be said that he did not have the situation well in hand, for when the bill was finally passed, the editor of the *Post* was able to effectively spike the guns of the other papers in the city. The editor of the *Gazette*, while casting reflections on Douglas, for "mud-slinging", was himself guilty of the same offense, and at times his language appeared to be rather crude. The *Chronic-*

le said little on the subject, but whenever an editorial did appear, it was to the point. The editor of this paper took exception to the remarks of both the *Gazette* and the *Post*, but it seems that he had a higher regard for the *Post* than he did for the other journal.

From this survey of the Pittsburgh journals several conclusions are possible. In the first place it is safe to say that Pittsburgh like the rest of the country was intensely interested in the slavery question particularly in the matter of its possible extension in new territory. In the second place not even the Democrat paper favored the further extension of slavery. Much of the agitation appears to have been party politics. The moral evil of slavery gave the anti-Douglas papers excellent material for agitation. The doctrine of popular sovereignty, Douglas' "squater sovereignty" was the strongest and most natural political argument and platform of the Democrats and was fully adopted. But it would be wrong to underestimate the moral factor which is apparent in the meeting of the clergy, on March 15th. Finally that Pittsburgh was unfriendly to the institution of slavery is apparent not only from the attitude of the Democratic *Post* in 1854, but from the fact that with the outbreak of the Civil War seven years later, all the organs of the city combined in support of the Lincoln Administration, and in the prosecution of a war in which success on the part of the North would almost certainly put an end to the institution.

Don R. Kovar.

THE DESIRABILITY OF BOOK REVIEWS IN OUR MAGAZINE.

Many of our members and readers are heavily engaged in private or public affairs. Presumably it is a matter of difficulty for them to keep acquainted with even those books appearing in the somewhat narrow field of history in which the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania is primarily interested. The magazine of the Society can be made to serve in the capacity of calling attention in a brief manner to books and articles bearing on Western Pennsylvania history.

In no other way probably can this service be better rendered than by printing from time to time brief and significant reviews throwing light on the contents, quality and importance of works which may be of great interest to us. At present this is widely done in historical magazines. Sometimes it is even carried to an excess. But this mistake is easily avoided and, with a somewhat strict limitation of such reviews to works in our special field, such a mistake on the part of our magazine is not likely to be made.

Those who read significant works evidently of interest to other members of the Society can render a share of the service sought by writing and submitting for publication a brief review. It is highly probable that such a service will be both beneficial and appreciated. The new editor, therefore, suggests the publication as far as possible in each issue of one or more such reviews and respectfully asks for co-operation and contributions.

The writing of critical book reviews is in itself an excellent thing for the reviewer. It is very often the first step in historical writing of greater significance. Many also who may not be equipped and cannot find time to write long manuscripts may be able to write excellent brief historical reviews. This does not mean that there is no technique in a book review. Information in regard to such technique is, however, easily obtained. Careful study of reviews in the great historical magazines will furnish no small part of the technique as well as give much insight into the character and importance of such reviews. Definite instructions in the technique of critical historical reviews will be furnished on written request.

The Editor.

Application of Veto Power by Abraham Lincoln.

One of the great outstanding characteristics of Abraham Lincoln was his cool calm judgement. He was never seen in an angry passion; he always displayed wisdom, and he never let his personal feeling dominate him. We find this just as true in his exercise of the veto power as in all the other duties peculiar to his office.

While the official documents record but three veto messages, his biographers tell of one that was not documented—the pocket veto of the Wade-Davis bill on reconstruction. (1) They also show how Lincoln's influence, as a rule, was felt in the matter of legislation. On one occasion a bill was about to pass its final reading when it became known that the President was prepared to veto it. It never reached him in the original form. Alterations were made and when it was carried to him he approved of it in the official way. (2)

It was not until June 23, 1862, that he disapproved of a piece of legislation, and it concerned the currency of the District of Columbia. The people of that district had petitioned Congress, through their representative, to repeal certain clauses in their currency bill. (3)

The bill known as (S193) was drafted and entitled:—"An act to repeal that part of an act of Congress that prohibited the circulation of bank notes of a less denomination than $5 in the District of Columbia." (4)

"Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That the second and sixth sections of an act entitled "an act to suppress the circulation of small notes as currency in the District of Columbia" approved December 27, 1854 be, and the same are hereby repealed: Provided, That the circulation or passing of bills of a less amount than one dollar, or bills of any denomination containing the fractional part of a dollar, shall still remain prohibited: And provided,

bills by any bank not otherwise legally authorized to issue them." (5)

President Lincoln based his objection on the last two clauses of the bill 1. He believed it impracticable because of a discrimination being made in the banks that would be permitted to issue them; 2, He believed that it would be unwise to give legal sanction to the circulation of irredeemable notes of one class only, for in time it would surely extend in practical operation to include all classes whether authorized or not. This would have a depreciating effect on the value of the currency of the District of Columbia and would prove injurious to both trade and labor. (6)

He reminded them of the law enacted by Congress in February of that year authorizing the circulation of Treasury notes. Under this new law the District of Columbia would be permitted to issue notes of a similar character but of a smaller denomination than $5. (7)

"Such an issue," said he, "would answer all the beneficial purposes of the bill, would save a considerable amount to the Treasury in interest, would greatly facilitate payments to soldiers and other creditors of small sums and would furnish to the people a currency as safe as their own government." (8)

Lincoln showed keen insight and rare judgment in the handling of this bill. No personal feeling entered in, it was purely a business matter that had to be handled in a scientific way to avoid future trouble.

The second bill he vetoed July 2, 1862. It was known as (S343) and bore the title:—"An act to provide for additional medical officers of volunteer services." (9)

"Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, forty surgeons and one hundred twenty assistant surgeons of volunteers who shall have the rank, pay, and emoluments of officers of corresponding grades in the regular army: Provided, that no one shall be appointed to any position under this act unless he shall previously have been examined by a board of medical officers to be designated by the Secretary of War, and

that vacancies in the grade of surgeon shall be filled by selection from the grade of assistant surgeon on the ground of merit only: And provided, further, That this act shall continue in force only during the existence of the present rebellion. (10)

Sec. 2—And be it further enacted, That the office of brigade surgeon be and same is hereby abolished, and the officers of that corps shall be hereafter designated surgeons of volunteers and shall in all other respects be put on the same footing as to rank, pay, and emoluments with the surgeons provided for by the first section of this act." (11)

Sec. 3—And be it further enacted, That there shall be added to each volunteer regiment now in the service an assistant surgeon to be appointed according to the existing laws of several states providing for the appointment of regimental surgeons." (12)

This bill passed the Senate on June 11, 1862, and the House concurred June 13, 1862. (13) On July 2, President Lincoln returned it to the Senate, where it originated, without his signature, saying that he had already approved an act of the same title passed by Congress after the passage of the one first mentioned. The bill he referred to was for the purpose of correcting errors in and superseding the original. (14)

The President recognized the fact that the second bill embodied all that was asked for in the first, and that if he signed the one at hand it would be a superfluous law, to be placed upon the statutes.

On July 2, 1864, Mr. Stevens by unanimous consent introduced a joint resolution to correct errors in the internal act. It was known as H. Res. 123, was passed by the House and concurred by the Senate July 4, 1864. (15)

President Lincoln returned it at the beginning of the new session January 5, 1865 with the following message: (16) "My reason for returning is, that I am informed that the joint resolution was prepared during the last moments of the last session of Congress for the purpose of correcting certain errors of reference in the internal act which were discovered on examination of an official copy, procured from the Senate department a few hours only before adjourn-

ment. It passed the House and went to the Senate where a vote was taken upon it, but by some accident it was not presented to the President of the Senate for his signature. (17)

"Since the adjournment of the last session of Congress, other errors of a kind similar to those which this resolution was designed to correct have been discovered in the law, and it is now thought most expedient to include all the necessary corrections in one act or resolution. The attention of the proper committee of the House has, I am informed, been already directed to the preparation of a bill for this purpose." (18)

This message carried mild censure to the Congressmen because of their haste and carelessness in rushing through a piece of legislation that required more time to work out the technique.

The most bitter fight waged against him by Congress during his four years in the White House was over the great question of reconstruction. He never once acknowledged that another nation existed within our borders, and he realized what a humiliating situation confronted the secessionists. He believed the reconstruction policy must be one of great magnanimity. With this in mind, he issued a proclamation of amnesty December 8, 1863. (19) Some of the radicals headed by Davis and Wade vehemently claimed that Lincoln was usurping legislative power. It was not long before a new plan for reconstruction was put forward in the House of Representatives by H. W. Davis and championed in the Senate by B. Wade. (20)

It passed both houses and was carried to Lincoln who had gone to the Capitol to hurry matters. Much anxiety was felt as to how he would dispose of it for time was drawing to a close. Lincoln pocketed the bill. Rage and condemnation followed, but Lincoln was immovable. He believed some of the measures much too stringent to be the final word on reconstruction. (21)

Before the great perplexing problem could be settled Lincoln passed to the great beyond "with malice toward none and charity for all."

Anna Prenter.

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(13) *House Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 650, *Senate Journal*, 2d. sess., 37th Cong., p. 713.
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List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

225—A Gavel

Presented to Hon. John P. Penney, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Senate at the close of the deadlock session 1864.

Presented by his son, Col. John P. Penney.

226—A Gavel

Used by Governor William F. Johnston, Speaker of the Senate at Harrisburg, Penn'a. 1848.

Presented by his grandson,
Mr. George M. McCandless.

227—Communion Service

Used at the "Historic Old Beulah Presbyterian Church" during the pastorate of Rev. James Graham, 1804—1845.

Presented by his grand daughters
Miss Martha Graham,
Miss Martha Graham Johnston

228—Book of Marriage Records

by Rev. J. H. Hastings, of the Old Beulah Church, 1846.

229—Book

Minutes of the Beulah Church Congregation, and minutes of the Beulah Church Librarian.

230—Book

Reports of the Trustees of the Old Beulah Church 1827.

231—Book of Records

Duplicate of Pine Township
1801—1804—1805—1807

232—Book of Records

Duplicate of Pine Township
1809—1810—1811—1812
1814—1815—1816—1817

Presented by the late Miss Martha Graham.

233—Sun Dial

Belonging to the Lacky family, who lived one hundred years ago, on a farm below Sewickley, Pa.

Presented by Mrs. Rebecca A. Smith.

234—Iridescent Plate

A relic of the great Pittsburgh fire of 1845. This white china plate with several others were packed in straw, the burning of which has given it its radiance.

Presented by Mr. Charles A. Butler.

235—Old Grandfather's Clock

Owned by William Elliott of Callensburg, Clarion County, Pa. and bought by him at a vendue, in the early days, this clock has been traced back to 1747, it runs for 30 hours, its works are all wood, except the escapement wheel, the clock was procured by Dr. C. J. Reynolds, from Mr. Elliott's daughter, Mrs. Sall Frampton, in 1882.

Presented by Dr. C. J. Reynolds.

236—Old Keys

Used at the "Old Arsenal Buildings" between Penn Avenue and Butler Street.

September 17th, 1862 at 1:58 P. M. these buildings were destroyed by a powder explosion at the United States Arsenal grounds, in which seventy women and four boys were killed and many injured. This same day the battle of Antietam was fought.

Presented by Mr. P. W. Siebert.

237—Large Key

Used at the Old Court House in 1842.

Presented by Hon. William H. Graham.

238—Small Sword

Made from a piece of Cannon, which was presented by the United States to the Grand Army. It being a piece of ordnance that was stopped by the citizens of Pittsburgh from going south in 1860.

Presented by Mr. W. W. Smith.

239—Piece of Charter Oak

Presented by Mr. George B. Kelly.

240—Canteen

Used in the War of 1812.

Presented by Mrs. William B. Jones.

241—Seal

Used by the Duquesne Grays of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Presented by Gen. Albert J. Logan.

242—Portrait

General James K. Moorhead.

243—Portrait

Charles Brewer, Esq.

244—Portrait

Mrs. Charles Brewer.

Loaned by Gen. Albert J. Logan.

245—Frame 32½ x 76

A Plan of the boundary lines between the Province of Maryland and the three lower Counties on the Delaware, with part of the parallel of latitude which is the boundary between the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania. With the signature of the following.

Commissioners appointed by The Right Honourable Frederick Lord Baron of Baltimore.

Horatio Sharp—John Ridout—John Leeds—John Barclay—George Stewart—John Beal Bordley Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer—

Commissioners appointed by The Honorable Thomas Penn and Richard Penn Esquires

William Allen—Benjamin Chew—John Ewing—Edward Shippen, Jr.,—Thomas Willing—

Fac-Simile of the Parchment-Map, prepared by Messrs Mason and Dixon in 1768.

Presented by Mr. Newton E. Graham.

246—Frame

Containing nine views of The Butcher's Run Flood. On the evening of July 26th, 1874, Allegheny was visited by a heavy rain and cloudburst, the water filled Butcher's Run and Spring Garden Avenue like a river and rushed forward with fearful velocity. Meeting, the two floods caused dreadful disaster. The loss of life was estimated at one hundred and twenty-five, seventy-five houses were swept away and six hundred wrecked; the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Regiments were called out for the protection of property.

Presented by Mr. Charles L. Ulligkait.

247—Engraving

General Grant and his Family.

Designed by

Frederick B. Schell.

Engraved by

Samuel Sartain, 1868.

248—Frame 22x28

Containing three pictures of,

The Old Pittsburgh Market and Court House, completed April 1784 taken down 1852.

The Court House completed 1842, destroyed by fire May 7th, 1882.

The Allegheny County Court House, commenced to build September 1884, completed April 1888.

Presented by Mr. Joseph B. Wolstoncraft.

NOTES AND QUERIES

HON. WILLIAM DENNY TO MAJOR BURD

Philadelphia 6 April 1757—

Sir;

A large supply of Powder and other Military Stores will be sent with all possible dispatch to Forts Augusta and Halifax with an additional quantity of Provisions.

Mr. Young the Commifsary has delivered you my Instructions, and I depend upon your Conduct and prudence in using your best endeavors to persuade the Soldiers to Continue in the Service, and I make no doubt but you will exert yourself in the defence of the place in case you are attacked. It is necefsary you should be very careful not to waste the Ammunition, and to load the Cannon with cartridge shot and not to fire till the Enemy are very near.

If they break ground or build Huts, to fire single Balls. Please to observe strict Discipline, and see your self, that the Officers and Soldiers do their Duty, and you will go the Rounds frequently by day and night.

Send me by the first opportunity a list of the Officers of the Augusta Regiment, with their particular Characters, upon your Honour, It is for the good of the Service, and your Account shall be kept secret.

When the Garrison at Halifax is reinforced you will order an officer and twenty-five Men in two light Battoes, pickt out for that purpose, to go up the Juniata Ten or Twelve Miles and reconnoiter once or twice a Week.

I am.
Sir.
Your most humble servant.
William Denny.

On His Majesty's Service
To
Major Burd,
at
Fort Augusta.

To
Favour of
Colonel Armstrong

Pittsburgh, Pa., August 6th, 1791

Sir/

Mr. Casper Reel has never been paid for the posts for the Garden fence in front of your house------the price of them was to be what is customary in Pittsburgh per agreement with myself.

I am Sir
Your Obliged Able Servant
W. H. Beaumont.

Members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania Who Died in 1922

MR. ERASMUS WILSON

DR. JAMES P. BLACKBURN
McKeesport, Penn'a.

MR. JOSEPH WOOD

MR. E. P. DOUGLASS
McKeesport, Penn'a.

MR. THOMAS M. WALKER
St. Petersburg, Florida

MR. CHARLES S. REA

MR. JAMES H. BEAL

MR. SAMUEL FREEMAN SIPE

MR. OLIVER McCLINTOCK

MR. THOMAS REED HARTLEY

HON. CHARLES FRANCIS McKENNA

MR. ROLAND C. ROGERS
Brownsville, Penn'a.

MR. J. S. DuSHANE
New Castle, Penn'a

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 6 No. 2 APRIL, 1923 Price 75 cents

AN APPRECIATION*

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are assembled to commemorate the 69th anniversary of Stephen C. Foster's death and I think it fitting that I should say a few words tonight in his honor.

We are proud to claim him for Pittsburgh, since he was born in what later came to be the borough of Lawrenceville, now included in the Bloomfield section of Pittsburgh. His father, who was in good circumstances, owned a large farm outside the city limits and had it in mind to call the tract Fosterville; but at the time it was being laid out, Captain Lawrence, of "Don't give up the Ship" fame, died and Foster's father, who greatly admired the hero, gave the name of Lawrenceville to the land; so it happened that Stephen

*A short address to an audience at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa., January 13th, 1923 by Charles Heinroth; the occasion being a Stephen C. Foster memorial recital at which Mrs. Jessie Lucille Low, in costume of the period, sang eleven Foster songs and Dr. Heinroth played appropriate organ music. The program in full was: I. "In Memoriam", Foerster; II. "Variations on an American Air", Foster-Flagler; III. Five Songs, Foster; "My Old Kentucky Home"; "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming"; "De Glendy Burke"; "Uncle Ned"; "Gentle Annie"; IV. An Appreciation; V. Six Songs, Foster, "Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground"; "Old Dog Tray"; "Old Black Joe"; "Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair"; "Katie Bell"; "The Old Folks at Home"; VI. "Song of Sorrow", Nevin; VII. "March Triumphale", Archer.

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C. was born in Lawrenceville and not, very appropriately, Fosterville.

Now what is the significance of Stephen C. Foster? Is his name writ large in the History of Music? No. You may look through the pages of any number of histories of music and not find so much as the mention of his name. The great masters were interested in grand tonal schemes; he was at the other extreme, as it were, the opposite pole in music. His work was of modest, unassuming proportions.

What do we celebrate in him? What then makes him important to us? Just this: He was the first national figure in American music. I might emphasize it further and say that he is the **only** national figure in American music.

Take our best American composers, acknowledged in musical centres as original thinkers, MacDowell and Parker foremost among them. Point out anywhere in their music a peculiar American note, different from any European mode of thought and expression; on hearing which, no matter where you are—in Europe, Asia or Africa—you say it is American, as you would when hearing Foster's "Old Folks at Home," which draws your thoughts to America because it is linked to the soil, indissoluble from American thought, nature and character. It was Stephen C. Foster (and so far only he) who found an idiom that we recognize as distinctly American, more American than the "Star Spangled Banner", half the tune of which is English in origin.

Furthermore Foster's songs are the only ones, with the exception of "Dixie" which are passed from mouth to mouth, from generation to generation, traditionally, orally and so have become genuine folk-songs, the only ones we are able to boast of. They are national property, part of the warp and woof of American thought .

Nor is this strange. In his songs he celebrated American landscapes (My old Kentucky Home), American institutions (slavery and some of the things and types it brought with it—Uncle Ned, Old Black Joe, Massa's in the Cold Cold Ground; or the distinctly American sight of river packet boats—De Glendy Burke) ; or American scenes (The Swanee River). I have seen a fac-simile of the manuscript of the

latter song; originally it was penned "Way Down the Pedee River;" being dissatisfied with the sound, he and his brother Morrison, who was a well-known business man, hunted through an almanac for a Southern river having a two-syllable name more euphonious than Pedee; finally coming upon the Swanee River in Florida, Foster crossed out Pedee and wrote above it "Swanee" and in this way immortalized an otherwise insignificant stream.

He wrote both the words and music for his songs. I have often been asked: why is it, when popular songs come and go, that Foster's songs always remain? The answer is: because they are true. There is always a true sentiment in all his songs, the subjects are natural, always something we are familiar with and he had a gift for wistful expressive, heartfelt melody or when necessary rythmically bright and spontaneous, that people like to hear and sing. They retain their original freshness, a truly perennial youth. In his best songs he used negro dialect; this was not an accident. In those days, negro minstrelsy was a most popular form of entertainment, and in fact his gifts were first discovered when he competed for a prize offered for a negro song. No song of truly negro origin stood him model. Look at the best spirituals that have come to us, "Deep River" or "Nobody Knows de Trouble I see, Lord", and we are convinced that we are in a different territory of mind and invention.

Later in life he affected the English and Scotch ballad of the "Annie Laurie" style (Gentle Annie and Katie Bell).

I have upon the stage two objects which provide a sense of personal contact with the composer-author. One is his piano, on which I accompanied the songs, which was kindly loaned us on this occasion by the Director of the Museum, Mr. Douglas Stewart. The piano tuner, when he first looked at it, shook his head and did not think it could be put in playable shape, but after persuasian he managed very well, although it resulted in being a minor third lower than standard pitch so that, if a song is in C, I will have to play it in the key of E flat, or if in E, I play in G.

The other object is his portrait, which was kindly loaned by the Department of Fine Arts and which gives a good idea of his appearance, particularly his soft eyes. It is told

that when walking he kept his eyes on the ground, a few paces ahead of his steps and that he walked with a stoop. He could be very entertaining in company, but was generally meditative and preferred solitude. We are told that he received for one song alone five thousand dollars in royalties. But he had one besetting habit, which he fought valiantly throughout life to overcome and which eventually caused his death. A good many of his later songs, among them "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground", were written in a saloon in Christie Street in New York and he died in a lodging house on the Bowery on January 13th, 1864. His remains were brought to Pittsburgh; the funeral services were held in Trinity Church and his body was committed to the ground to the strains of "My Old Kentucky Home," sung by a male quartet.

Like Edgar Allen Poe, his life was not a happy one.

But his music lives on.

Charles Heinroth.

NOTICE

The article in the January, 1923 issue entitled "Western Pennyslvania and the Election of 1860," is printed without indication of authorship.

The paper was read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania May 31, 1922 by Mr. Joseph B. Wolstoncraft.

The Editor.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA*

> "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, into the land that I will show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and be thou a blessing." Gen. 12:1.

To write the story of the Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania and to do the subject justice would take many volumes, and I am necessarily confined to a short sketch. It goes without saying that much will be left unsaid, and much that might be interesting may be overlooked; but a busy man can simply do his best.

Let us in the first place analyze the term "Scotch-Irish." Who are the Scotch-Irish? There are some who maintain "there is no such animal." One must, therefore, consult the authorities.

Henry Jones Ford, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, in his book entitled *The Scotch-Irish in America,* among other things states: The term Scotch-Irish is also ancient, being the designation used in the Scottish universities for the students resorting to them from Ulster. Their Scottish character was fully recognized, but at the same time they were not of Scotland, so the Ulster student was registered as 'Scoto-Hibernus.' "

It might be said in passing that Henry Jones Ford from whom I have quoted was for fourteen years connected with the *Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph* in an editorial capacity (1891 to 1905).

The late Theodore Roosevelt in his *Winning of the West,* says: "The dominant strain in their blood was that of the Presbyterian Irish—the Scotch-Irish, as they were often called." He further remarks that, "it is doubtful if we have wholly realized the importance of the part played by that stern, virile people, the Irish, whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin."

Lecky, the historian, is quoted as follows—when remarking that the issue of the Revolutionary War once rested upon the action of the Pennsylvania Line—whose "privates

*Paper read before the Society, February 27, 1923, by the Hon. Robert Garland, President of the Garland Manufacturing Co. and Councilman, City of Pittsburgh.

and non-commissioned officers consisted chiefly of emigrants from the North of Ireland."

John Walker Dinsmore, D. D., LL. D., in his book, *The Scotch-Irish in America*, writes: "For 200 years and more the Scotch-Irish race has been a very potential and beneficent factor in the development of the American Republic."

In his *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, John Fiske says:

"The name 'Scotch-Irish' is an awkward compound, and is in many quarters condemned. Curiously enough, there is no one who seems to object to it so strongly as the Irish Catholic. While his feelings toward the 'Far Downer' are certainly not affectionate he is nevertheless anxious to claim him with his deeds and trophies, as simply Irish, and grudges to Scotland the claim to any share in producing him. It must be admitted, however, that there is a point of view from which the Scotch-Irish may be regarded as more Scotch than Irish. The difficulty might be compromised by calling them Ulstermen, or Ulster Presbyterians."

In writing of the presidents of the United States, Whitelaw Reid is authority for the statement that Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson, Chester A. Arthur and William McKinley were of Ulster ancestry; while General Grant, Benjamin Harrison, Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt were Scotch-Irish on their mother's side.

In Whitelaw Reid's address in Edinburgh on "The Scot in America and the Ulster Scot," a copy of which is in the Carnegie Library, after stating that the term "Ulster Scot" is preferable to Scotch-Irish, Mr. Reid makes mention of an Irishman born in Liverpool. The census enumerator was setting him down as English when he indignantly interrupted, "Sure, and is it any rayson for calling a man a horse because he was born in a stable."

Mr. Reid then quotes our own ex-Congressman John Dalzell, as saying of Pittsburgh: "It is Scotch-Irish in substantial origin, in conplexion and history—Scotch-Irish in the countenances of the living, and the records of dead."

Mr. Reid also quotes our greatest American historian, George Bancroft, himself a New Englander by birth, who

closed his account of the Ulster Scots with these words: "They brought to America no submissive love for England; and their experience and their religion alike bade them meet oppression with prompt resistance. We shall find the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain come not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia, but from 'Scotch-Irish' Presbyterians."

In his book entitled *The Making of Pennsylvania,* Sidney George Fisher, in writing of the settlement of Scotch-Irish in eastern and western Pennsylvania, states: "The western Presbyterians were almost exclusively 'Scotch-Irish'; always sought the frontier and advanced with it westward. In religion there was but little difference between the two divisions, but in character and temperament the western Scotch-Irish were more excitable and violent." The Whiskey Insurrection proves this, and it must be admitted that the Scotch-Irish were back of that trouble.

Lord Rosebery, one of England's greatest statesmen, himself a Scotchman, presiding at the session of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institute in November, 1911, said:

"We know that the term Ulster-Scot is generic and simply means Scoto-Irish. I love the Highlander and I love the Lowlander, but when I come to the branch of our race which has been grafted on the Ulster stem, I take off my hat with veneration and awe. They are, I believe, the toughest, the most dominant, the most irresistible race that exists in the universe at this moment."

Massachusetts possibly more than any other of our States is conceded to be, or rather claims to be, the seat of learning, and Boston styles herself the "Hub of the Universe," educationally speaking—

> "The land of the bean and the cod,
> Where the Cabots speak only to Lowells
> And the Lowells speak only to God."

Let us see what modern Massachusetts has to say through the mouth of one of its most distinguished citizens, Henry Cabot Lodge, senior United States Senator from that State. The *Century Magazine* for September, 1891, contained an article by Senator Lodge on, "The Distribution

of Ability in the United States," in which he classified the Scotch-Irish as a distinct race stock. This was the subject of criticism, in reply to which he said: "I classified the Irish and the Scotch-Irish as two distinct race-stocks, and I believe the distinction to be a sound one historically and scientifically. . . The Scotch-Irish from the North of Ireland, Protestant in religion and chiefly Scotch and English in blood and name, came to this country in large numbers in the eighteenth century, while the people of pure Irish stock came scarcely at all during the colonial period, and did not immigrate here largely until the present century was well advanced."

It seems to me that the above citations are sufficient to establish at least the reasons for the usage of the term "Scotch-Irish."

The Scotch-Irish started with what is known as the "Ulster Plantation" or "Ulster Settlement," when many people from Scotland migrated to the northern province of Ireland, and, as history says, made a garden out of a wilderness.

It seems that when James I. ascended the throne of England he brought about the outlawry of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel—referred to in history as the "Flight of the Earls"—and confiscated their estates, forfeiting them to the Crown, these estates comprising about 800,000 acres. Some historians say that this outlawry was brought about by deception and trickery on the part of King James.

Many Scotch and a few English went across to occupy this fertile land of Ulster, the Scotch people largely predominating, and history thereafter records these people as Scotch-Irish. This migration was in the year 1609 and thereafter. James the First of England was also James the Sixth of Scotland. He was typically Scotch and it was therefore natural that he should invite his own countrymen to take up and occupy these vacant lands.

As time went on these people prospered, agriculturally and industrially, to such an extent that in the industries they provoked the jealousy of the industrial centers of England, notably Birmingham. They had made great strides in the linen and woolen trades. Laws were passed in Eng-

land bringing about prohibition of trade between Ireland and England or her colonies. Rent exactions and oppression of landlords also brought about trouble. On top of this came religious persecution. The great majority of these settlers were followers of John Knox. They had listened to his preachings. They were persecuted by the Anglican Church of the time; were not allowed to follow their forms of worship or occupy the churches they had themselves built.

They then turned their eye westward towards the New World. They knew of the pilgrimage of the "Mayflower" of immortal memory.

One of their own people had gone forth to America in the person of Francis Makemie. This Presbyterian minister, born in County Donegal in the year 1658, organized the first Presbytery in America in the city of Philadelphia in 1706. In the year 1675 he was enrolled as a student in the University of Glasgow as "Franciscus Makemius, Scoto-Hyburnus."

A monument to his memory, suitably inscribed, was erected in Virginia in 1907 by the American Presbyterian Historical Society. He was the chief founder of the organized Presbyterian Church in America, and was the first Moderator of the General Presbytery.

And I emphasize again the fact that he is registered in 1675 at the University of Glasgow as "Scoto-Hyburnus," or Scotch-Irish.

These Scotch-Irish people flocked to Philadelphia, Charleston and Boston. Philadelphia, however, was the chief port of entry, and from 1717 to 1750 they literally poured in. Froude in his *History of Ireland* says, "Twenty thousand left Ulster on the destruction of the woolen trade." This was about 1700.

For several years prior to 1750, about 12,000 arrived yearly. In September, 1736, 1,000 families sailed from Belfast alone. The second great migration occurred between 1771 and 1773.

It appears that Irish immigration from the three other provinces of Ireland was meager until the potato famine

of 1847-1849, and up until 1840 Irish immigration was almost entirely from Ulster.

These men who came to America from Ulster were the descendants of the men who held the walls of Derry (the siege of Londonderry being one of the seven great sieges in history). They were of the same stock as those who fought later and classed themselves among the immortals as members of the Enniskillen Dragoons in "The Charge of the Light Brigade" at Balaclava. (Did you Scotch-Irish know that Enniskillen is in Ulster?)

Many of them made their way westward through the Cumberland Valley to western Pennsylvania and beyond the confines of civilization to Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, the Carolinas and to far off Texas. They peopled western Pennsylvania to a very large extent. They joined the armies of Washington, being in the majority in the Pennsylvania regiments, and history makes mention of Washington and his Scotch-Irish generals.

They were pioneers, frontiersmen, these Scotch-Irish; their general equipment consisted of a rifle, the Bible and the Psalms of David.

History records that these people from the North of Ireland were not only pioneers but that the establisment of churches and schools was always their first care. It is a general comment that almost simultaneously with dwelling houses and barns, the school house and church were built in every community.

Reverend Charles Beatty, the first Presbyterian missionary west of the Allegheny Mountains, was born in County Antrim, Ireland, about the year 1715, of Scotch-Irish stock, and was the first pastor in Western Pennsylvania in 1758. Franklin in his autobiography states that Reverend Mr. Beatty, the chaplain at Fort Pitt, willingly accepted his proposal that the daily allowance of rum be given out to the soldiers after prayers. In thanking Franklin for his suggestion, the chaplain said that never were prayers better attended. He was followed by Dr. John McMillan, about whom much has been written, and others. It would appear that Dr. McMillan, a Presbyterian minister—one of the most prominent of the early leaders—opened the first school

in Western Pennsylvania in this section, probably about 1780. It may be imagined that in all probability the three r's were the principal studies. Other early Presbyterian ministers of note were Barr, Steele, Finley, Power, Dodd, Smith, Herron, Bruce and Black.

Reverend Samuel Barr from Londonderry, Ireland, came in 1785, ministering regularly, and in 1787 there was deeded to the congregation the lot on which the First Presbyterian Church, corner Sixth Avenue and Wood Street, Pittsburgh, now stands. In 1799 the Reverend Robert Steele from Ulster became pastor.

In the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in 1807 the following advertisement appears:

"The managers will commence the drawing of the Presbyterian Church lottery in the Court House in Pittsburgh the 20th day of October."

This is signed by John Wilkins, John Johnston, and William Porter, Managers.

And shortly afterward, through the same advertising medium, suit was threatened against those who had not paid for their lottery tickets.

We people of Pittsburgh at the present time have not altogether discarded the lottery habit—witness the many bazaars and other functions of recent date for the benefit of hospitals and the like, where automobiles and other valuable prizes were the attraction on chances.

Thomas Dungan, hailing from the North of Ireland, was the first Baptist preacher in Pennsylvania, coming to Bucks County in 1784. In Wesleyan Methodism, the first minister in the American colonies was Robert Strawbridge, an Irishman who settled in Maryland and first held services in his own house, soon after erecting the first American Methodist church. This was in 1764. The Wesleys themselves, both John and Charles, visited Georgia in 1735. They didn't get near Pennsylvania. In any event, we could not claim them as they were distinctly English, but we do claim as Scotch-Irish their famous Bible commentator, Adam Clarke, who was Ulster-born, a monument having been erected to him in his birthplace at Port Rush.

With reference to the Reformed Presbyterians, or

Covenanters, Reverend John Black, born in County Antrim in 1768, in the year 1800 started to preach in the First Reformed Church in Pittsburgh. It is recorded that he was the father of ten children, most of whom are prominent in the history of Pittsburgh.

The Christian Church, or the Disciples, was, as is generally known, founded by Alexander Campbell—they were first called Campbellites. Alexander Campbell, whose name is distinctly of Scotch origin, was born in Ballymena, County Antrim, Ulster, and at the age of twenty-one immigrated to this country. His activities were in Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia. His first sermon in Western Pennsylvania was in Redstone Township, now Brownsville. The Christian, or Disciples Church, which has a large following in this country, owes its origin to him and it might be classed distinctly as a Scotch-Irish church. A President of the United States, James A. Garfield, belonged to this denomination; Champ Clark of Missouri, Speaker of the House under Woodrow Wilson, was also an adherent of this particular church, and, of course, many other men of note throughout the Country.

Concerning the Protestant Episcopal Church, it might be stated that while a goodly number of people of that denomination came from the North of Ireland and from England during the latter part of the eighteenth century, yet the fact that they were known as Church of England adherents acted against them by reason of the conflict between England and the Colonies; and while William White, the first bishop west of the Alleghenies, and other followers, did their work, it is not found that the Scotch-Irish figured particularly in that work.

This is largely a sketch of Western Pennsylvania only, and yet it might be stated that the Scotch-Irish did not confine their pioneer work to Western Pennsylvania alone, but they continued westward and southward.

It is a matter of history that Daniel Boone—whose principal work was carried on in the state of Kentucky; Simon Kenton; the Breckenridges of Kentucky; Sam Houston and Davey Crockett in far off Texas, were of Scotch-Irish stock. We also claim Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry of "we have met the enemy and they are ours" fame. And of

our race also was Patrick Henry of Virgina, who exclaimed, "Give me liberty or give me death." While at home, natives of Pittsburgh, the two men who perhaps more than any other American song writers raised their voices in music to all the world, in the persons of Stephen C. Foster (whose songs are sung wherever the English language is spoken) and Ethelbert Nevin (composer of "The Rosary" and "Narcissus") were both of Scotch-Irish stock. It might also be stated that General William Robinson—after whom the street of that name on the North Side is called, and who, history records, was the first white child born north of the Allegheny River in what was formerly known as Allegheny City—born in 1785, was the son of Scotch-Irish parents, who were born in Ulster.

Summing up, therefore, while it must be admitted that the so-called Scotch-Irish were not all of Scotch origin, a sprinkling of them being more literally Scotch-English, yet it would seem from the names and from the histories and from the recorded lineages that the great majority were of Scotch descent. Of what is known as the Ulster Plantation it is generally agreed that the great bulk of the people went over to the North of Ireland from Scotland, and it may be remarked, and the statement cannot be controverted, that certainly the Presbyterian element dominated among these Scotch-Irish who built and pioneered Western Pennsylvania. This is shown in the establishment of churches, schools and institutions.

Taking the old records of the University of Pittsburgh, incorporated in 1787 as the Pittsburgh Academy, it will be found that the first trustees were principally Presbyterians, with six ministers among them.

About the same time was started the old Washington Academy, which was really founded in the log cabin of the Presbyterian minister, Reverend John McMillan. This was the predecessor of Washington and Jefferson College, the latter being a consolidation in 1866 of Washington Academy chartered in 1787 and Jefferson College chartered in 1802. In both of these institutions, the University of Pittsburgh and Washington and Jefferson, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian influence has dominated from the beginning to the

present time. It might be stated in this connection that Washington and Jefferson College has always had, and even to this date shows, a large majority of its graduates among the so-called Scotch-Irish element. I have this from President S. S. Baker, of that institution as follows:

"We all know that the Scotch-Irish element was exceedingly strong, numerically and otherwise, in all the history including both the origin and development of Washington and Jefferson College. I think it would be safe to assume that at least 75% of the graduates from both institutions, prior to the union in 1866, and the graduates of the united Washington and Jefferson College for a period of many years, were of Scotch-Irish descent."

Bearing in mind the predominance of the Scotch-Irish element, the following statistics given me by President Baker in October, 1922, should be interesting.

Statistics in relation to Alumni of Washington and Jefferson College:

Cabinet members of the United States—4.
United States Senators—11.
Governors of States—10.
United States Congressmen—91.
State Legislators—nearly 300.
Presidents of colleges and universities—90.
Moderators of the Presbyterian General Assembly—41.
Judges of State Supreme Courts—21.
Judges of County Courts—142.
Ordained ministers of the Gospel—more than 1,800
Attorneys at law—more than 1,300.
Doctors of medicine—more than 700.
Engineers, teachers, chemists, and business men — approximately 2,000.

Day, in his *Historical Collections*, writing of Washington County, Pennsylvania, which would be typical as a general application, says:

"The citizens, generally descendants of the Scotch-Irish, are noted as orderly, well educated, and church-going people; and the best evidence of this is the number and flourishing state of the colleges, seminaries and benevolent

institutions of the town and its vicinity."

I do not have the alumni statistics as to the University of Pittsburgh, but when you take the history of that institution and analyze the present and former names of the Trustees, beginning in 1788 when the first meeting was held, you will find that it was strongly Presbyterian, there being quite a sprinkling of Presbyterian ministers in the composition of the first Board, and that influence has continued on the Board up to this time.

Allegheny College at Meadville was also started by the Scotch-Irish in 1817, the founder being a Presbyterian minister. It was taken over by the Methodists in 1827. In 1851 Westminster College was started under Presbyterian auspices; Waynesburg College in 1850 under the Cumberland Presbyterian Church; and Grove City College, in which institution I have for some years past been a Trustee, growing from a school in 1865 to a college in 1884, was started by a Presbyterian minister and is dominated by Presbyterian influence today. Geneva College, Reformed Presbyterian, or Covenanter, was founded in 1848.

In theological seminaries we have the Western Theological, a Presbyterian institution started in 1825; Allegheny Theological, United Presbyterian persuasion, started in 1825; and the Reformed Presbyterian, started in 1856. These three theological seminaries on the north side of the river —formerly Allegheny—were all started by the Scotch-Irish.

There were no Roman Catholic theological colleges in Western Pennsylvania until 1870.

Think of it, three Presbyterian theological seminaries in this district, while other denominations must send their students to various parts of the country for instruction!

Therefore, when we speak of the Scotch-Irish we naturally must take off our hats to the Presbyterians who have dominated for about one hundred and fifty years; so much so that Pittsburgh is recognized as the strongest Scotch-Irish Presbyterian community in proportion to its population in the United States. The only city I know of that in any manner whatever approaches it, both as to Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism and for aggressive business enterprise in manufacturing and in merchandising, is Belfast, Ireland.

The similarity is noticeable.

Reverend Dr. John Ray Ewers, pastor of the East End Christian Church, Pittsburgh, in commenting on Presbyterianism, said that one of the common prayers of John Knox was, "O Lord, give me Scotland," and that God had not only given him Scotland, but it would seem that the City of Pittsburgh has also been thrown in for good measure.

And it is generally conceded, I think, by all discerning Americans that no other city in the country has the Sabbath observance record that Pittsburgh holds, or has held in the past. Sunday in our city is not commercialized, and the credit for this condition is due largely to that Scotch-Irish Presbyterian element which has dominated and continues to dominate the community.

In this community brought up on "oatmeal and the Ten Commandments," the oatmeal only has fallen somewhat by the wayside.

In Samuel Johnson's dictionary of the English language the definition for oats is: "A grain which is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people."

Sydney Smith speaks of the Land of Burns as: "Scotland, that knuckle end of England—that land of Calvin, Oat cakes and sulphur."

It would appear that "Scotch-Irish" and "Presbyterian" so far as Western Pennsylvania is concerned, are almost synonymous terms. They not only have left their impression on the community in days gone by, but many of their descendants are still among us. They are naturally proud of their origin and it is a common thing in Pittsburgh to hear a man or woman say, "My father or my grandfather, or my mother or my grandmother came from the County Down or the County Antrim or the County Tyrone," or some other county in the North Ireland. They have been successful and influential in the development of the country, in education, commerce and finance. Their fame has gone out all over this broad land, while in the Pittsburgh district they are among our best and most progressive citizens. A glance at some of the very old directories which can be found in the Carnegie Libraries in Pittsburgh and Allegheny, will show that Scotch-Irish names predominate, and many of

those names have come down to the present day in our business life.

In handing these boquets to our Presbyterian brethren, we must not overlook the fact that there were other Scotch-Irish—Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians and members of other denominations. In my opinion, however, there can be no disputing the fact that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, to a much greater extent than any others, started things going in this Western Pennsylvania territory, founding schools, churches, colleges and theological seminaries. Credit to whom credit is due. My hat is off to them so far as Pittsburgh is concerned, as Pittsburgh is, after all, the hub around which that section known as Western Pennsylvania revolves. They are good people. My only daughter married one, but the grandchildren will belong to the older church. So much for grandparental influence diplomatically exercised, as it must be when one deals with a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, for they are a controversial lot.

Presbyterianism has had a checkered career, theologically speaking. They were first Presbyterians under John Knox, and for about one hundred years there were no schisms. Then there was considerable controversy which brought about secessions. There were the "Old Light Antiburghers" and the "New Light Antiburghers"; there was the "Church of Scotland" and the "Church of Ireland"; there was the "Canadian Church"; there were the "Cameronians," or the "Covenanters," who afterwards became the Reformed Presbyterians. We also have the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Today we have notably the United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and last but not least, the plain or blue-stocking Presbyterians.

I do not confess to being a theologian, and do not attempt to explain all their differences.

The story is told of a dinner given by a Presbyterian lady whose guests were asked to state the denominations to which they belonged. One was an Episcopalian, another was a Methodist, another a Baptist, etc. One of those present turned to the small daughter of the house and asked, "My child, what are you?" She replied, "Mamma says it is sinful to boast, but I am a Presbyterian."

I never did believe that story told of the canny Scotchman who spoke to his daughter one Sunday morning thusly: "Keep your eyes on the ground, its kind o' pious looking; and then forbye ye micht find a purse or something."

It might also be stated that the three largest owners of real estate in Pittsburgh are three Scotch-Irish families, Mellon, Oliver and Jones, the two former being County Tyrone Ulster stock, while the last named is Scotch-Irish on the maternal side. The combined annual revenue received from taxation by the city alone from these three families is considerably over a million dollars.

The present Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, Andrew W. Mellon, known and recognized locally as our foremost citizen, and throughout the country generally as the ablest head of the United States Treasury Department since the days of Alexander Hamilton, is the son of an Ulster-born father, the late Judge Thomas A. Mellon. He is a member of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society.

For the purpose of making a record in the annals of the Historical Society, I would like to insert in this paper just a few names of those of Scotch-Irish descent who have been prominent in Western Pennsylvania affairs: (With apologies to those whose names have been overlooked. I am not making a directory, but have simply chosen rather hurriedly some fairly representative names.)

I will first mention a few names from the nearby counties, exclusive of Allegheny County:

Armstrong County	**Beaver County**	
Armstrong	Agnew	Elder
Cochran	Allison	Harrah
Crawford	Beatty	Hemphill
Henderson	Bigger	Irvin
Henry	Boyle	Kerr
Johnston	Calhoun	Moore
McBryar	Christy	McCartney
Orr	Darragh	McCauley
Potter	Davidson	Power
	Dunlap	Thompson
	Eakin	Wilson

Butler County
Bredin
Butler
Galbraith
Gilmore
Greer
McCandless
McJunkin
McQuiston
Robinson

Fayette County
Boyle
Cochrane
Ewing
Hogsett
Searight

Greene County
Chambers
Flennekin
Henderson
Huston
Kent
Knox
McCullough
McFarland
Wiley

Lawrence County
Aiken
Cunningham
Eckles
Greer
Jackson
Kirk
McCaslin
Wallace

Washington County
Acheson
Barnett
Bell
Berryman
Blaine
Ewing
Hart
Marshall
McKennan
Patterson
Redick
Reed
Sloan
Wilson

Westmoreland Co.
Coulter
Cowan
Duff
Gear
Guffey
Hanna
Jamison
Laird
McCormick
Moorhead

Concerning Allegheny County, having been a resident of Pittsburgh for over forty years, I am better informed, so that the partial list is necessarily larger. It includes many of the old time names in the history of Pittsburgh, as follows: (Again with apologies to those whose names have been overlooked.)

Acheson
Agnew
Aiken
Allderdice
Arbuthnot
Armstrong
Atwell
Bailey
Baird
Barbour
Beal
Beatty
Berryman
Black
Bole
Brown
Buffington
Butler
Caldwell
Campbell
Carlin
Carnahan
Carpenter
Cassidy
Church
Cochran
Cowan
Craig
Crawford
Cunningham
Dalzell
Dickson
Donnell
Ewing
Foster
Frazer
Fulton
Geddes
Gibson
Gillespie
Gorman
Gormley
Graham
Gregg
Griggs
Hailman

Hamilton
Harbison
Hardy
Harper
Hays
Hemphill
Henderson
Herron
Holmes
Houston
Humphrey
Irwin
Jamison
Johnson
Johnston
Kerr
Kier
King
Knox
Langfitt
Laughlin
Liggett
Lindsay
Little
Lowry
Lyon
Macbeth
Macfarlane
Mackrell
Macrum
Magee
Mahood
Marshall
McAfee
McAteer
McCandless
McBride
McCausland
McClay
McClelland
McClements
McClenahan
McClintock
McClung
McClurg
McClurkin
McConway
McCook
McCormick
McCrea
McCreery
McCrory
McCune
McDonald
McEldowney
McElroy
McFadden
McFall
McGaw
McGinley
McGinness
McGunnegle
McJunkin
McKay
McKelvey
McKnight
McLain
McMasters
McMillan
McNaugher
Mellon
Mitchell
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Murdoch
Neely
Nevin
Nimick
Ogden
Oliver
Orr
Patterson
Pennock
Phillips
Pollock
Potter
Rea
Reed
Riddle
Robinson
Rodgers
Scully
Semple
Shaw
Snodgrass
Sterrett
Stevenson
Stewart
Taggart
Tate
Taylor
Tener
Thompson
Todd
Torrance
Torrens
Trimble
Veech
Verner
Wallace
Ward
Whigham
Wightman
Willock
Wilson
Witherow
Woodside
Woodward

The names shown in this partial list are those of men prominent in the manufacturing, commercial, professional and political life of the community, and it is unnecessary to go into details as to their accomplishments, as Western

Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh district speak for themselves.

It will be generally admitted that the people of this race have contributed in a large measure to the building up of the great Industrial Empire of Western Pennsylvania, of which Pittsburgh is the center.

In the World War eighty-six Congressional Medals have been awarded for conspicuous bravery on the field of battle. Only twenty-five of these were given to men who survived, sixty-one being awarded posthumously. One only was awarded to those who enlisted from Pennsylvania, and this to Colonel Joseph H. Thompson of Beaver Falls, Penna. Colonel Thompson was then major in the 110th Infantry, 28th iDvision, and he was awarded the medal for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action near Apremont, France.

Joseph H. Thompson is not only Scotch-Irish, but Ulster-born, so that, not only in the field of industry, commerce, finance, education, and other peaceful pursuits do the Scotch-Irish shine, but also on the field of battle in the most recent war. They run true to form.

It might be remarked that quite a number of people when asked from whence their forebears hailed, will reply that they are Americans—they disclaim or deny any other country and will stick to it. Well, if they have no particular pride of ancestry and will insist upon claiming kinship with the noble North American Indian, and desire to do reverence to his totem pole and his traditions, let them have their way. As for the Scotch-Irish of the present generation, they agree with Wordsworth:

> "We must be free or die who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spoke, the faith and morals hold,
> Which Milton held."

It may be particularly noted, and many historians and commentators point to the fact, that while in various places in history the Scotch-Irish get some praise for their accomplishments in the Colonial wars and in pioneering the western and southern country, they have not as a race been given full credit. Some writers say they were "doers" rather than talkers or writers. They may have "attended

too much to their own knitting." Had they come over in one distinct lot or unit as did the Puritan Fathers on the "Mayflower," they would probably have received more recognition, but they came for many years in steady influx; and again one must remember that they were not so particularly known as Scotch-Irish but simply as Irish.

It is also a fact that New England furnished quite a number of the American histories and naturally Massachusetts and the New England States were to the forefront and much was made of the Puritan Fathers who came over as a unit; besides, we all know how common it is for many people to claim that their ancestry goes back to the "Mayflower." If the "Mayflower" should have to respond to the many claims, she would need to be some ocean liner—perhaps a fleet.

Throughout the North of Ireland the Scotch-Irish had been engaged in the industries, having become famous in woolen and linen manufacture. The inventive genius naturally developed later, and it is worthy of note that many of the race became famous in the field of invention. Three particular examples might here be cited in this sketch, these being:

Robert Fulton, who applied steam to water navigation, born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, of Scotch-Irish parents who emigrated from Ireland in 1730. Fulton's father was one of the founders of the Presbyterian church in Lancaster.

Samuel Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, and Cyrus McCormick, inventor of the McCormick reaper.

It might be noted that David B. Oliver, who was until a couple of months ago President of the Pittsburgh Board of Education, remaining still a member of the Board, and who was instrumental in making the School Code for Pennsylvania—eighty-eight years young—was born in County Tyrone, Ireland. Mr. Oliver is the only surviving iron and steel manufacturer of the old regime, going back to the early '60s. He is a member of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society. This "grand young man" has just rounded out fifty years of unsalaried official service to our public school system, and as a tribute to his excellent work, the Pitts-

burgh Board of Education has recently named the new high school on Brighton Road in lower Allegheny in his honor, this educational institution to be known henceforth as the "David B. Oliver High School."

We have in our city an organization known as "The Ulster Society of Pittsburgh," of which a Presbyterian minister is president, and his predecessor, who organized the society, is also a Presbyterian pastor. Those of Ulster lineage or descent are eligible to membership. This society is doing good work and, like the Scotch-Irish Society of Pennsylvania, it helps to disseminate among our people the traditions and achievements of our race.

Their emblem or insignia is the "Red Hand of Ulster."

In Y. M. C. A. work in this district the services and activities of Robert A. Orr, and of the man now in the saddle, Ralph W. Harbison, should not be overlooked. Both are of Scotch-Irish descent.

To place it upon the records of this Society, I want to relate the following incident:

I was in the office of the late United States Senator, George T. Oliver, several years ago, when he showed me his state certificate, or commission, to the effect that he had been duly elected a Senator. It was signed by John K. Tener, the Governor, and attested by Robert McAfee, then Secretary of the Commonwealth. The Senator remarked that all three, the United States Senator for Pennsylvania, the Governor of the State and the Secretary of the Commonwealth were born in the North of Ireland.

Driven to American soil by persecution in the early days of the country, and with their hearts embittered against England, history records that these people fought her to such an extent that there was no Toryism among the Scotch-Irish. They were Americans to the core.

How is it today in that northern province of Ireland? She is intensely loyal to the British Empire. The records show:

"The moment the German danger was made manifest, the entire population of Unionist Ulster rallied to the cause of the Empire and of liberty with an overwhelming enthusiasm.

"The Ulster Division was raised, equipped and officered entirely by Ulster men. The British Government was asked only to supply rifles and ammunitions.

"Ulster, though containing only one-third of the population of Ireland, supplied more recruits to the army than all the other three provinces of Ireland combined."

It might be noted that the present actual head of the British Empire, Bonar Law, successor to the "Welsh Wizard," is of Ulster stock. In *The Spectator* of November 18, 1911, is found the following:

"Mr. Bonar Law comes of Ulster stock, and that at this moment should stand him in good stead. A man whose father was born in Ulster and whose nearest relations still live there is not likely to misunderstand the Irish question in the way in which English statesmen sometimes misunderstand it, even when their intentions are of the best."

In order that I may not be considered biased or prejudiced—being born in the purple, hailing from Ulster myself and not ashamed of it—I want to place upon the records a few extracts from the annals of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society, which organization for thirty-four consecutive years has met in annual meeting and banquet in Philadelphia and has tended to keep alive the interest in things Scotch-Irish. The Society is a flourishing one. Practically every president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and every governor of our State qualified for membership. It had among its presidents such men as Samuel Rea, now President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Judge Nathaniel Ewing, Judge William P. Potter, Judge Joseph Buffington, and Justice William I. Scaffer. And I may state with pardonable pride that the president this year is my brother, an Episcopal bishop in Philadalphia.

The Society deserves credit for keeping alive and spreading upon the records the achievements and the accomplishments of the people of our race, and these sketches will give you at least a partial idea of its work.

Reverend Henry D. Lindsay, several years ago President of the Pennsylvania College for Women (Pittsburgh), in an address before the Pennsylvania Society in 1913, after saying, "I am one of you, born of Scotch-Irish parents,

baptized with a Scotch-Irish name, literally rocked in a Scotch-Irish cradle that was a century old, and fed on Scotch-Irish theology," proceeded to give a few instances of the hardships endured by the early settlers in Western Pennsylvania, which is something over which we should ponder. One of these is the story taken from the journal of Reverend David McClure, written in 1774, as follows:

"The people are mainly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. On this journey we overtook several families moving from the older settlements in the East to the West. I remember one in particular, a family of about twelve. The man carried a gun and an axe on his shoulders. The wife had the rim of a spinning wheel in one hand and a loaf of bread in the other. The little boys and girls each carried a bundle according to their age. Two poor horses were loaded with some of the bare necessities of life. On top of the baggage of one was a sort of wicker cage in which a baby lay, rocked to sleep by the motion of the horse. A cow was one of the company, and she was destined to bear her part of the family belongings. A bed cord was wrapped around her horns and a bag of meal was on her back. This family was not only patient, but cheerful; pleased at the prospect of finding a happy home in one of the valleys which stretched from the mountains westward on to Pittsburgh."

Dr. Lindsay further says:

"Can you not see that little family, with hope shining in their faces, moving on that they may establish a home? Do you not believe that following the home there came the school and the church? I would like to know what the history of that family was in the future. I would like to know what they did to make this country of ours. I am sure it was worth while."

He then related the following as told him by a friend in 1913:

" 'I went out the other day on a drive of about twenty miles from Pittsburgh and visited the graves of my great grandfather and my grandfather in an old churchyard.' And this is the story: 'My great grandfather was an Ulster Scot. He moved into Western Pennsylvania from the Cumberland Valley. After he had reared his log cabin and

cleared a little patch of land he said to his wife one morning, "I will go to Hannastown today and register my land." She said, "I will take the little boy and the dog and go to the woods and gather our winter's store of nuts." The man passed on along an Indian trail until after a mile or so he came to the home of a neighbor, where he stopped for kindly greetings and a cup of cold water. Then he passed on his way. In an hour he met a fugitive from Hannastown, who with gasping breath said to him, "The Indians are out. They have burned Hannastown. They are massacring the inhabitants and all the settlers will be killed." Turning he sped back towards his home. Passing his neighbor's house he saw it in flames and the bleeding bodies of those who had welcomed him an hour before lay in the doorway. Going on he topped a hill and saw beyond his own house in flames. He turned aside. Surely they were dead or captive in the hands of ruthless savages, his loved ones. As he bowed his head to the stroke, a voice called him from the bushes, "John! Oh, John! We are all here. We are safe. The Indians did not find us." Then he bowed his head as he gathered his loved ones in his arms and thanked God for his goodness. Then lifting his face to Heaven, he said, "This land on which I stand shall be consecrated to Almighty God, and here shall rise a church to the honor and praise of His name"; and that church was built, and for more than a century there the Gospel was preached and the praise of the people ascended to Heaven from that ground dedicated to God in the thanksgiving of loving hearts. That Western Pennsylvania country is full of such traditions as that.' "

Reverend Dr. William Hamilton Spence of the First Presbyterian Church of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, before the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society in 1907 said:

"It is sometimes said that a Scotchman has no wit. An Englishman has no wit. You could not squeeze wit out of an Englishman with a cider-mill. But a Scotchman has wit, cutting as caustic, sharp as a two-edged sword and just as dangerous to fool with.

"A man once came reeling, in a state of intoxication, up to an old Scotch minister, to whom he said, 'I am a self-

made man'. 'Ah,' replied the dour dominie, 'thot relieves the Lord of a great responsibility.'

"Two Scotchmen were in Dublin, when they came across a place where a man had been painting a building green, and had spilled some paint on the sidewalk. Said Donald, 'Sandy, what is that, mon?' 'Ah,' he said, 'some Irishman has had a hemorrhage.'

"But for pure wit, spontaneous and ready, irresistible as a prattling child, as perennial as a fountain, the world is not in it with the Irish. He may sometimes go to his imagination for his facts, but no need to go to his memory for his wit.

"Said a tourist to an Irishman he met, with a great rent in the front of his coat, 'Pat, you have a rent in your coat.' 'Sure, sor,' came the reply, 'you can't call it rent in arrear.'

"The Scotchman is a thinker. Cool and self-contained, careful and scrutinizing; with a mental poise immovable by fads and novelties; with a positiveness that is refreshing even when wrong; with a mental daring, winging its flight against the blaze of every philosophy with an eye that never droops and a wing that never wearies—Hamilton and Hume, Adam Smith and Kant—Scotchmen, by every quality of their mental and moral mould have been commissioned to work out for civilization its deepest problems of destiny and life. On the other hand, the home of eloquence is the Emerald Isle. . . .

"The Irish are religious. I know that for them nothing is too grave for a jest, nothing too solemn for a sarcasm. He will speak of most sacred things with a familiarity that seems flippant, but it is not irreverence. He is no more irreverent than a child.

"Two Irishmen were attending mass in a Catholic church one Sabbath morning, and after observing for a while the celebration, disregarding the sanctity of the day and the occasion, Corny, who was much impressed, turned to Tim and said, 'It beats the divil.' 'Whist, mon,' said Tim, 'that's the intintion.'. . .

"And your Scotchman is religious. It is his whole existence, not a thing apart.

"I am aware that Scottish religion is spoken of as a compound of worship on Sunday and whisky on Monday, as

a sort of mixture of spirits. Sandy may be, at times, a terror, but he is always a holy terror....

"Such are some of the elements of that rare mixture —the Scotch-Irish character. He is a blend. He is a resultant arising from two forces moving at different angles. Is he Scotch? No. Is he Irish? No. Neither too taciturn nor too vivacious; neither dead champagne nor soda water, not brilliantly witty, yet with all his wits; neither bannock nor ginger-bread; thoughtful yet with a fine gift of expression; not tenacious to pig-headedness or dashing without staying powers; with a governor to preserve an equable rate of speed between Scotch parsimoniousness and Irish prodigality, cast in the happy medium between a religion as prose and a religion as poetry—neither too dour nor too sentimental—the Scotch-Irishman is neither Scotch nor Irish; he is both without being either—just right....

"There is a chemistry of souls, with its law of combining proportions and consequent disappearances and transformations. Of this the Scotch-Irish are a notable illustration. The chlorine of the Scottish character and the sodium of the Irish mixed; and out of them came a character unlike either, yet depending upon both—a 'creature not too bright or good for human nature's daily food,' nevertheless, what nobody will deny, the very salt of the earth.

"Why, how could it be otherwise? Incubated in Scotland, brooded in Ireland, sent over to America to scratch and feed and crow; Scotland for mother, Irish nurse, America for a bride; or, to adapt the figure to a genuinely Scotch-Irish taste, distilled in Scotland, decanted in Ireland, uncorked in America, how could there issue any other than a something to make

'the world grow pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale'?"

Dr. James H. Snowden of Pittsburgh, now editor of the *Presbyterian Magazine*, before the Scotch-Irish Society in 1910 said:

"The Scotch-Irishman has two main routes to his heredity: he comes down out of the past into our modern world walking like most men, on two legs. The original Scotchman, as he went over from Ireland into Scotland in

the sixth century of our era, was doubtless a rough, wild animal, a shaggy savage, with whom, could we now see him, we would not care to claim kinship. In Scotland he was compounded with other racial elements, Saxon and Norman, and thus his Celtic blood was tempered into riper strength and richer mood. Here also he developed that tenacity of nature that is his backbone to this day; out of that rocky soil he absorbed atoms of granite into his very bones. From Scotland he crossed over again to Ireland and combined the Irish with the Scotch traits. While at first there was little intermarrying and the two races kept somewhat distinct and even antagonistic, yet in time there was intermingling, and the Scotchman absorbed some of the Irish blood; at least, he imbided something out of the very air of his new home. Thus the original Scotch-Irishman may be described as a Scotchman who was rubbed through the sieve of Ireland. And therefore he combines in a degree the excellences of both races. He has the Scotch tenacity and obduracy tempered with Irish plasticity, buoyancy and brightness. He is a boulder of Scotch granite, overlaid and softened with the green verdure of Ireland. There is granite in his bones, but his mind is witty and his heart is tender.

"Such is the complex and rich stream of heredity that flowed out of Scotland through Ireland and that still retains its strong and fine qualities and courses in our veins."

Ex-Governor Brumbaugh speaking at the 1908 meeting of the Society—he was then superintendent of schools in Philadelphia—not Scotch-Irish but a guest of the occasion, said:

"You are the scrappiest lot in Pennsylvania. You like a fight. You hunted for it in those Colonial days and got it good and hard here and there on the frontier, but don't you think that the measure of the prowess of a people is the measure of their power of initiative? Everything that made for the essential development of this colony and commonwealth was headed in a most effective and aggressive way by this same dominant Scotch-Irish pioneer. It was he, somewhere in the group, that broke away from the traditions and set the standards for the new things that had to be.

"There is another thing that I have noticed about the Scotch-Irish up in Pennsylvania. I do not know much about them here in Philadelphia. We are such a cosmopolitan lot here that nobody knows which is the other until you find them out at a dinner like this, but up there in the State I have noticed this thing, and I speak of it with a very great deal of satisfaction, that Pennsylvania has no warmer, stauncher, or more aggressive supporters of her mighty educational system than the Scotch-Irish people. That is the truth of history, and it is a far reaching thing to remember when you call to mind the fact that your democracy, State and National, that your governmental institutions that you have heard so boldly and so discriminatingly defined here in your presence to-night, depend entirely upon the common knowledge which the common masses of our people possess, and your little red school houses on your hilltops and in your valleys are the very foundations of your democracy and the teachers of your republic, and the man who stands by the side of the public school and gives to it his sympathy and his resources is the highest type of patriot that we breed in this republic to-day wherever he lives. So I wanted to-night to come here and pay my tribute of reverence and regard to a people who have been consistently and steadily the friends of the public schools of Pennsylvania."

Reverend Dr. Robert Johnston of Philadelphia, before the Society in 1915 said:

"They were cast forth by religious intolerance; and, in their new home in America, they fought wild Nature and the wild Indian. They were the barrier between the Indian and the settlers on the coast. When the mad mania of kings followed them into their new land they fought the 30,000 German hirelings of the German George the Third. They fought so well that on them Washington leaned. On one occasion he said that, if the worst came, he could still retire to the mountains and fight it out with his faithful Scotch-Irish. It is the glory of the race, and I could wish to God that the men here had the same fighting spirit their fathers had. But I fear that the luxury of these American years has nearly ruined all. The fathers of the race have had an

age-long fight against the poverty of the land, and where it is fertile it has been salted with the sweat of labor and the bones of the dead."

At the 1922 meeting of the Society, held February 17, Justice William I. Schaffer, but recently Attorney General of Pennsylvania, a former president of the Society, Scotch-Irish on the maternal side, in his remarks said:

"When you go far north there stands out the Scotchman, individual, everywhere racially strongly marked as scarcely any of humankind is marked. It matters not where he goes or with whom he lives or associates, he is still the Scot, strong, self-reliant, vigorous. And then away up furthest flung north on the map of Ireland, is that part of the world inhabited by the men that we, gathered here tonight, are proud to say, racially we belong to. Tried out in fires stronger blazing, than which none have been subjected to, now facing it may be as great trial as they ever faced, where high courage, clear thinking, the ability to see things as they are, is to count as it always has counted with them, they are demonstrating that the race holds true. Here today we of their blood extend hands across the sea, wish them well and desire them to know that all the ancient ties which have bound us bind us still. From that little spot, little comparatively compared with the greatness of Europe, from that little spot came the men of whom we are the descendants, who tamed a continent, flung themselves out to meet savagery and strange conditions with which men had never grappled before. The pioneering Scotch-Irishmen, landing at Newcastle, then a part of Pennsylvania, going up the old ship road, going down the Valley of the Cumberland, and up the Valley of the Juniata, clear across the mountains, reaching the head waters of the Ohio, gave pioneering America its texts, its creeds and its examples. That, gentlemen of the Society, it seems to me is the controlling reason for our being here tonight."

And our State Historian, who should have some knowledge of our State history, and we of this local society know that he does, George P. Donehoo, at the same meeting expressed himself in part as follows:

"I wish that it was possible for me to tell a few things

about the development of the only Scotch-Irish Commonwealth on the face of the earth, Pennsylvania, because Pennsylvania is the only country that the Scotch-Irishman claims as his home. He never had a home until he came to Pennsylvania. He did not belong in Scotland. He was driven out of that to the north of Ireland, then was driven out of the North of Ireland to the mountains of Pennsylvania, and here he founded—it is called Penn's Colony, but William Penn did not have very much to do with the development of it. The Scotch-Irishman took it from Penn's hands and made it what it is. . . .

"Then came persecutions in Ireland right at the psychological minute in human history and according to the Divine plan. Then came the only pioneers and frontiersmen that the world has ever had, that the American Continent has ever had in its period of development, driven from the place of refuge that he had by all of the taxes that taxed him from the cradle to the grave, coming in droves of twelve thousand annually clear up until the very commencement of the French and Indian War when the Divine playwright had set the stage for the évolution of human society and the time had come for the Scotch-Irish to step forth, take this burning torch, liberty to worship God, liberty of conscience, take it in this red bloody hand of Ulster, not with a dove of peace but with a rifle and sword, and carry that dogma out over the ridges of the Alleghenies into the trackless forest of the Ohio and down in the mountains of Kentucky and Virginia and then out across the prairies."

On the "Scotch-Irish in Ohio", our adjoining State to the west, Honorable James E. Campbell, ex-Governor of Ohio, before the Second Congress of the Scotch-Irish Society in 1890, held in Pittsburgh, said:

"The history of Scotch-Irish influence in shaping the destiny of Ohio goes back farther than is at first apparent. During the Revolutionary war, while Washington and his galaxy of Scotch-Irish generals were debating the propriety of was being redeemed from British rule by a valiant young disaster overtake the patriot cause, the territory they talked of was being redeemend from British Rule by a valiant young Scotch-Irishman, born near Monticello, Virginia, who at

twenty-six years of age, had achieved such fame that John Randolph eulogized him as the 'Hannibal of the West.' George Rogers Clarke was his name, and the North-west Territory, with its five States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, and its fifteen millions of people, is his monument. The first exploration of this territory had been made by LaSalle as early as 1680, but the trading posts established by the French as a result of that expedition had a precarious existence. France, becoming involved in war with England, finally relinquished her hold on this garden spot of the earth. By the treaty of Paris the western boundary of the English colonies was fixed at the Mississippi River; and the territory north-west of the Ohio was ceded by the British Government to the Colony of Virginia under the charter of James I—a prince whose perfidy assisted largely in making Scotch-Irish history in America. When Virginia assumed the dignity of statehood, the North-west Territory was held by British troops stoutly entrenched behind strong forts. The sparse settlements were constantly menaced by red savages incited by England to make murderous incursions into Virginia and Kentucky.

"In 1778 Clarke was commissioned by the Scotch-Irish Governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, to make a secret expedition into the Ohio country for the purpose of restoring to Virginia the territory that had been ceded to the colony after the treaty of Paris. The soldiers selected to accompany him on this perilous expedition, so fraught with the destiny of the colonies, were picked men; the whole two hundred known for their skill as Indian fighters—men of stubborn endurance, resolute fortitude and persistent valor. Need it be said that Clarke found them among the Scotch-Irish in the Valley of Virginia?

"This expedition by Colonel Clarke was one of the most successful ever made. Governor Hamilton was taken, the forts captured and the North-west territory restored to Virginia.

"In 1780 she ceded it to the United States—Thomas Jefferson, the greatest Scotch-Irishman of America, being the author not only of the ordinance of cession, but also of the plan of government for the territory. It was provided

by him that after the year 1800 there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the five great states carved out of the territory; and thus began Scotch-Irish influence upon the material and spiritual development of our state, giving us a force in the maintenance of civilization that will abide so long as the spirits of Knox and Melville are an inspiration.

"Let it be here recorded that had it not been for the daring courage of Colonel Clarke, it is possible the Ohio river would now be the southern boundary of Canada. Thus, as we are indebted to Jefferson for the Louisiana purchase which gave our country the boundless West; to Polk, another Scotch-Irishman, for the golden slope of the Pacific; to General Jackson for Florida; and to big-hearted Scotch-Irish Sam Houston for Texas; so are we indebted to George Rogers Clarke for the possession of the North-west territory and to Thomas Jefferson for its permanent peace and prosperity. In this connection listen to the following tribute paid their memory by the eloquent Virginian, John Randolph Tucker, at the Marietta Centennial in 1888. He said, 'and so, from the day that the mountain heights of Monticello stood as sentinel guards over the cradled infancy of George Rogers Clarke and Thomas Jefferson, Providence had decreed that the one should conquer by prowess of arms, and the other by a wise diplomacy, the open water-way for the products of the West to the markets of the world."

The President of this Historical Society, William H. Stevenson, also Scotch-Irish, deserves considerable credit for his many years of hard work in the interest of waterway improvement, in which the States of Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky and Illinois are alike interested.

It will be seen by Governor Campbell's testimony that George Rogers Clarke did his part well in securing to the United States this vast territory which connects by water with Pittsburgh, described by Bancroft, our greatest historian, as the "gateway of the West."

It might also be noted that this same Colonel Clarke, afterwards a general, prepared himself in 1778, at Redstone, now Brownsville, in Western Pennsylvania, for his Illinois

expedition, and at that time received aid from General Hand, who was stationed at Pittsburgh.

Judge Nathaniel Ewing, of Uniontown, president of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society in 1907, in his address at the annual meeting and dinner of the Society in February of that year, among other things, said:

"Pennsylvania has evidenced her patriotism in the years gone by; her past, at least, is secure. Here are Fort Necessity. Fort Pitt, Independence Hall, and Gettysburg, and here they will remain forever. And Pennsylvania, the very apex and key of the whole nation, must maintain her primacy and continue to lead in the march of progress; and the Scotch-Irish must now and in the future, as in the past, be ever in the forefront. And are they not? Who today occupies the chair of the Chief Executive of this great Commonwealth but one of our most active members, the Hon. Edwin S. Stuart, whom we are gratified to have with us tonight? Who is his chief counsellor and firm reliance, but another of our members, Hon. Moses Hampton Todd? And who is the junior Senator from Pennsylvania but our own Philander C. Knox, for whom we believe and hope a yet higher station and greater honors are in waiting? And so, gentlemen, you find our members in the halls of Congress, in the Legislature, on the benches of our appelate and district courts, in our metropolitan and other pulpits, and in other prominent, influential and desirable positions; and everywhere, as we believe, working for equal justice to all and special privileges to none.

"A little lad, the youngest of three boys, the only children of a family, once heard his mother remark to a visitor that she did wish one of her children had been a girl. Upon the departure of the visitor the lad reminded his mother of this remark, and naively inquired, 'Who would have been it? George wouldn't have been it, and Willie wouldn't have been it, and you can just bet your sweet life that I wouldn't have been it.' But who, gentlemen, would not be a Scotch-Irishman?"

At the same dinner, the then Governor of Pennsylvania, Edwin S. Stuart, made an address from which I quote just a few lines:

"The Scotch-Irish people always respected the majesty and supremacy of the law. They came to this Country, with all its great opportunities, and for no State in the Union have they done so much as they have for the State of Pennsylvania."

Dr. Joseph Wilson Cochran, Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education of the Presbyterian Church, at the 1911 meeting of the Society, had this to say:

"The Scotch-Irish have been accused of a certain sullen refusal to exploit themselves in the pages of history. But long years ago we resigned the Chair of Elocution to the Yankee. It has been said that whenever a Yankee baby is old enough to sit up it at once proceeds to call the nursery to order and address the house. It may be that we have seen such horrible examples of racial volubility that we have cherished the more heartily the now almost antiquated habit of minding our own business. New England has written our school histories with scant recognition of the part played by our ancestors in the stirring events preceding the establishment of the Republic. All the Revolutionary plums were quickly knocked off the genealogical tree by Pilgrim pens and Puritan imaginations, and the Scotch-Irish have been left historically about in the position of the old lady who was on her way to Sterling Castle. She had intended going up by the Doon and Callender Branch, the little 'jerk water' railway leading to the castle. At the main line junction the guard threw open the door of the compartment and shouted, 'Any one here for Doon and Callender?' Receiving no response he slammed the door to and the train went on. Twenty miles beyond the old lady allowed an expansive smile to spread atwart her face, and nudging the ribs of her seat-mate remarked, 'A'm fer Doon and Callender, but I wouldna' tell the likes of hem.'

"Your Scotch-Irishman in the early days recked little of kings' palaces and cared naught for soft raiment and polished manners. Oatmeal, fresh air and the Bible combined to filter the iron of steady resolve and infinite faith into his arteries, giving him a hard fist, a cool head, a hot heart and an unconquerable soul."

General Thomas J. Stewart, late Adjutant General of

Pennsylvania, before the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society in 1910:

"When I look over this place tonight it looks like an annex to the greatest corporation in the world, the Pennsylvania Railroad, made wonderful and great by men who have been or are now members of this society: Thompson, Cassatt, McCrea, Patton, Creighton, and many others, and Dice, of the Reading, who is a member of this society. The Scotch-Irish not only run the railroads, but they run the State. Look here (pointing to the Governor). They not only run the State, but they have got a Scotch-Irishman who is teaching the people of this country how to make chickens lay eggs that will keep fresh for six months—Wilson, the great Secretary of Agriculture. Then they have a member of this Society in Washington who is saying to all nations in the Irish vernacular, 'Don't you tread on the tail of our coat,' our friend, Senator Knox, now Secretary of State. They are not content with running the railroads and the State and the government, but they are running the courts, and when they cannot do any one of these things they go to the police force. I heard of a Scotchman who was on the police force in London, and he was told to keep the highway clear, that some of the royal family were to pass that way at a certain hour in the day. He had done very well, kept the street very well cleared. Finally a carriage drove up. He went out and stopped it. The lady said, 'What are you doing sir? I am the wife of a cabinet minister. I must pass.' He said, 'I am very sorry, madam, but you could not pass if you were the wife of a *Presbyterian* minister.' If they cannot get on the police force they run trolleys. I heard of a Scotchman who was a conductor on a trolley line. He had not been on very long, but he was faithful and trusty. One morning a Jew, understanding that they made long trips for five cents, stepped up and said, 'Where can I go to with five cents?' The Scotchman looked at him and said, 'What is that you say?' 'Where can I go to with five cents?' The Scotchman said, 'I dinna like to tell ye.' "

Those of you who attended the large meeting of this Historical Society at the William Penn Hotel on October

thirty-first, 1916, on the occasion of the Pittsburgh Charter Centennial, will remember the address of ex-Governor William E. MacCorkle of West Virginia on "The Historical and Other Relations of Pittsburgh and the Virginias."

This was a joint meeting of the Society and the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce. As President of the latter body, I was chairman of the meeting.

The Governor, who in Pittsburgh has many admirers, graciously sent me an autograph copy of his address.

This same gentleman addressed the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society on February twenty-first, 1919, and I give you some extracts from his address on that occasion:

"Would you pardon just one word about myself so I can explain why I feel here at home? My father was William MacCorkle and my mother was Mary Morrison, and my great- great-grandfather on one side and my great-great-grandfather on the other side helped to open the gates at Londonderry; their great grandfathers on both sides stood in the mist at Greyfriars and put their hands to the Covenant, and their children have at all times in the moors and the lowlands and the highlands, in the fields of Northern Ireland and in Pennsylvania and Virginia, felt that their hands were still to the Covenant. I do not say this in any spirit of self-gratulation, but I am here among people who are bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh, and that which touches my people touches you just as deeply. . . .

"Pennsylvania has been from the beginning in such close touch with Virginia. The men who really made Virginia, the Scotch-Irish, largely came through Pennsylvania. God bless Pennsylvania! Wherever Liberty has wanted a champion, wherever Christianity has wanted a lance there has been old Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact, you know the Scotch-Irish have not had a square deal in history. They have not been mentioned as they should have been as part and parcel of the fundamental life and action of our country. That is easily understood if you will consider a moment. The Scotch-Irish did not come to this country as the Huguenots did, or as the Quakers, the Puritans, the Cavaliers. These last people came as a distant entity, with distinct places in view, holding together as the Puritans did in New

England, as the Quakers in Pennsylvania, as the Huguenots in the South. The Scotch-Irish came by the thousands, it is true, but they came here and there, at this port and that port, at this time and at that time, scattering over the land on the inland, and thus they never achieved that spirit of entity which gave historical character to the other great classes of immigrants I have mentioned.

"As a matter of fact I hope to show they have been the foundation stone of Liberty in this country. They have been at the crisis in every great event in American history, but they have not been mentioned as the Puritans have for the reason I have given. They were not there as an army of Scotch-Irish, but they were in the majority of the armies of the Republic.

"This has been a very peculiar situation. Take Virginia, for example: They made Virginia. The people of the eastern shore of the tidewater counties, of the James River, York and Rappannock have written the histories, but the Scotch-Irish who destroyed the law of primogeniture, who separated Church and State, who backed Patrick Henry in the passage of his resolutions for freedom, who furnished the majority of soldiers in the States in the Revolution, are not mentioned. Only lately have they been taken hold of as an entity, understood as part and parcel of the underlying and active life of this Republic. . . .

"Now after the war began, let us see our real influence on the battlefields. Until lately the numerical power of the Scotch-Irish has not been known. I am indebted to Judge Temple, of our own blood and bone, who has done more than any other person to obtain facts as to the numerical power of the Scotch-Irish in the Revolution. The facts are incontrovertible and show that our people had a majority of the soldiers of the Revolution. The action of the histories in minimizing the Scotch-Irish has not been particularly intentional. It arose largely from the peculiar situation; the Scotch-Irish did not stay on the seashore—the shores were largely occupied; they were not particularly well treated by the Quakers when they came to Pennsylvania and the consequence was that they went to the interior where they felled the forests, plowed the land, built churches, school houses

and colleges. But as a matter of fact they did not build great cities, they did not sail ships on the high seas. They were engaged in the great formative processes in the interior which did not dramatically appeal to the historian as did the building of cities on the seashore and sailing ships over the broad waters. They were in name in control of no State; yet they were the large majority and absolutely controlled many states—not in name but in fact and reality....

"The Scotch-Irish numbered at that time in all the Colonies 900,000, making them the most numerous people in this country. Their numbers have not been appreciated. Between 1728 and 1775 there arrived 12,000 annually in Philadelphia alone. If they had doubled in number in that time they would have amounted to a million people.

"They did not land only in Philadelphia. They landed everywhere and the immigration continued from 1700 until the revolution. From these facts it is obvious that prior to 1775 there were 500,000 of the Scotch-Irish and Scotch settled in the Colonies. Say they had been here an average of 30 years; it can be assumed they had increased at least 80 per cent. making them not less than 900,000 people in 1775.

"They practically controlled Virginia; Delaware and New Jersey had a great Sctoch-Irish population. They were one-third of Pennsylvania; in North and South Carolina they were in control; they controlled Tennessee, Kentucky and Georgia. They contributed a majority of the soldiers from the State of Pennsylvania and this was the truth of the States south of Pennsylvania....

"I wish there were time this evening to state all the reasons to show you that a majority of the troops in the army of the Revolution throughout the whole country south of Pennsylvania were Scotch-Irish. This seems beyond any question to be the fact. Throughout the war they bore a wonderful part. From the beginning to the end their rifles flashed in the thickest of the fire. I repeat, it is remarkable how they have been left out of history.

"After the war of the Revolution, the great reforms in Virginia doing away with the law of the primogeniture and the union of Church and State were brought about by Thomas Jefferson, backed by the solid vote of the Scotch-

Irish of the valley of Virginia and the Piedmont region, thus emphasizing their desire for freedom and equality of right of religious freedom....

"In this day of changed ideas and moralizing tendencies, the country needs the faith and the religion of the Scotch-Irish. No Scotch-Irishman ever marched under a red flag, and no Scotch-Irishman believes in the destructive social tendencies of the day. They cling with ardor unabated to the holiness of the Sabbath day; they cling to the Bible and want it as it was given to them by the fathers—unexpurgated and in its nakedness and truth. They ask for no continental Sabbath Day; they ask for no emasculated Ten Commandments, and the men and women who are taught the Shorter Catecism have been men whose honesty was unquestioned and women whose purity was above suspicion....

"If you ask what they have done, look around you. States have been created, churches have been built, lands have been tilled, and schoolhouse, college, church and sacred home have been typical of these people who in modesty and silence have wrought the wonders of this great Republic. They have builded in faith and their faith has been justified; and when the storm comes, as it comes to all free people, there will be found our people, staunch and true and holding to the faith of their fathers, yet able to intelligently grasp the conditions which are thrust upon them in the great world change which will continually and surely be for the best of all peoples which are on earth.'

And now, last but not least of these extracts, one which I consider a fine tribute to the Woman Pioneer; the woman, who is much too often overlooked when history is written.

Dr. Henry C. McCook, of Philadelphia, author of *The Latimers; or, The History of the Whiskey Insurrection,* at the Scotch-Irish Congress in 1896 said of the Scotch-Irish women pioneers:

"In these humble log huts began the work of home building, constructing that prime factor of all strong and good social order, the family. The family is the unit of society, the true basis of the best civilization; and in pioneer family building woman was the chief architect. The husband indeed must fend and fight for wife and weans, for steading

and glebe; he must shoot game, and chop down trees, and clear up fields and plant grain; but the duty and burden of home-making fell upon the wife and mother. And well our Scotch-Irish pioneers did their work.

"What sort of plenishing had these frontier heroines for their new cabin homes? Let us take a sample from a journal of one of these emigrants, written nearly one hundred and twenty years ago:

"There was neither bedstead nor stool nor chair nor bucket; no domestic comfort but such as could be carried on pack horses through the wilderness. Two rough boxes, one on the other, served as a table; two kegs for seats; 'and so,' said the journalist, 'having committed ourselves to God in family worship, we spread our bed on the floor and slept soundly until morning. The next day, a neighbor coming to our assistance, we made a table and stool, and in a little time had everything comfortable about us. Sometimes, indeed, we had no bread for weeks together; but we had plenty of pumpkins and potatoes, and all the necessities of life.'

"Pumpkins and potatoes! Necessities of life! Such was the home welcome of the Scotch-Irish bride of a Scotch-Irish minister who became one of the most eminent men in our history, Dr. John McMillan. However, the journalist adds: 'Such luxuries we were not much concerned about. We enjoyed health, the gospel and its ordinances, and pious friends. We were in the place where we thought God would have us to be, and did not doubt that he would provide everything necessary, and, glory be to his name! we were not disappointed.'

"The original settlers, of course, did not even have the luxuries of 'pumpkins and potatoes,' to begin their culinary duties therewith. They had, in sooth, to invent a cuisine. Everything must be begun anew. The wild fruits, wild berries, and wild game and the fish of the New World were utilized. Indian corn was a new cereal to these Ulster housewives; but it had to be wrought into the primitive menu, mush and milk! It was a novel sort of porridge for our grandames, but they learned to make it. Can you make it, O colonial dames and daughters of the Revolution, who owe all or a goodly moiety of your right to wear the badges

of these patriotic orders to the Scotch-Irish heroines who sent their husbands and sons into the ranks of Washington's clonials? If not, make haste to learn, for the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society has adopted mush and milk, or 'pioneer porridge,' for the typical racial dish, as our New England brethren have adopted baked beans and brown bread! Ah! some of us can yet behold in vision of childhood the golden yellow paste bubbling and puffing in the great pot, and the rosy-cheeked Scotch-Irish dame, with a frill of white hairs around her broad brow, stirring the sputtering, savory mess with a big wooden spoon, or serving it out in bowls of creamy milk. O mush and milk! Pioneer porridge for aye! Next morning, fried mush with wild honey from a near-by tree! Or pone bread, or Johnnycake, or Indian meal griddle cakes! That was not all of the new cereal, for—O ye gastronomic divinities!—there were roasting ears and succotash.

"Can an Irish woman do without her 'cop o' tay?' Go ask your 'kitchen ladies,' ye descendants of the pioneers. But how got your ancestress 'tay' in that wilderness? She extemporized a tea plant from the root of sassafras, and over its steaming pungency dreamed of the savory herb of far Cathay, and imagination did the rest! As to sugar, she had discovered the sugar maple, and her sugar plantation and sirup refinery were in the adjoining grove. Let this suffice: from a few dishes learn all!! Not the least claim which our Scotch-Irish ancestress has to a substantial and permanent fame is that she invented a new and delectable system of cookery! Doubtless if this fact can be surely fixed in the convictions of the lords of creation, they will straightway build the woman pioneer a monument, and will garnish it with carved and bronze cooking utensils. For, is it not known (among womenkind at least) that 'the dearest spot' in 'home, sweet home,' 'the dearest spot on earth' to most of us, is to the average male—the dinner table!

"Cooking was not the only sphere that solicited her creative faculty. The pioneer woman had to invent a pharmacopoeia. Wounds and sickness came, and must be cared for. The forest was full of healing 'yarbs,' if she could only

find them. And some of them she did find—and perhaps our octogenarian members still have recollections of ginseng and snakeroot teas, and slippery elm poultices, and the like. The woman pioneer had to be physician and surgeon, trained nurse and apothecary, all in one, and often supplied the patient, too, in her own person.

"In times of personal sickness, and during the illness of children, the strain upon women thus situated must have been intense. Such a life indeed developed self-reliance, fertility of resources, strong and independent characters; but many fell under the grievous strain, and thus became veritable martyrs of civilization. 'They died without the sight.' They lie, like the heroes who died on many a foughten field for liberty and human rights, in 'unknown graves.' But their works do follow them. They are the nameless heroines of history, like the Syrophenician woman, and the widow of Sarepta, and the widow who gave her mites unto the treasury, and the 'other women' which did minister unto Jesus. We know only their deeds, the rich fruitage of their lives. Their names are hidden from the eyes of history, but they shine in eternal luster upon the recording angel's book of benefactors of mankind."

And now to sum up, the Scotch-Irish, whether in Ulster or in the United States, in Canada or in South Africa, in Australia or in the Islands of the Pacific, and they are everywhere, may be depended upon to do their part in the progress of Christianity and Civilization—they are not demagogists or propagandists, they stand for no red flag, but have a deep and abiding faith in the future and an unfailing fidelity to the vision and the ideals of the English-speaking people.

Believing in the Magna Charta and the Common Law as the common inheritance of all Anglo-Saxons, they are unique among races for the constancy of their devotion to government and its institutions. They believe in civil, religious and intellectual liberty, as typified by the flag, the Bible and the public school. In every land in which they dwell, and at all times and under all circumstances, they stand for faith

and loyalty and all of the other cardinal virtues. They are the foremost defenders of what is right; and what is right, must be lasting.

> "God of our fathers, known of old,
>   Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
> Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
>   Dominion over palm and pine—
> Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
>   Lest we forget—lest we forget!"

Robert Garland

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA AND THE MORRILL TARIFF*

The tariff has always been a controversial subject in American politics. As sections developed and their activities changed, their ideas concerning the tariff also changed. The Southern states so long as they hoped to build up an industrial system, tended toward protection, but when such a system based on slave labor was found to be an impossibility, they upheld free-trade. This change took place in 1828 and from that time on free-trade and extension of slavery became the cornerstones of Southern principles. (1) The cause of this about face of the South may be found in the fact that protection seemed to benefit in a special way the manufactures of Pennsylvania, New York and New England. (2) These states were the hot-beds of abolitionist agitation and Southern antipathy would naturally be aroused. The industrial success of the Northern states and the failure of the South to establish manufactures was the cause of much jealousy and of the growth of a desire to hinder the North by agitation of a free-trade program. (3)

Following the 'Tariff of Abominations' and the attempted Nullification of South Carolina in 1832, the Compromise Tariff of 1833 was introduced whereby the rates were gradually reduced until 1842 when a protective tariff was passed. This tariff remained in effect until 1846 when a tariff greatly lowering existing rates was passed by Southern men led by Robert J. Walker, then Secretary of the Treasury. (4)

The next tariff legislation was the Act of 1857 which was the closest approach to the free trade ideal in our tariff history. (5) This Bill had generally lower rates than the tariff of 1846 but because of the great number of raw mater-

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ials put on the free list it was supported by the manufacturing states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New England. (6) This fact was later used by the Democrats of Pennsylvania to show that the record of the Republicans on the tariff question was not consistent.

During these years of free-trade the country prospered greatly and the fact was established that a protective tariff is not necessary for the growth of our manufacturing industries. (7) The drift toward free trade had gone far and it is impossible to determine to what extent it would have gone had it not been checked by the financial depression of 1857 and by the necessity growing out of the Civil War. (8)

Even Pennsylvania had ceased to a large extent protectionist agitation during these years. The Panic of 1857, which followed directly upon the passage of the new tariff act, and which particularly affected the iron producing sections, was a potent factor in strengthening the cause of protection. (9)

The Panic was attributed by the North entirely to the free-trade policy then in existence and opposition began to form for the first time in a decade.

The Panic of 1857 in iself was short-lived but its financial results were severe. (10) Naturally Pennsylvania was among the states most affected. Her trend toward protection is seen in the attitude of her President, James Buchanan, who was elected on the free-trade platform of 1856 but was active in agitating a tariff which would afford incidental protection.

In his first annual message of December 1857 he emphasized the serious financial condition of the country, (11) but favored no change in the tariff legislation as "the tariff of 1857 has been in operation for so short a period and under circumstances so unfavorable to a just development of its result as a revenue measure that it would be inexpedient, at least at present, to undertake a revision." (12)

In his message of the next year he advocated incidental protection afforded by a revenue tariff which "would at the present moment to some extent increase the confidence of the manufacturing interests and give a fresh impulse to our reviving business." (13)

In his last message he continued the advocacy of an increased tariff stating that "it is quite evident that the financial necessities of the government will require a modification of the tariff during the present session." (14)

Buchanan was undoubtedly influenced by the public opinion of his state, (15) where all parties were unanimous in upholding the tariff and were asking for increased rates.

Business conditions revived during the three years following the panic and by 1860 another season of prosperity had begun and would undoubtedly have continued had it not been checked by political trouble and the war. (16)

In this year Pennsylvania once more regained her position and produced one-half of the iron made in the whole country. (17) The *Pittsburgh Dispatch* for January 2nd, 1860, in reviewing the past year, states that "in Pittsburg manufacturing interests have revived, commerce and trade extended and a public spirit has developed in the erection of substantial business blocks unprecedented in our past history." (18)

Protectionist agitation did not cease and the *Dispatch* of the 25th of January advises its readers "to look out for a visit from tight times. He comes oftener than seven year locusts and the Asiatic cholera. Nobody knows exactly how to deal with him. Some people prescribe high tariffs, some specie currency and others greater caution and economy. But no one takes the prescription. We have free-trade, paper funds and general extravagance." (19)

As a result of this continued agitation on the part of the Keystone and other manufacturing states the Morill Tariff Bill was introduced into the House in March 1860. Politics entered largely into the introduction of the Bill at this time. Taussig, in his *Tariff History*, says: "It was introduced undoubtedly with the intention of attracting to the Republican party at the approaching presidential election, votes in Pennsylvania and other states that had protectionist leanings." (20)

The Bill was introduced by Justin S. Morrill, a Representative from Vermont and a member of the Ways and Means Committee. "Mr. Morrill was eminently well-fitted to prepare a tariff bill. He had been engaged in trade and com-

merce, was a man of sound judgment, perfectly impartial and honest. Representing a small agriculture state, he was not biased by sectional feeling or interests of his constituents. He regarded tariff not only as a method of taxation but as a method of protection of the existing industries in the United States with a view to encouraging and increasing domestic production." (21)

Mr. Morrill realized that there was no chance of passing a strong protectionist bill as the Senate was Democratic. (22) In his explanation of the Bill in the House he emphasized that "no prohibitory duties have been aimed at; but to place the people upon a level of fair competition with the rest of the world is thought to be no more than reasonable." (23) The principal argument for the Morrill Bill was not the need of protection but of revenue. (24)

The first part of the Bill called for "the payment of outstanding Treasury notes and to authorize a loan." (25) The loan was not to exceed twenty millions and was to be used only for appropriations made by law and to liquidate the outstanding Treasury notes issued during the crisis of 1857. (26)

The most important feature of the Bill was to increase the revenue. The increase was to be brot about chiefly thru the change from ad valorem to specific rates. (27) This change was in line with the recommendations of President Buchanan (28) and therefore met the approval of all Pennsylvania's Democratic Representatives.

According to the provisions of the Bill, duties on sugar, spirits, cigars, tobacco, iron, coal, wool and its products and numerous other articles were specific with a small ad valorem duty added in some few instances. The tariff was further simplified by fixing three schedules for articles upon which ad valorem duty was placed, making the duty ten, twenty, and thirty percent according to the classification of the article. The free list was quite extensive including asphalt, cocoa, coffee, tea and cotton. (29) Tho the Bill was not in a strict sense a protective measure, the change from ad-valorem to specific rates afforded incidental protection and secured the revenue against false and fraudulent invoices.

The Bill does not hold a place with the other great tariff bills of our financial history due to the fact that it was superseded by the Act of August 5th, 1860 before its results could be determined. (30) It is significant, however; it marked the end toward free trade and the beginning of protectionist legislation. Had it not been for the engrossing political struggles at this time the Morrill Bill would have marked an era in history. (31)

The Bill is also significant because of its political effect. It was doubtless introduced to attract votes to the Republican party. (32) In this the Bill was successful as the united stand of the Republicans for the Bill in the House showed them to be the better tariff party and determined to a large extent the vote in Pennsylvania.

The Bill, passed after secession, exerted an international effect in that it had some influence upon relationship between Great Britain and the United States. A protective tariff would naturally antagonize Europe especially as the Confederacy supported free-trade legislation.

An editorial in the *London Times* emphasized this fact; "It will not be our fault if the inopportune legislation of the North combined with the reciprocity of wants between ourselves and the South should bring about considerable modification in our relations with America." (33) This fact is given further force by a letter from John Lathrop Motley, in which he wrote, "I am obliged to say that there has been a change in English sympathy since the passing of the Morrill Tariff Bill. That measure has done more than any commissioner from the Southern Republic could do to alienate the feelings of the English people towards the United States." (34)

The Confederate agents used the opposition to protection to advantage in their endeavors for recognition. They went so far as to state that it was the protective tariff, upon which the North insisted, that made it necessary for the South to secede. (35) Of course in the final analysis these facts exerted small influence, but they are injected here to show the importance of the tariff at this time.

The Morrill Bill is unique in several ways: first in that it was to an extent a protective measure, passed when pro-

tective sentiment was confined to a few states, and made a law by a President who was elected on a free-trade platform; second, that it met with such strong opposition as to make necessary numerous amendments which so changed it that its author was inclined to abandon it; (36) and third, that it was not passed until Southern Senators had withdrawn from Congress. (37)

In the following history of the Bill in the House and Senate I have endeavored first to give such general facts in regard to the Bill as will show the opposition in either House and the reasons for it and then to deal especially with the position of Western Pennsylvania's Representatives and Pennsylvania's Senators on the Bill.

The Morrill Bill met with much opposition in the House and would have in all probability failed if it had not been for the successful management of John Sherman, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. (38)

The first attempt to introduce the Bill was made by Mr. Morrill on March 12th. After the reading of the title there was much discussion. The question was asked by Mr. Houston of Alabama, who became one of the great opponents of the Bill, "Is this a Tariff Bill?" Mr. Morrill answered; "For that and other purposes." He then moved that the rules be suspended so that he could report the Bill. The vote was taken, but a two third vote was necessary, and as this was not procured the bill was not reported. The whole Pennsylvania delegation voted for suspension. (39)

On the next day Mr. Sherman endeavored to introduce the Bill. Messers Cobb, McQueen, and Houston, all Southern Democrats, objected on the grounds that the appropriation bills should be introduced first. After much discussion the Bill was not reported on this ground. (40) Mr. Morrill finally succeeded in reporting the Bill on March 19th and having it referred to the Committee of the Whole and ordered to be printed. (41) On March 28th Mr. Sherman offered a resolution that the Bill be taken up for discussion on April 4th and continued until disposed of. He gave warning that he intended to rush the Bill. (42)

On April 5th the House, in the Committee of the Whole, discussed the Bill after a number of other bills had been

passed over. (43) The Bill was referred to briefly almost every day but nothing definite was done. On April 23rd, Mr. Morrill in a long address defended the Bill. (44) This address has been referred to above and contained elaborate arguments as to the necessity of the Bill for revenue and also numerous tables and data which showed the advisability of specific duties.

After this address the debate became general. Numerous amendments were prepared and presented. Among them was one by Mr. Florence, a Pennsylvania Democrat (45) who proposed numerous changes, practically reverting to the rates of 1846. Nothing was done following this suggestion.

Beginning with May 7th the debate became hotly contested. Mr. Sherman was untiring in his efforts for the Bill and tried all means to prevent the numerous amendments which were changing its nature. On the 7th he addressed the House. He said in part: "In my judgment Mr. Morrill's Bill is a great improvement on the tariff of 1857. It is more certain, it is more definite. It gives specific duties. It is more simple. It conforms to our decimal currency and duties under it are easily calculated." (46)

On the 8th there were numerous attempts by Houston of Alabama and Millson of Virginia to change the character of the Bill. (47) The argument was based on the inadvisability of protection. Mr. Morrill in answer to Houston upheld the Bill at length, proving advisability of protection by statistics. (48) Mr. Houston claimed that the protection of iron was unnecessary. Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania opposed these statements showing by statistics that the iron industry in Pennsylvania was failing. (49)

The next days were taken up by filibustering, the Democrats using all means available to prevent a vote. The amendments were so numerous and the Bill so changed that Mr. Morrill was disposed to abandon it to its fate. At this juncture the parliamentary skill of Mr. Sherman saved the Bill. Mr. Sherman suggested to Mr. Morrill that he offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute. To that amendment Sherman offered as an amendment a bill which embodied nearly all the original bill as reported. (50) This

brot matters to a head as no other amendments could be made. A vote was taken on May 11th after filibustering and political argument had postponed it for several days. The final vote on the Morrill Bill was Yeas 105 and Nays 64. (51)

I have not so far referred in the history of the Bill in the House to the part taken by Western Pennsylvania Representatives in the debate. From the *Congressional Globe* I conclude that the Representatives were of mediocre caliber as they took no active part in the discussions, tho they voted consistently, regardless of party, for the Bill. Of the Pennsylvania Representatives twenty were Republicans and five were Democrats. (52) All supported the Bill. Of the Representatives from Western Pennsylvania Steward of Mercer, Hall of Warren, Babbitt of Erie, Moorhead and McKnight of Pittsburgh were Republicans while Montgomery of Washington was a Democrat. (53) Of these, Montgomery, Moorhead and McKnight were the only ones who took any part whatever in the discussions.

James T. Moorhead, Representative from the 22nd district, made a speech on March 8th, before the introduction of the Bill, in which he made a strong plea for protection. (54) He showed that the excess of imports over exports was steadily increasing and asked for a tariff that would foster and protect our own manufacturers and give employment to our labor at home. He upheld the Republican measures of harbor improvements and railroad expansion. In conclusion he said: "Let us improve our rivers and harbors, build one or more railroads to the Pacific, giving employment to thousands of laborers, binding together our union with bands of American steel. Let us spread and diffuse manufacturing skill throughout the states, North and South, so that we may rely more upon ourselves and less upon foreign merchants and we will soon find that sectional disunion will dissappear and we will occupy the position among nations that God and nature intended we should." (55) This is exactly the kind of an address one would expect a Pittsburgh Representative to make.

Mr. Moorhead took no further part in the debates on the Morrill Bill except to engage in a partisan argument

with Mr. Florence, Democrat from Philadelphia as to the party responsible for the tariff of 1846. (56) This emphasizes the fact which will be brought out later, that the tariff was no issue in Pennsylvania, except that each party endeavored to prove their party the better tariff adherent.

The *Gazette* (57) and the *Chronicle* (58) commended Mr. Moorhead for his position on the Bill. The *Gazette* of April 28th says: "This able Representative from Allegheny is devoting all his great energies to the tariff question and wields considerable influence in the House." This statement was probably intended to secure votes for Mr. Moorhead at the coming election. He was nominated by the Republican Convention held May 3rd. In his acceptance of the nomination he referred to the fact that "the Democratic party has placed itself on record during the past winter in opposition to that beneficent measure," (the Morill Bill) .(59)

Robert McKnight, the other Representative from Pittsburgh, made one address on the floor of the House in the interest of protection. (60) The keynote of the address is found in the opening sentence; "It can hardly be denied that the country is the most prosperous which produces within her borders the articles useful to her citizens." (61) The *Chronicle* referred to the address as a "vindication of the rights of free labor, in favor of protection and tending to show that the Republican party is not the sectional party of the country." (62)

The partisan nature of the tariff question is again emphasized, as McKnight devoted much of his time to showing that the Democrats did not uphold protection. The *Dispatch* in a long editorial on his address, stated that "he proceeds to explode the fallacies upon which the advocates of free-trade base their opposition to protection." (63)

The *Washington Reporter*, Republican, does not think that Mr. McKnight's record was very consistent on the tariff. "Notwithstanding his loud-mouthed professions on the tariff," they stated, "his record is not such as to inspire Pennsylvania with any great degree of pride; it seems that just at the trying moment he is either absent or seized with a sudden fit of hunger as to render him incapable of service." (64) In my examination of the *Globe* I have found

Mr. McKnight absent on only a few minor occasions, such as votes on adjournments or on a few minor amendments.

William Montgomery, the Democratic Representative from Washington, voted consistently on such occasions as he was present, tho he was absent for several days during the debate, being in attendance at the Charleston Convention. (65)

Before the House was organized Mr. Montgomery delivered an address, referring to the position of the various candidates for the Speakership on the tariff. (66) Mr. Montgomery supported Babcock as against Sherman. The *Washington Reporter* flayed him mercilessly for his stand. The *Reporter* said: "To the old Whig element of the Republican party Montgomery appealed on the score of his devotion to the doctrine of protection to domestic industry and especially to the great interests of Pennsylvania. He was a tariff man in the strictest sense. A most consistent tariff man, indeed! Instead of living up to the assurances he gave prior to the election he votes from the start for Mr. Babcock for speaker—a man who has been noted for his steadfast and persistent devotion to free-trade." (67) This attack is justified in part but depends on the question, what is protection? Mr. Babcock voted for the tariff of 1846 while Mr. Sherman supported the tariff of 1857 which was still closer to the free-trade ideal. (68)

The *Post* claimed that Montgomery had proved himself to be a true friend of protection in the debate regarding the election of Speaker. They reported that "Mr. Montgomery stood most nobly for the interest of Pennsylvania and American labor." (69)

After the opposition noted above the *Reporter* has nothing more to say concerning Montgomery's position on the tariff. It criticised him most bitterly for his vote against the Homestead Bill, referring to him as the "only man north of the Mason-Dixon line to oppose the Bill" and calling him "a traitor to the cause." (70)

However, during the debate on the Morrill Bill, Montgomery voted consistently and made several strong remarks favoring the measure. On May 9th he said: "I regard the tariff not as a political question but as a national question

on which all men of all parties agree and should act consistently. I am in favor of the tariff and so are the Democracy of my state and I will not permit anyone to read us out of the Democracy or lecture us on our stand." (71)

The *Washington Review*, Democrat, sums up Montgomery's position: "During the discussion of the Bill in the House, it was steadily opposed by a number of members from different parts of the Union and Mr. Montgomery was always found battling for the success of the act that reestablished the protection extended by our manufacturers by the tariff of 1846. (72)

In the Senate the Bill met even more opposition than in the House. The Bill was announced on May 11th. On motion it was read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance. (73) On June 13th it was reported by Mr. Hunter of Virginia, a member of the Finance Committee, who moved that the consideration of the Bill be postponed until the second Monday in December. (74)

On June 14th the Bill was taken up by the Senate as the Committee of the Whole. (75) The question of postponement was discussed for several days. Mr. Hunter who led the opposition gave several reasons for postponement;—First—this was not a propitious time as politics would enter into the consideration to too great a degree. Second—there was no financial necessity for changing the present system. (76)

A vote was taken on the motion for postponement which was passed by a vote of twenty-five yeas and twenty-three nays. Senator Cameron and Bigler, the Pennsylvania Senators, voted against the postponement. (77) On the same day Senator Slidell of Louisiana proposed that a committee be appointed to report such modifications of the Bill on the second Monday in December as they deemed proper. (78)

On the 16th Mr. Powell of Kentucky moved for a reconsideration of the vote by which the discussion of the Bill was postponed. (79) No action was taken but the supporters of the Bill continued their efforts to have the Bill considered.

On the 20th of June the motion to reconsider the postponement of the Bill was passed, Bigler and Cameron voting

for reconsideration. (80) The opposition endeavored to change contents of the Bill, Mr. Lane of Oregon attempting to introduce a substitute which would have reinstated the rates of 1846. (81)

Pennsylvania's Senators endeavored to aid the Bill by various motions. Mr. Bigler moved that all other bills be passed over so that the Tariff Bill could be considered immediately. (82) Mr. Cameron attempted to have the session prolonged a week so that the Bill might be considered. (83) Both these motions were unsuccessful and the Senate adjourned, in spite of the activities of the Pennsylvania Senators, without action on the Bill (84) which they deemed of such great importance.

On the 11th of December the Morrill Bill was again called up in the Senate. There was again much opposition to its consideration, Senator Cameron upholding it. By a vote of thirty-nine to thirty-seven it was moved that the Bill be considered. (85)

Other more serious questions now engaged the attention of the Senate. Secession was imminent and it was impossible for the measure to pass. When the vote was finally taken on February 20th the Southerners had left the Senate in sufficient number to give a Republican majority in that body. (86) The final vote was twenty-four to fourteen in favor of the Bill, (87) Bigler was the only Democrat who voted for the Bill, while no Republican opposed it. (88)

Opposition to the Bill had not ceased with the Southerners leaving the Senate. The opposition however took another trend. It was now led by Senator Douglas of Illinois who based his argument on the inauspicious time for such legislation. (89) Senator Bigler answered Douglas several times. He endeavored to show in his remarks that there was an absolute need of additional revenue. (90) The Democrats on the whole admitted the need of additional revenue but desired a tariff for that purpose only. (91) However, after numerous attempts to return to the rates of 1846, the Bill, as noted above, was passed.

During the debate numerous amendments had been passed. A joint committee was appointed from both houses to agree on the amendments. Messers Simmons, Bigler and Hunter acted on the part of the Senate and Messers Sher-

man, Phelps and Moorhead on the part of the House. (92) A favorable report was received and the President affixed his signature to the Bill on the 2nd of March, (93) two days before the expiration of his term.

The activities of Pennsylvania's Senators have been mentioned above. Both Bigler and Cameron voted consistently. Mr. Bigler was influenced largely by the position of President Buchanan and served as the administration mouth-piece during the debate.

The opposition papers in Pittsburg and Philadelphia accuse Mr. Bigler of duplicity in regard to his stand on the Bill. (94) This fact cannot be substantiated. He always opposed the postponement of the Bill and endeavored in all ways possible to have the Bill passed.

His speeches and motions in the Senate also refute this charge. In his speech on June 20th his position was unmistakable. He said in part: "I have hitherto said that I am willing to take up this question of tariff as a business question. I have long expressed a desire that it be taken out of the ordinary party scrambles. I may be mistaken, sir, but I have acted in the firm belief that it is necessary as a measure of revenue to increase the means of the government. I am for a readjustment of the tariff." (95)

The Republican dailies were compelled to give him some recognition for his part played in the debate. In an editorial, the *Chronicle* stated that, "Mr. Bigler is doing all he can to push the Bill to a successful conclusion." (96) The *Chronicle* also reported that Senators Bigler and Cameron spent several hours with Representative Morrill endeavoring to devise means of passing the Tariff Bill. (97)

Mr. Cameron, the Republican Senator, also exerted much influence for the Bill, voting consistently and using his great ability as a lobbyist to have the measure passed. He always emphasized the importance of protection to the welfare of industry. In one of his remarks he gave a very graphic statement of the importance of the Tariff in Pennsylvania. He stated; "To Pennsylvania this is the great question of the day, it is our nigger." (98)

In another address, Mr. Cameron showed the gain in specie during the years of protective tariff and the consequent loss under the free-trade policy. He urged protection

and traced financial depressions to free-trade legislation. (99)

Several conclusions can be drawn from the discussion of the relations of Western Pennsylvania's Congressmen to the Morrill Bill. None of the Representatives took a prominent part in the debate, but the fact that the delegation was unanmous shows the importance of protection in Pennsylvania. When it is remembered that the tariff question was at this time a strict party issue the stand of Pennsylvania's Democratic Representatives and Senator takes on added significance.

It is very interesting to follow the editorials in the four leading Pittsburgh papers as they note the progress of the Bill. The comment below is arranged chronologically with reference to the facts as they have been discussed above in the history of the Bill.

The *Daily Post*, the Democratic organ in Pittsburgh, showed the adherence of Pennsylvania Democracy to the Bill during the debate in the House in numerous editorials. In the early days of the debate the *Post* stated that, "the Bill appears to suit the people of Pennsylvania, both Democrats and Republicans will stand by the Bill." (100) It further claimed that the Democracy of Pennsylvania were "as sound on the tariff question as ever the Republicans were." (101)

On the other hand the *Gazette*, the Republican organ, continually called attention to the fact that, "the Democratic party as represented in Congress has put itself on record as against a tariff so framed as to afford incidental protection to suffering American industry." (102) The filibustering of the Democrats during the last days of the debate was condemned as the unmanly way in which "The minority in the House may entirely prevent the passage of the Bill during the present session." (103) The *Gazette* also spoke of the possible advantage the non-settlement of the tariff question would be to the Republicans in the coming election but "prefers the interest of the Commonwealth and would gladly see the question removed from politics by the passage of the Bill." (104)

When the Bill was finally passed on May 11th all papers united in praising the action. The *Chronicle* rejoiced "to learn that the protective measure has passed the House by

a large majority----Sufficient glory for one day." (105) The *Post* proclaimed the passage in as favorable a tone and commended the measure as one which "affords additional protection and will be of great benefit to Pennsylvania." (106)

The *Gazette*, on July 9th, charged Senator Bigler with duplicity in regard to the Bill. In a long editorial, in which the New York *Tribune* was quoted freely, it revealed a scheme in which the Democratic Senator was to propose another Bill, protective to the extreme, which was bound to be defeated in the Senate but which would aid the Democratic cause in Pennsylvania. The *Gazette* referred to Bigler as "the dirty tool with which the Senate desires to defeat the Morrill Bill." (107) The *Pittsburgh Dispatch* confirmed the plot, quoting the *Philadelphia Inquirer.* (108) The scheme was not carried out, as has been proven by Bigler's record discussed above. The *Gazette* later referred to Bigler's stand but does so in a minimizing tone stating that "the feeble voice of Bigler alone of all the Democratic Senators has been raised in behalf of protection, but no one heeds what he says, not even in his own party." (109)

All papers regretted the postponement of the Bill. The *Post* sought to exonerate its party by stating that "the failure has not occurred thru the negligence of Pennsylvania Democrats." (110) The *Gazette*, on the other hand, stated that the Bill was shelved "because Democracy and Slavery are inseparably welded and the control of the one must always be turned to promoting the interest of the other. Free labor can find protection only by over-turning the pro-slavery Democracy and the solution of the tariff question is therefore happily hastened by the dissolution of the Democratic party." (111)

The *Chronicle*, upon the adjournment of Congress, summarized the work accomplished. "Congress adjourned yesterday. We have no tariff, no homestead law, no Pacific Railroad, no abolishment of polygamy, no mileage retrenchment. Go home now and be good boys. School is over." (112)

When Congress adjourned in December the election was over and we find no comment of importance on the Bill. These quotations however emphasize three facts; first,—

the prominent position of the tariff in the state; second,—the unanimity of the state on the issue; and third,—the tendency of the rival parties to assert theirs to be the better tariff party.

The Pittsburgh papers were also unanimous in upholding the various features of the Bill. All papers concurred in the change from ad valorem to specific duties. The *Post* stated: "An ad valorem tariff protects where protection is least needed. (113) The *Post* has always lent its support to such a tariff of specific duties as Pennsylvania needs." (114) The *Chronicle* held an ad valorem tariff "to be a sliding scale in the wrong direction; it protects when protection is least needed and refuses to protect when the manufacturer is in danger." (115) The *Dispatch*, in emphasizing the protective element of specific rates, stated that, "the lower the price sunk the higher would be the rate percent granted by specific duties." (116)

The *Post* was the only paper, which, tho strongly for protection, feared a cessation of Southern trade and cautioned that continued agitation of protection might cause such a cessation. In the editorial in the issue for April 19th it make this statement: "Our iron, plows, wagons, stoves, glass, manufactured cotton fabrics, steamboats, and a great variety of products, to say nothing of coal seek a market in the South in immense quantities. Is there no danger that the course which the Republican politicians and the newspapers of Allegheny County are pursuing will, if persisted in, seriously damage the interests of the country?" (117)

From these quotations we must conclude that the Morrill Bill was upheld in its entirety by all parties and that public opinion was unanimous, though in some cases more conservative than in others.

Demonstrations and meetings showed the public opinion of the section. Pittsburgh, the center of protection agitation, could not let such a great victory as that of May 11th, when the Morrill Bill passed the House, go without some fitting celebration. The *Chronicle* of the 11th reported that the "Republicans intend to honor the passage of the popular measure by firing from Boyd's hill one hundred and five rounds, the number of ayes for the Bill." (118) In advertising the celebration it advised that they load the

big gun "up to the muzzle and stand away from the touch hole. Let our hills of coal reverberate the sound which proclaims them disenthralled and brought into the glorious service." (119)

A meeting of the Board of Trade was held on the 30th of May for the purpose of taking some action in relation to the Morrill Tariff Bill. A committee of five was appointed to draft a memorial and resolutions on the subject. (120)

The resolutions which were presented and unanimously passed give the opinions of the section so well that it seems pertinent to give them in full.

> "What we ask for, our Representatives and Senators, in Congress, is for an enactment of such a tariff law as will give the largest possible protection to our interests. This we think the bill passed by the House of Representatives and now before the Senate will do. As the Representatives of a great working community, we therefore ask that it become a law.
>
> In our opinion this bill sufficiently guards against the evils which a fluctuation in price and unfair invoices produce under the ad valorum system. From experience of the past ad valorum duties were not consistent with the steadiness which protective industry imperatively demands. Constant fluctuations make it unsafe to invest capital in large amounts in manufacturing business. The man who builds a furnace, a rolling mill, a cotton or woolen factory might almost as well be a tenant at will of his establishment as to be subject to the ups and downs of a constantly fluctuating tariff. We want responsible protection and we want certainty.
>
> Specific duties such as are proposed in the bill now before the Senate stand steadily in the defense of our industrial prosperity. The passage of the bill would give us confidence. All the experience of the past has proven that under tariffs devised to promote the interests of labor and supply the wants of government, those creating specific duties are the most adequate and reliable." (121)

That this opinion was unanimous not only in the western part of Pennsylvania but in the whole state is shown by the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Iron Manufacturers at Philadelphia. They resolved: "First,—that the meeting approve the Morrill Bill; second,—that the part of the bill referring to iron is fair; third,—that this bill will allow American manufacturers to compete with foreigners." (122)

On September 26th, in a political demonstration, the importance of the tariff issue in the election was stressed by the number of banners favoring protection. The *Chronicle* reported the demonstration: " The Pittsburgh Steel Works had a large force out.... In the second wagon was a banner

on which was represented a rolling mill in ruins as the result of free trade and on the other an establishment in a flourishing state as we would have had we protection. The Soho Works had out over thirty workmen in two wagons and bore the banner, 'We will have protection.' Mitchell, Herron & Co. had a banner with the motto 'American Industry must be protected.'" (123)

The County Conventions of January 1860 further show the unique position of the tariff issue. As both parties upheld protection it could not be, strictly speaking, an issue. Each party however attempted by resolutions and addresses to show that they had done more for the tariff than their opponents had done and that their party was the true protective party.

The Allegheny County Conventions were held in January 1860. The 11th resolution passed by the Republicans on January 5th read as follows:

> "11. Resolved that we regard protection to our home industries as one of the cardinal purposes of the national government and that specific duties upon certain articles can alone insure honest execution of the law". (124)

In the resolution passed by the Democratic Convention held January 25th we find the subtle charge that the Republicans were not consistent in their tariff stands.

The resolution read:

> "Resolved that we are in favor of an econominal administration of General and State government and of encouraging domestic manufactures by a repeal of the Republican Tariff of 1857 and a restoration of the Democratic Tariff, modified by the substitution of specific for ad valorum duties as recommended by President Buchanan." (125)

These resolutions show that each party endeavored to make the most out of their respective cases. The tariff question occupies the same unique position in the state elections. Both State Conventions passed tariff resolutions, both candidates for governor made tariff speeches and both went to Washington to endeavor to have the Morrill Bill passed.

The Republican State Convention met in Harrisburg on February 22nd and nominated Andrew Curtin for governor. Their stand for protection was unmistakable and is shown by the following resolution:

> "Resolved that in the enactment of revenue laws by the general government, fair and adequate protection should be systematically afforded to industry of all classes of citizens." (126)

The Democrats in their convention at Reading, March 21, nominated Henry Foster of Greensburg for governor and passed a strict protectionist resolution:

> "Resolved, that the convictions of the Democratic party of Pennsylvania remain unshaken in the wisdom of adequate protection to the coal, wool and great productions of the country. The views of Mr. Buchanan on the subject of specific duties are approved. Our Representatives in Congress are desired to produce such modification of the law as the unwise legislation of the Republicans in 1857 renders necessary to the prosperity of the industrial interests of Pennsylvania." (127)

The Democrats were on the defensive, their record was against them and they must find some means of equalization. This they found in the alleged support of the Republicans for the Tariff of 1857.

The importance of the state election in Pennsylvania in its relation to the national election in November could hardly be overestimated. Pennsylvania had been a Democratic state but due to the importance of the tariff question it was doubtful in this election. The gubernatorial returns would show to a large extent the trend of opinion and aid in the prediction of the result in November.

Both candidates for governor supported the Morrill Bill and made protective addresses during the campaign. Mr. Curtin, the Republican nominee, put forth prominently in his campaign speeches the importance of the protective tariff and argued strongly that it would be adopted by the Republicans but certainly not by the Democrats. (128)

Foster and Curtin both went to Washington when the Morrill Bill was being debated and used their influence in urging that the measure be passed. (129) Mr. Foster met with some of the Southern Democrat Senators in behalf of the Bill. (130)

The *Post* used the activity of Foster in regard to the Morrill Bill as a leading campaign cry. An editorial made the bold claim that, "it was mainly thru his efforts in conjunction with some of the active and prominent Democrats of the House that the bill in question passed that body." (131) It also claimed the Republicans were "unable thus far to show that Mr. Curtin has rendered any important service in this particular." (132)

The *Gazette*, on the other hand, headed its editorials with these words: "Do you want a Protective Tariff, vote for Curtin. Vote for Curtin if you wish to vote on the side of free-labor, if you wish to support American Industry. A vote for Foster is a vote for free-trade. Curtin is for Protection." (133)

Curtin won a decisive victory with a majority of 32,-000, largely due James G. Blaine says: "to his able and persuasive presentation of the tariff question and to his effective appeals to the laboring men in the coal and iron section of the state. Governor Curtin gave a far greater proportion of his time to the tariff and financial issues than to all others combined because a majority of her voters believed that the Democratic party tended to free-trade and that the Republican party would espouse and maintain the cause of protection." (134)

All writers concur that this state victory for the Republicans assured the election of Lincoln in November. (135) This state election clearly demonstrated the strong hold the principle of protection had upon the affections of the people.

Tariff was bound to play an important part in the national election in Pennsylvania. It was a minor issue in all other states. (136) Naturally there was no mention of it in either platform of the two branches of the Democracy. There had been an attempt by the Pennsylvania Democrats to introduce such a plank into the Charleston Platform. (137) Copies of the Resolutions passed at the State Convention at Reading were presented to the Convention. (138a.) These resolutions were not acted upon as the Charleston Convention soon disbanded. There was no reference to the tariff in the platforms which were later passed by the two branches of the Democracy, both upholding the Cincinatti free-trade plank. (138b.)

The Republican Convention held in Chicago, impelled by the trend of public opinion in Pennsylvania, saw the need of recognizing the principle of protection. (139) This recognition was not without opposition. Horace Greeley, a pronounced protectionist, opposed such a plank on the ground that the greater the number of issues the greater

would be the tendency to divide on the smaller issues and the harder to unite on the prime issue. (140)

The great leaders of the Republican party, Lincoln, Chase, and Seward were opposed to taking up the tariff at this time. (141a) Only a few days before he was nominated Mr. Lincoln wrote to a correspondant: "The tariff question ought not to be agitated at this time." (141b.) This stand had been taken before by Mr. Lincoln, as evidenced by a letter to Edward Wallace in which he wrote: "still it is my opinion that a revival of the question will not advance the cause itself or the man who requires it." (142) Seward and Chase opposed the tariff on grounds similar to Greeley.

The Republicans, however, succeeded in placing in the platform the 12th resolution which was lauded by the Republicans as a protectionist plank and criticised by the Democrats as neither clear-cut nor with definite meaning. The resolution which was largely responsible for the Republican majority in Pennsylvania read: (143)

"Resolved. 12th. That while providing for the support of the general government by duties upon imposts such adjustment should be made as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country."

The importance of this plank may be over-emphasized but many of the authorities of financial and political history trace to it the election of Lincoln in November. (144) Mr. Blaine says in his *Twenty Years*, "It was to this recognition that Mr. Lincoln in the end owed his election." (145)

It was only natural that Pennsylvania with its great economic resources should stress those problems which, in the opinion of her citizens, vitally affected the advance and growth of their industrial system, and that the tariff rather than the extension of slavery should be the true issue in Pennsylvania.

The Democrats had been loosing ground in the Keystone state since the Panic of 1857. This depression occurred with a tariff of Democratic choice, a Democratic President, a Democratic Congress and every department of government under Democratic control. (146) Naturally since Pennsylvanians had been seriously affected by the Panic of 1857 these facts did much to weaken the Democratic cause.

Protection had been a prime issue in Pennsylvania in preceding elections. To show the weakness of other issues the state election of 1856 might be quoted. In this election David Wilmot, a strong anti-slavery man was defeated by Packer, who upheld protection. (147) Disassociated from the question of protection, opposition to slavery extension was a weak issue and the Republicans insured success when they identified hostility to slave labor with the protected labor of Pennsylvania. (148)

The campaign arguments in Pennsylvania centered on four controversial questions. First, which party is the better tariff party in Pennsylvania? Second, Is the tariff plank in the Chicago Platform sincere? Third, Are the Republican candidates protectionists? Fourth, Is protection advantageous at this time?

In regard to the first controversial point the Democrats placed much emphasis on the Tariff of 1857 which they styled a Republican Tariff and held was the cause of the Panic of 1857. The *Post* in its editorials gave much argument and more statistics to prove conclusively that the Republicans had supported measures contrary to protective ideals. (149) The *Post* also claimed for the Pennsylvania Democrats a more active stand for the Morrill Bill than the Republicans. (150) The *Gazette* replied to these arguments by referring to the "unanimity with which the Republicans in Congress had supported the Morrill Bill." (151) They also traced the history of protection and the frequency with which protective measures had been defeated by Southern votes and influence was made much of. They also referred to the 12th plank of the Chicago Convention and pointed out that "protection to the principle interests of our country is one of the cardinal doctrines of their creed." (152)

The question of the sincerity of the tariff plank was perhaps the strongest point of the opposition. We have noticed in the wording of the plank a certain vague indefiniteness. The *Post* said concerning the plank: "Take for instance the 12th resolution of the Republican platform, which professes to pledge the Republican party to a protective tariff—do we find its terms beyond inquivocation or cavil?" (153) In another issue the same paper made the statement that: "there is no reason to doubt that the

tariff resolution introduced into the Chicago platform was introduced to conciliate the protectionists of Pennsylvania while it was so worded as to give no offense to the free-trade Republicans of New York and elsewhere." (154) The Republicans in turn disclaimed all these charges and alluded to the 12th resolution as a recognition of the "great principle of protection of the industrial interests of the nation and a demand for an honest and economical administration of government." (155)

The question of the tariff policies of the Republican nominees caused much attention. The *Pennsylvanian* quoted by the *Washington* (Pa.) *Review* stated: "Lincoln is claimed to be a friend of protection. Hamlin is the special champion of free-trade." (156) This was a strong point for the opposition, as Hamlin, the Republican nominee for vice-president, had supported free-trade. The *Hollidaysburg Standard,* in an editorial entitled: "Are the Republicans sincere?" (157) showed the discrepancies of the Republicans on the tariff question in various parts of the country. "The supporters of Lincoln in this quarter profess a rigid sentiment in favor of protection, and disclaim loudly for the passage of the tariff bill which the House of Representatives have been considering. The *New York Evening Post* and the journals of Maine (Hamlin's state) and everywhere down east denounce the bill as the odious tariff act and call for its unconditional defeat" (157) The *Pittsburgh Post* referred to the free-trade attitude of Hamlin and the *New York Post.* (158) According to a letter from the Democratic Candidate for governor of the state of Maine, Hamlin, in a desire to conciliate the manufacturers in Pennsylvania, insisted upon protection and made speeches in its behalf. (159) This is hailed by the Democracy as another evidence of Republican hypocracy.

The Republicans in rebuttal of course referred to Mr. Lincoln as an advocate of protection. "On one important point," the *Philadelphia Bulletin* wrote, "Mr. Lincoln has a record which will tell in his favor in Pennsylvania. Here after all, the Tariff is the vital question. All parties are for the Union and the Constitution, so there can be no issue there. But all parties are not for protection of American industry. The Democrats ignore it.... Mr. Bell has been

a tariff man, but as he has no platform and as he relies mostly on the Southern states for support he will have to conform to a considerable degree to Southern policy which favors free-trade. Mr. Lincoln is a tariff man on a tariff platform." (160) This statement, tho a partisan one, is backed up by facts and is correct in regard to the principles of the various candidates on the tariff question in 1860.

The fourth question which was debated in the campaign was the advisability of tariff agitation and revision at that time. The Democrats counselled moderation. They knew that they must uphold the tariff but they attempted to show that the interests of Pennsylvania would be injured if too stringent a campaign for protection was undertaken. Conservatism was urged by the *Post*. "The trade of Pennsylvania with the South is large. The attitude of Republican papers is deleterious and will deflect trade of the South to other sources. We must be conservative and the Democratic party is now the conservative party." (161) In another editorial the *Post* stated: "it is time for the conservative men among merchants and business men to look matters fairly in the face and ask themselves the question: 'Are not the rabid politicians of the Republican party destroying our interests?' " (162) The Democrats also made much of the fact that the bank and tariff were dead issues and no longer the leading political questions of the day and were therefore receiving undue consideration from the opposition. (163)

The Republicans in reply to these arguments stressed the importance of industry and the aid of protection in the advancement of manufacturers. In Allegheny and Washington counties enthusiastic Republican meetings were held and the tariff always occupied an important place in the discussion. The Washington County Convention, meeting on June 17th, resolved that, "the declaration of the principles of protection for the whole country be upheld." (164) At the second meeting of the Central Republican Campaign Club of Washington the tariff was alluded to and the President of the Club in lengthy remarks showed the importance and necessity of judicious protection. (165) These incidents while of minor and local importance show the influence of the tariff issue in the campaign.

The result was as predicted by the state election—Pennsylvania gave to Lincoln a majority of nearly 300,000. "This is a result unprecedented in political history of the state and shows the unanimity which prevails among the people in favor of Free Territory, Free Labor and Protection to Home Industry." (166)

While no mention of the tariff as a grievance or cause of secession was made in South Carolina's ordinance (167) nevertheless the action of Pennsylvania and its ardent support for the principle undoubtedly had some influence.

The evidence given above will show that while the Morrill Act was not a success as a financial measure, not yielding sufficient revenue for the war emergency, its influence was far-reaching. The Republican agitation for protective tariff proved to be the great attraction for Pennsylvania voters. This fact shows that at least in some localities economic considerations overshadowed the great question of the extension of slavery.

The importance of the vote of Pennsylvania in the election of 1860 and the unique position of the tariff question in the state and the subordination of all other questions to it cannot be overlooked.

The tariff was paramount. Both parties upholding protection made it in reality no issue. Since the national parties were not in accord on the subject it was necessary for the Democrats to take the defensive in an endeavor to satisfy a constituency which favored protection with a national platform which entirely ignored it. The campaign arguments show that both parties were consistent, altho the Democrats were naturally the more conservative.

The importance of the Morrill Act, therefore, lies in the fact that it showed the Republicans to be the supporters of protection. The Act coupled with the resolution in the Chicago Platform which upheld protection was the balance which decided the election of 1860 in favor of the Republicans.

I. F. Boughter

NOTES

1. Blaine. "Nature of Protection"; *Modern Eloquence;* XI, 266.
2. Marvin, *Tariff of* 1846-57; p. 4.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
5. Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 157.
6. Marvin. *Tariff of* 1846-57, p. 23.
7. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 58.
8. Garrison, *Westward Expansion*, p. 187.
9. Killikelly, *History of Pittsburg*, p. 204.
10. Hull, *Financial Depressions*, p. 146.
11. Richardson, *Messages of the Presidents*, V, 436.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 458.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 650.
15. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, p. 184.
16. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 56.
17. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 479.
18. *Pittsburg Dispatch*, Jan. 2, 1860.
19. *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1860.
20. Taussig., *Tariff History*, p. 158.
21. Sherman, *Recollections*, I, 183.
22. Dewey, *Financial History*, p. 266.
23. *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress,First session, p. 1832.
24. Burton, *John Sherman*, p. 68.
25. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1231.
26. *Pittsburg Dispatch*, May 18, 1860.
27. Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 158.
28. Richardson *Messages of the Presidents*, V, 522.
29. *House Documents*, Vol. 129, pp.164-180.
30. Cox, *Three Decades*, p. 137.
31. Blaine, *Twenty Years*, I, 277.
32. Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 158.
33. Tarbell, *Tariff in our times*, p. 8.
34. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 315.
35. Lothrop, *William Seward*, p. 277.
36. Kerr, *John Sherman, His life and public service*, I, 107.
37. Cox, *Three Decades*, p. 137. Marvin, Tariff of 1846-57. p. 34.
38. Kerr, *John Sherman*, I, 107.
39. *Cong: Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1116.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 1135.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 1231.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 1415.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 1563.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 1832.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 1859.
46. Sherman, *Recollections*, I, 185.
47. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1972.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 1972.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 1972.
50. Sherman, *Recollection*, I, 186.
51. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 2056.
52. *Senate Documents*, Vol. 56 p. 216.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
54. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1046.
55. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 1046.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 1957.
57. *Gazette*, April 27, 1860.
58. *Chronicle*, April 27, 1860.

59. *Dispatch,* May 3rd., 1860.
60. *Cong. Globe* 36th Cong., 1st Ses., 1851.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 1851.
62. *Chronicle,* April 28, 1860.
63. *Dispatch,* April 28, 1860.
64. *Washington* (Pa.) *Reporter,* June 28, 1860.
65. *Cong. Globe,* 36th Cong., 1st Ses., 1972.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 289-90.
67. *Reporter,* Dec. 14, 1859.
68. *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1860.
69. *Post,* Jan. 4, 1860.
70. *Reporter,* Apr. 5, 1860.
71. *Cong. Globe,* 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 2017.
72. *Washington Review,* May 17, 1860.
73. *Cong. Globe,* 36th Cong., 1st Ses., p. 2062.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 2910.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 2980.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 3010.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 3027.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 3032.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 3062.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 3101.
81. *Congressional Globe,* 36th Cong., Ses., p. 3094-3101.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 3184.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 3187.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 3195.
85. *Dispatch,* Dec., 12, 1860.
86. Cox, "*Three Decades*", p. 157.
87. *Cong. Globe,* 36th Cong., 2nd, Ses., 1065.
88. *Ibid.*, 1065.
89. *Ibid.*, 1051.
90. *Ibid.*, 1052.
91. *Ibid.*, 1051, ff.
92. Sherman, *Recollections,* I, 187.
93. *Cong. Globe,* 36th Cong., 2nd Ses., p. 1416.
94. *Gazette,* June 9th, *Dispatch,* June 11, 1860.
95. *Cong. Globe,* 36th Cong., 2nd Ses., p. 3181.
96. *Chronicle,* May 24, 1860.
97. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1860.
98. *Gazette,* May 24, 1860. Speech June 20th, 1860.
99. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1860. Speech June 15th, 1860.
100. *Post,* April 5, 1860.
101. *Post,* April 17, 1860.
102. *Gazette,* April 20, 1860.
103. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1860.
104. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1860.
105. *Chronicle,* May 11, 1860.
106. *Post,* May 12, 1860.
107. *Gazette,* June 9, 1860.
108. *Dispatch,* June 11, 1860.
109. *Gazette,* June 18, 1860.
110. *Post,* June 20, 1860.
111. *Gazette,* June 24. 1860.
112. *Chronicle,* June 25, 1860.
113. *Post,* April 3, 1860.
114. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1860.

115. *Chronicle*, April, 10, 1860.
116. *Dispatch*, April 7, 1860.
117. *Post*, April 10, 1860.
118. *Chronicle*, May, 11, 1860.
119. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1860.
120. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1860.
121. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1860.
122. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1860.
123. *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1860.
124. *Post*, Jan. 5, 1860.
125. *Post*, Jan. 25, 1860.
126. *Washington Reporter*, Feb. 29, 1860.
127. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1860.
128. Stanwood, *Tariff Controversy*, II.
129. *Chronicle*, June 11, 1860.
130. *Gazette*, June 4, 1860.
131. *Post*, Sept. 10, 1860.
132. *Post*, Sept 10, 1860.
133. *Gazette*, Sept. 10, 1860.
134. Blaine, *Twenty Years*, I, 206.
135. Chadwick, *Cause of the War*, p. 126, Rhodes, II., 479. McKinley, *History of Tariff Legislation*—Henry Clay, VII, 29-30.
136. Fite, *Campaign of* 1860. p. 198.
137. *Gazette*, April 26, 1860.
138. *Chronicle*, April 27, 1860, (b) Fite, *Campaign of* 1860, p. 198.
139. Blaine, *Twenty Years*, I, 140.
140. *Dispatch*, May 2, 1860.
141. (a) Tarbell, *Tariff in our Times*, p. 6.
     (b) Tarbell, *Tariff in our Times*, p. 6.
142. Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works*, I, 584
143. *Dispatch*, May 23, 1860.
144. Dewey, *Financial History*, p. 266.
145. Blaine, *Twenty Years*, I, 206.
146. *Ibid.*, I, 205.
147. *Ibid.*, I, 205.
148 *Ibid.*, I, 206.
149. *Post*, April 17, 1860.
150. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1860.
151. *Gazette*, April 5, 1860.
152. *Dispatch*, Feb. 23, 1860.
153. *Post*, Sept., 11, 1860.
154. *Ibid.*, Sept., 19, 1860.
155. *Gazette*, May 19, 1860.
156. *Washington Review*, June 21, 1860.
157. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1860.
158. *Post*, May 23, 1860., June 23, 1860.
159. *Chronicle*, August 2, 1860.
160. *Gazette*, May 24, 1860.
161. *Post*, January 10, 1860.
162. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1860.
163. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1860.
164. *Washington Reporter*, June 21, 1860.
165. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1860.
166. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1860.
167. Chadwick, *Cause of the War*, p. 140.

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTE BOOK OF COLONEL GEORGE MORGAN

(Manuscript Department Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania)

The book contains the following written by Colonel Morgan

The Delaware Chiefs in Council at my House near Princeton May 12th, 1779, addrefs'd me as follows—

Brother Taimenend,

We have now gone through most of the great Work we came upon, but one thing remains, which we expect you will be pleased with & not contradict us in.

The Delaware Nation have experienced great Advantages from your wise Councils, & from your Truth, & Justice, in representing their real Sentiments & Disposition to ye Congrefs of the United States. You have at all times studied the good of our Nation & done all in your Power to promote the Happinefs of our Women & Children, & of Our Posterity.

You have now entertained a considerable number of Us in your own Family for some time; & you have kindly undertaken the Care of some our Children, who we have brought here, to be educated—We see your own Children & we look on theme with Pleasure as on our own—For these Considerations, & in Order to show our Love for you, & for your Family we now give to you a Tract of Land in our Country that you may call your own, & which you & your children may pofsefs & enjoy forever—

The Delaware Nation give you this land, Brother Taimenend to show their Love for you & your Children—We will now describe it—It begins at the Mouth of the Run opposite the Foot of Montours Island—(we mean the lower End of the Island,) & extending down the River Ohio, to the Run next to Logs Town;—bounded by the said two Runs & the River Ohio & extending back from the River Ohio to the tops of the highest Hills—being, we suppose about three Miles in general in a direct Line from the River to the Tops of the said Hills—And about six Miles from Run to Run—

This Tract contains the whole of the Schwickley Bottom, which is very good Land, & we desire that you and your Children may accept & Pofsefs it forever.

The Chiefs & Counsellors present on this Occasion were

1 Hey ley laymont, or Hillbush	2	3
4th	5th	6th
7th	8th	10th

Hey ley leymont, was the Speaker—repeated by Israel or straight Arm.

Interpreted by Jos: Nicholson.

Heckewelder says that when Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton, visited the Western Indians, by order of Congress, in 1776, he was so beloved for his goodness, that the Delawares conferred upon him the name of their venerated chief, Tamene, Taimenend, or St. Tammany. Colonel Morgan brought back to the whites such glowing accounts of the qualities of that ancient chief, that in the Revolutionary war he was dubbed a saint, and his name was placed on some calendars. He was called by politicians, St Tammany, and established as the patron saint of republican America.

Librarian.

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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THE MONONGAHELA RIVER (1)

The name "Monongahela" is significant, and indicates a peculiar trait of the Indian language. An Indian name always tells you the outstanding quality of the thing named, Monongahela means—muddy water, clayey—falling in banks. You will note "hela", which is a corruption of "henna", which is a general term for river. Thus, you have Monongahenna, Alleghenna, Loyalhenna, Susquehenna, etc.

Were you to follow the main stream of the Monongahela, its source would be found in some spring on the mountain side, close up to the drainage Kingdom of the stately Potomac. It drains an area of nearly 9,000 square miles. This is all underlaid with the Pittsburgh, Waynesburg and Freeport veins of coal, and this adds no small amount of importance to this noble river. The rocks that form the framework of this river basin are high in felspar and low in silicon, rendering this region easy of erosion. This explains, why the sand deposits are of poor quality. This also explains why there are few rounded river stones. The Monongahela lacks the hard sand, so characteristic of the Allegheny River. It also lacks the hard, flinty, round river stones with which the streets of Pittsburgh were, as some of you may remember, all paved in earlier days. These paving stones of Pittsburgh's earlier streets are interesting

(1) Paper read before the Society, March 27, 1923.

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.**

and have a history. When the great ice-cap came creeping down from the north land, covering most of North America with a mass of ice, snow and debris thousands of feet thick, it pushed ahead unthinkable amounts of sand, gravel and boulders and these were deposited over almost the entire Allegheny River System. The sand of the Allegheny River is ground up Laurentian, Huronian, Keewatin, and other forms of flinty, igneous rocks that find placement in Northern and Central Canada. Should you find a pile of ordinary gravel used for cementing and pick out the various types of rocks there seen, and carry these specimens to Northern and Central Canada, you would be able to identify the various formations from which these came. This difference in the quality of the sand found in the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers has an economic significance.

The hard carborundum-like sand of the Allegheny, called the plate glass industries to its shores, since this industry must have a hard sand to grind down the glass, after it is rolled on the tables. When the great glacier had come and gone, what a wreck it had made of the drainage system of the Allegheny River. The old river bed was filled up with claysilt, sand and gravel, damming its water back into great lakes. When these great dams gave way, this material was carried out so fast as to dam up the Monongahela as high as the Pittsburgh hills and make a lake of the Monongahela river valley extending back far above Fairmont, West Virginia. The old river bed of the Monongahela, was completely refilled with eroded material.

Then began the long struggle to reestablish its former drainage system, but, in its long battle, the river wandered from its original site. In former days it flowed peacefully over Oak Level at McKeesport, crossing the old bed at Duquesne, recrossed near Turtle Creek, and kept the even tenor of its way through Swissvale and East Liberty valley, where it divided, one branch going north, and one south of the Herron Hill. When excavating for the new Schenley Hotel, deep beds of characteristic Monongahela River sand were found there. In excavating at the Homestead Steel works, beds of Monongahela River sand are found some twenty feet below the level of the present river bed, which

indicates the river has not yet attained its former depth of erosian.

Many of you know the county road leading from Murray Avenue to Browns Bridge on the Monongahela River. When this road was built, the builders did not cut into the side of the hill, but filled in dirt, over the delta of the Nine Mile Run, close up against the cliffs skirting Mr. James Ward's mansion on the river bank. When this road was used as a coal road it kept sinking. Mr. Ward tells me, he hauled car-loads of discarded railroad ties, and corduroyed the road to make it passable. When the road was improved three years ago, the road broke vertically, and sunk nearly eight feet. The telegraph and power line poles still stood erect. A flimsy cement retaining wall, that had previously broken and hung ready to topple over, did not fall. Where this road was built, Nine Mile Run, meets another run, flowing in an almost opposite direction, and this naturally would cause a whirl pool, and cut a deep hole, and this Nine Mile Run and the other run were both filled up by the glacial dam and into this bed of quicksand the road found easy access to rid itself of cumulating pressure. Thus do present effects connect themselves with distant causes.

No discussion of this river would be complete without noticing the Flood Plains, for on these Flood Plains came the industries, towns and cities which are the spinal column of our modern civilization. When the river began to swing from side to side, where the current hit the bank, its current on the outside of the curve was swifter and its carrying power greater, so it cut into the bank deep, and eventually made on this side, high, steep banks, and much of this material was deposited on the inside of the curve where the current was slower, and the carrying power less.

As you go up the river, the first Flood Plan is on the south side. The next appears across the river at Hazelwood; the next across the river at Homestead, thence across to Braddock, thence to Duquesne, to McKeesport, etc.; and on these Flood Plains, the early settlers found very fertile soil, and called them the meadow lands, but now they are the sites for cities and these Flood Plains have, according

to their size and availability, dictated the course of developments.

The earliest residents here were, so far as we may know, the Allegwei Indians. These were conquered and driven away by the Delawares and the Iroquois, and the latter subjuated the Delawares. These Indians are said to have come from the west. Their custom was to build mounds much after the fashion of the Indians of the west. There were many of these mounds at McKees Rocks, and a very large one on the Brierly Farm, back of Homestead. There was also a very large one excavated at Peter's Creek, above McKeesport, and the articles found therein now find sanctuary in the Carnegie Museum. All up the river valley, these Indian burying grounds were numerous. It is probable that those who died gloriously in battle find repose in these mounds.

In the period before the Revolutionary War, Guyasootha and Queen Allequippa were Indians of prominence here. Queen Allequippa was a gracious, stately queen who ruled over this district and had her royal tepee on a commanding cliff, this side of McKeesport. Guyasootha was a very remarkable man, brave, energetic, and like Pontiac, exceedingly resourceful and a great traveler.

The Indian trails up the Monongahela valley are very interesting indeed. The Indians did not wander at random through the trackless forests but followed well thought out and worked out trails. These trails were marvels of directness and efficiency. The dim eyes of the white man had it is true too hazy a discernment to follow these trails, but the keen-eyed Indian followed as easily as you follow the Boulevard of the Allies. One of these trails was a sort of Lincoln Highway, starting at the Gulf of Mexico and kept in its steadfast course on to northern Canada; and this trail had much to do in determining the location of early settlements in Western Pennsylvania. A branch of this trail came over the mountains from Cumberland, passing through Uniontown, Connellsville, Cat Fish Camp at Washington, Pa., a further branch of which came over this way and connected with the Kittaning-Juniata Valley trail, at the foot of the Horse Shoe Bend on the Pennsylvania lines, thus intersecting with the extensive east and west trail.

When the Ohio Company was formed, 1748, Col. Thomas Cresap was secured to open a trail from Cumberland to the head waters of the Monongahela. Cresap secured for this important work, the services of Nemacolin, who blazed a trail and cut away all fallen timber, and this trail marks a significant milestone in the transportation of the Monongahela Valley. So well did this wonderful Indian, Nemacolin, do the task assigned to him that Nemacolin's Path, later became the pack-horse route, and over this came thousands of tons of freight costing about $150 a ton to transport, as against $1.30 a ton now; seven to ten cents a pound were the prevailing rates. Salt, iron, nails, etc. were carried thus, and hides, feathers, etc., went east.

These pack-horse drivers were very interesting characters. Each driver handled eight or ten horses. Each horse carried about 800 pounds burden; over his shoulders, each horse carried a wooden half hoop, in the center of which, hung a bell that was silent by day, but when the horses were turned loose at the ond of the day, tinkled the night long to notify the driver where to look for his beasts in the morning. These pack-horses streamed over the mountains in endless cavalcades, but, in 1774, Conrad Hawk drove a wagon over the mountains, and this event also marks a significant milestone in early transportation in the Mononogahela River Valley. Soon, the freight was all sent over in wagons, dispensing with the services of the pack-horse drivers, who went on a strike, destroyed the bridges and wagons, and sometimes even the freight, showing that labor troubles and strikes are no recent conception.

If I could reproduce in a graphic way the kaleidoscopic panorama of Nemacolin's Trail, it would clearly illustrate the dizzy pace civilization has set. First, came the vague, and to white men, the indistinct Cataba Trail, then the better selected, the clearly defined and well blazed Nemacolin Path, then the pack-horse path, then the wagon road, then the greatest road-building project in the world, the building of the great Cumberland Turn Pike. Starting at Baltimore it passed through Cumberland to Wheeling, with a branch to Pittsburgh. This great road ended at Joplin, Missouri, and was a wonderful undertaking. Following the same general

path Nemacolin had chosen came the great B. & O. Railroad, over whose shining steel goes the traffic of a continent.

A rather interesting event then occurred that blocked for a while the transportation facilities of the Monongahela. Philadelphia at this time was the metropolis of the new world. The Erie Canal was completed and this put New York in the lead. The great Cumberland Turn Pike and now the B. & O. Railroad were threatening to put Baltimore in the saddle over Philadelphia, and the Philadelphia interests blocked the passage of the B. & O. Railroad to Pittsburgh, forcing this railroad to Wheeling.

One of the best known events connected with this great river is the ill-starred Battle of the Monongahela, or General Braddock's Defeat. It seems to me that a faithful description of this unfortunate battle should give General Braddock a much more glorious position than the one he now occupies. The conduct of his campaign was masterful in every detail up to the time of the battle. In earlier British military annals, General Braddock had honestly won great renown, and was certainly much superior to Amherst or Lord Howe. This campaign was to be carried on under new, untried, and unknown conditions, and some one had to be the pioneer. He was not surprised and ambushed, as is generally thought. General Braddock's battle line, as shown on Patrick McKellar's map, shows a complete mastery of the situation in guarding against surprise and ambush, with out-posts on both flanks carefully posted, and an advanced picket line. Some French soldiers were surprised by the English out-posts, and like the hunter and bear, both ran. The morale of both the French and the English soldiers was lamentably bad. It was probably the psychology of the forest that defeated Braddock's army. The never ending, unconquerable forest with its gloom, and dread forebodings had broken the nerve of the English army, and the first sign of danger threw them into a frenzied panic.

The French soldiers were no better. It was the Indians who won renown for France, for the French Army, at once sought safety in flight. The Ax-men, under the direction of Patrick McKellar had cut a road 66 feet wide, from Turtle Creek to the end of the battle line, and down this line of

least resistance, most of the army fled in panic, where they were an easy mark for the lurking Indians. In what sharp contrast to this cowardice does Braddock's bravery show. His was not to direct the battle from the rear, but to gallop to a place of hardest fighting, and there, while vainly, but glorious endeavoring to stem the tide, to receive his death wound; and with blood streaming from him, he still did his best. You say he was so self-willed, etc.,—but is not this the dominant trait in all great military leaders? Let us accord General Braddock the place that is due the brave, dauntless, courageous man. He was carried to Braddock's Spring, where he was given a drink and his wound was washed and hastily dressed. The location of this spring is fittingly marked by a tablet, and is now covered by the general offices of the Edgar Thompson Steel Works, at 13th Street, in Braddock, Pa.

The exact location of the Battle of the Monongahela, is a matter of some controversy. The location of Frazier's Cottage is known. Where Braddock crossed the Monongahela is known; but how far up the hill and how far west the battle took place are matters in dispute.

Pat McKellar was Braddock's engineer. His duty was to lead the Ax-brigade and prepare the road. McKellar was asked after the battle by General Shirley to prepare a sketch of the battle line, which he made, and submitted to the surviving officers by whom it was approved. He made two sketches, one of the battle field, and another showing the deployment of the troops at 2 P. M.

Mr. Sidney Dillon, who was chief Draftsman for the Edgar Thompson Steel Works, had his interest in the line of battle aroused by the research work along this line done by Prof. Lacock of Harvard University, and Prof. Temple of Washington and Jefferson College. Mr. Dillon was in possesion of all the typographic maps and outlines, which show defiles and elevations as existing prior to modern improvements. By imposing Mr. McKellar's maps on the maps of Braddock and North Braddock, Mr. Dillon has succeeded in harmonizing the maps. Mr. Dillon makes the farthest point west near 6th Street, Braddock — at a point much farther west than old citizens had thought,—but it agrees

with General Washington that it was 600 perches west of Turtle Creek.

David McClure's diary lay in a New England attic until a few years ago, and his account is, as yet, little known to the general public; and as it is brief, I give it to you. On Sunday, August 1772, Dr. McClure visited Braddock's field. He says, "This memorable spot is about 11 miles from Pittsburgh on a bank of the Monongahela. It is a gradual ascent from the bank to the top of the hill, extending about ¼ of a mile. Up and down the ascent, the army, consisting of about 1400 chosen troops, were parading in rank and file three deep, with intervals for field pieces. They were a fatal mark for the Indians. Nine hundred of the army fell, and it is not known that a single Indian was hurt. The trees in front of the army were wounded with grape shot, about five feet from the ground. It was a melancholy spectacle to see bones of men strewn over the ground, left to this day, without solemn rites of sepulcher. The fact is a disgrace to the British Commanders at Fort Pitt. The bones had been gnawed by the wolves, the vestiges of their teeth appearing upon them. Many hundreds of skulls lay upon the ground. I examined several and found the mark of the scalping knife upon all them. I put a skull and a jaw bone in my portmanteau, which I afterwards presented to Mr. Stewart's Museum in Hartford. A man, Meyers, who lives near the field of battle, had humanely collected a great number of the bones and laid them in small heaps, in order to cultivate his corn. I departed from the place with serious and solemn reflections on the vanity of life, and the deep depravity of our fallen nature, the dreadful source of fighting and war, and all the miseries that man delights to inflict on man."

Although the battle of Braddock's Field was lost, I would not say the campaign was a failure. Braddock made a good road over the mountains from Cumberland almost to Pittsburgh. Over this road in a short time came sweeping a resistless tide of emigrants from Virginia and Maryland, a tide the French could not stem. Within ten years after this battle, streams of people were flowing into Fayette County, and an advance guard came to McKeesport and other places in this vicinity. Zadock Wright, a waggoner with

Braddock, returned to Miflin Township. One of the Wilsons, also, with Braddock, did the same. My great grandfather, also with General Braddock, returned later to Miflin Township.

A letter, written from Winchester, Virginia, April 30, 1765, says, "the frontier inhabitants of this colony and Maryland are fast moving over the Allegheny Mountains in order to settle and live there." George Crogan, Indian agent in 1766, stated that many were settling at Red Stone, in violation of treaty rights. This easy Nemacolin Path, made settlements in Fayette, Greene, and Washington County, easy to attain. The Monongahela River, via the Ohio, made settlements in Ohio, Tennessee, and Kentucky feasible and desirable at an early date.

The *Pennsylvania Journal*, of February 13, 1788, advertised that boats of every description and dimension may be had at Elizabeth Town. It also added, provisions of every kind may there be had, especially flour. Stephen Bayard, was the proprietor. Thus, as early as 1780, this whole district was settled and organized. Indded, most of the early deeds of this region bear date of 1787, and were issued under Governor George Miflin. By 1790, Kentucky alone had 74,000 population, and most of these early settlers floated down the Monongahela River. It has been estimated that 1500 who passed down the Monongahela River were murdered by the Indians. From the above, I would think that no settler could be counted very early here, who did not come prior to 1780. Many surveys were made about this time, and surveys would not be needed unless the land was wanted by settlers. Again, earlier than the surveys, were the "tomahawk claims."

On March 31, 1836, the Monongahela Navigation Company was organized with a capital of $300,000. It was planned to make the river navigable by use of locks and dams, as far as the Virginia line, and as much farther as Virginia would permit it to go. I believe the fall to be overcome in the first 55 miles, was but 33½ feet, and from Brownsville to Virginia line, 41 feet. By 1838, about ¾ of a billion bushels of coal annually, were moving down this stately river. In 1880, nearly a billion bushels of coal were carried

down the river, and the tolls for the ten years previous totaled $2,250,000, and the Monongahela Navigation Company became a rich concern.

When Mr. Charles Avery died, he willed a block of this stock to the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church for superanuated ministers. The stock later became valuable and the fund is now one of the largest and best of which I know. The residents along the Monongahela River were the inveterate foes to the Navigation Company. Sylvanus Lathrop, chief engineer for the Navigation Company, said in 1847, "Instead of being as it ought to have been, fostered by our citizens, and hailed by the inhabitants of the Monongahela Valley, as a blessing to themselves, it met with nothing but the most chilling regards from the one, and with either the most violent prejudice or the most determined hostility from the other."

When the Smithfield Street Bridge was built in Pittsburgh it was most seriously considered advisable to build the bridge so low boats could not pass under. The Railroads throttled river transportation and the pleasant vision of boats on the river was fading from sight. But Uncle Sam bought out the rights of the Navigation Company.

The steamers are now coming back. Prohibitive railroad freight rates are turning the tide, and the noble river is coming into its own again. The U. S. Steel Corporation is building a half million dollar dock at Rankin Junction. Recently, at Clairton, there has been erected, on the bank of the Monongahela, one of the largest cranes ever constructed, which is used for loading and unloading river freight. The great dock being built at Rankin Bridge will be equipped with modern loading devices which promise a great increase in river transportation.

There is at present, at least on the Pennsylvania lines, an embargo on freight, indicating that railroads, bereft of river aid, are inadequate to meet the growing demands of transportation.

Everything points to a speedy return of river transportation as a safe and efficient means of transfer. Let us hope that the dream of General Washington may yet come true, that a great canal will creep over the moutains and

connect up the Chesapeake Bay with the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Potomac, Monongahela, Ohio and Mississippi.

Let us also hope that city, town, and industrial concerns, great and small, will find other and more decent methods of sewage disposal than that of turning it into our beautiful river.

Let us hope for better things, and help restore it to its former beauty, when its limped waters from thousands of bubbling springs caused the artistic Indian to exclaim, "Hoheyn!" or, "The beautiful river!"

The Monongahela River was a heavy handicap to early French settlements west of the Allegheny Mountains. When Maryland and Virginia, two colonies on the Potomac highway, were settled by English, this fact made the manifest destiny of the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains English. The great Potomac carried an easy pathway well up to the base of the mountains, and the Monongahela had dissected its course far to the south and accross the mountan divide. The great Indian engineer, Nemacolin, had mapped out a marvelous pathway that made settlement in the southwestern part of Pennsylvania very feasible. A rich soil, and an abundant rain fall, good drainage, and a salubrious climate made early settlement very desirable. How early this magnetic Monongahela pulled settlers over the mountain path, we do not know, for history is usually not carefully recorded between the time of discovery and the time when society becomes somewhat organized.

When land and roads are surveyed, and the machinery of civilized life is set up, some records must be kept. In the primary stage of settlement we have the hunter, the trapper, and the fur trader. The earliest deeds recorded are in 1787, and it is probable that considerable settlements were made 20 years prior to this time. Prior to the surveys, were the "tomahawk claims" which were later surveyed and made available for record.

As early as 1740, the Frazier family was found at Turtle Creek and likely some others of the type of Daniel Boone, who settled soon after then, and later moved on to freer and wilder regions beyond. Probably about the year 1760, traders and trappers were found at the mouths of most

creeks in southwestern Pennsylvania, as these afforded easy access for the trapper to reach the haunts of the finer fur-bearing animals. Prior to 1773, when Westmoreland County was erected, Bedford County embraced all southwestern Pennsylvania. Since Fayette, Greene, and Washington Counties were nearest to the parent colonies of Virginia and Maryland, these localities had the earliest settlements.

It will afford you some notion of the extent of these settlements to examine those that were recorded in Bedford County in 1772. The names of enough families are known to furnish a sound basis for saying there must have been 5000 to 6000 people in the southwestern part of the state who were assessed and on the tax roll; in 1772 there were likely many who were not assessed, as tax dodging is no modern device. There were enrolled in 1772 in Pitt Township, I believe 79 families. Among these were George Croghan, John Ormsby, Devereux Smith, Conrad Winebiddle, Peter Roleter, Alexander Ross, Thomas and William Lyon. Thomas was later killed in sight of Homestead, and his family carried into captivity by the Indians. John Barr, who is connected with my own ancestry, lived here, as did Aeneas McKay and Jos. Spear. We know there was a family named Meir living at Turtle Creek not on this roll. I am quite sure Sebastian Frederick was, at this time, living at Homestead.

Contrast this easy path from Virginia and Maryland up the Potomac River over Nemacolin's Path and down the beautiful Monongahela with the fact that the French must come up the long St. Lawrence River across Lakes Erie and Ontario, down French Creek to the Allegheny. Besides, between the French parent colonies and the Gateway to the south and west, interposed the Iroquois Indians, the friends of English and the foes of the French, and a big buffer state between the French and the English.

Let us be thankful and do homage to the noble Monongahela, that it made English colonization easy and gave us a kind mistress, England, the most liberal and the most enlightened colonizing power in the world at that time.

James M. Norris.

TWO LETTERS ON EARLY TRANSPORTATION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

To the Reverend Samuel Williamson, Vicar of Congleton, Cheshire, England, and brother of Hugh Williamson, M. D., L. L. D., Signer of the United States Constitution.

Near Shippensburg, March 4th, 1825.

Rev. and Dear Uncle,

Nothing has transpired here for some time of a domestic nature, that seemed sufficiently interesting to be told in Congleton.

Our Crops of Grain have been abundant for two years past, yet the Farmer does not flourish. Produce was never known to bear so poor a price. Wheat 75 cents a Bushel—Rye dull at .25—Corn at .20—If we convert our Corn and Rye into whiskey and send it to Baltimore, it only brings .20 a Gallon. Clover seed which used to sell for 10 sometimes 15 dollars is now selling at two dollars a bushel. Such being the state of our Markets the Farmer who is a few dollars in debt cannot pay, and many Farms are sold by the Sheriff at 30 Dlls. an acre which had been purchased at 100 dollars and even more an Acre. Those who are not in debt can get along pretty smoothly. Notwithstanding the low price of food, yet such is the difficulty of finding employment, that our paupers increase to an alarming degree.

The Mania of the day with us, is cutting canals. The experiment made by the State of New York has been so successful and so far exceeded all expectations that our State has it seriously in contemplation to attempt a water communication from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. Commissioners have been appointed to explore the rout, and have reported favourably. They say it is practicable by tunelling the Allegheny Mountains. The Tunnell would be about 4½ miles in length and from 100 to 750 feet below the surface. Some think this rather too great a bore, whilst others think it ought not for a moment to terrify us. But this is a subject that scarcely any of us know anything at all about. From what I have read of Railroads in extracts from English

papers, it appears to me that they have many advantages over canals. A principal one is that, for three or four months in the season when farmers usually send their produce to Market, the Canals are frozen. You have Railroads in England and probably you are well acquainted with their construction. You would do me a great kindness if you would write me a particular description of the manner in which these roads are made. The length and probably weight of the pieces of metal used—an estimate of the expense, on a plane, or where there was no digging, and any other information which you will give respecting them. I am appointed one of the Commissioners for Cumberland County to devise and recommend most suitable routs and plans for operation, and, it was long ago said, that a man can speak or write, better, if he understands something of the nature of the subject he is treating. If it should be that there are none of those roads in your part of the Country and that they have not been enquired into by you, perhaps Dr. King or some one of your friends would be so good as to describe them.

The Legislature of the State of Ohio, have just passed an act for making a Canal from Lake Erie to Portsmouth on the Ohio River a distance of about 400 miles. There will then be a water communication from New York to New Orleans! I was in that State last Spring. . .

This day John Quincy Adams will be inaugurated President of the U. S. for four years. Rumour says, and perhaps correctly, that he has selected the following Gentlemen to compose his Cabinet:—Henry Clay of Kentucky, Secretary of the State—Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury—James Barbour of Virginia, Secretary of War—S. L. Southard, New Jersey, Secretary of the Navy—William Wirt, Virginia, Attorney General and DeWitt Clinton, at present Governor of New York is offered the appointment of Minister to the Court of St. James.

Please to present me affectionately to my Aunt and to my Cousins when you next see them (wish they would write to me) and be as sure of the love and friendship of

Your Nephew

John Nevin.

Letter of John Nevin, Shippensburg, Cumberland County, Pa., to his uncle, General Samuel Finley, Chilicothe, Ohio.

Near Shippensburg, 5th, March, 1825.

Dear Sir:

I was much gratified in receiving your favour by Mr. Stewart and congràtulate you on the chearing and auspicious prospects of bustle, business and activity which will soon pervade the State of Ohio. The bonfires, illuminations and other devices to which the good people resort to express their Joy, and render it visible, on the passage of the Canal bill, I received thro another channel.

We poor Pennsylvanians seem to have been left far behind in the march of internal improvement. We are doomed, yet a while, to crack our whips and tug the ponderous wagon, whilst our Friends of New York and Ohio will be floating with all their lumber from New York City to New Orleans. 'Tis true, we have been exploring a little and inquiring whether our waters could not be placed in some position to bear us along from Philad. to Pittsburg. But unluckily we find that we would have to worm our way under the Foundations of the Hills and tunnel the base of the Allegheny Mountain for about 4½ miles in length and from 100 to 750 feet from the surface. . . But let not our dashing Sisters ridicule our want of energy and enterprise. Pennsylvania is cautious, calculating and ever watchful to make the blunders of others profitable to herself. Even now her large sides are shaking with ill contained laughter to think how she will outstrip the whole of you by and by. I'll tell you the secret—when Ohio and New York have become completely engulphed in mud, mire and water and doomed by their debts ever to remain so. Then Pennsylvania will rise in her might, shake herself—call forth into lively exercise the keen penetrating glance of her Quakers and the plodding perseverence of her Germans, and surprise and astonish the Union by connecting the extremities of the State—not by the inert Canal, but by a Rail Road! A mode of conveyance, which for safety, celerity and uninterrupted pro-

gress, surpasses the Canal as far as the latter does the old Turnpike. Yes, My dear Sir, whilst you and our tall Sister of York will be waddling along in trenches in your sluggish element, with your goods liable to injury from dampness and your heads liable to be sheared off in passing under bridges, ever and anon begrimed and besloughed by Freshets and inundations, and in fact bung'd up totally by Ice in that very season of the year when Farmers would wish to send their produce to market,—Thus irrevocably fixed, you will be constrained to behold Pennsylvania bearing her brow aloft, spurning alike both Mud and Frost, with her thousand twirling vehicles, urged on by Steam, in rapid and undeviating progression, and bearing away the whole of your Western produce to her Great Emporium. Even DeWitt Clinton will scratch his head & exclaim in the language of Sterne "Really they manage these things better in Pennsylvania."

The data on which we proceed are not speculative and visionary. The inquiry in England now is not, Are Railroads preferable to Canals? But Parliament are pestered with petitions from Canal Stockholders to prevent the incorporation of Railroad Companies. They have put on Sackloth and ashes, as the Button makers did long ago, and prayed for the suppression of what they consider ruinous to their funds. But the Government says No. You must not stand in the way of the march of mind. The progress of useful invention must not be interrupted by you. As Turnpikes had to give way to your mode of conveyance, so now in turn you must not grumble that your gullies must succumb to the more advanced progress of the Arts as displayed in the Railroad System. . .

Your affectionate nephew

John Nevin.

John Nevin 1776-1829.
Farmer, Cumberland Co.
Dickinson College, Class of 1796
Trustee Dickinson College 1825-29.

THE LAND POLICY AND SYSTEM OF THE PENN FAMILY IN EARLY PENNSYLVANIA.

Admiral Sir William Penn, renowned in English history by his martial valor as an officer of the British Navy, left to his son a claim against the Government for sixteen thousand pounds, consisting to a great extent of money advanced by him in the sea service, and of arrearages in his pay. In 1680, William Penn, his son, petitioned Charles II to grant him in lieu of this sum, "letters patent for a tract of land in America,—lying north of Maryland, on the east bounded with Deleware River, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward to extend as far as plantable." (1) This petition was referred to the "Committee of the Privy Council for the Affairs of Trade and Plantations." (2)

After sundry conferences and discussions concerning the boundary lines and other matters of minor importance, the Committee finally sent in a favorable report, and presented the draft of a charter, constituting William Penn, Esq., absolute Proprietary of a tract of land in America, therein mentioned, to the King for his approbation, and leaving to him also the naming of the Province. The King affixed his signature March 4, 1681, (3) and ordered, much against Penn's inclinations, the new Province to be called "Pennsylvania" in honor of the illustrious services of his father. (4)

After signing the charter the King issued a declaration informing the inhabitants and planters of the Province, that William Penn their absolute Proprietary, was clothed with all the powers necessary for the government of the Province. (5)

Penn owned forty-seven million acres of land by this grant. He was the largest private land owner in the world. Of this vast domain the Indians had never cultivated more than a small portion, using the remainder as a hunting ground. The animals, which were the chief source of Indian subsistence, were of little value compared with the perpetual riches that might be drawn from the earth by diligent and intelligent toil. (6) From his own personal observa-

tion of the land in 1683 he wrote, "The country itself, its soil, its air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. God in his wisdom having ordered that the advantages of the country are equally divided." (7)

Penn in reality paid nothing for his Province, except the payment he made to the Indians. (8) In this connection it is worth nothing that Penn took no land from the Indians without making treaties in which he gave articles of value to the Indians, (9) and no part of the payment was ever made in rum or strong drink. (10) Penn could dispose of the lands on any terms he pleased. No one could purchase a single acre from the Indians, for this was strictly forbidden. This prohibition was imposed (1) to preserve peace with the Indians, and (2) for self interest. In spite of these rigid restrictions large purchases of land were made from the Indians, though sales by the Indians were made with reluctance.

Walking was the only method of measurement in dealing with the Indians, and the trained English pedestrians had much the same advantage over the Indians, that the Carthagenians obtained by means of the famous ox-hide. (12) One of the most iniquitious of these purchases was that made by the unscrupulous speculator Allen, who was a friend of the Penns. His "walking purchase" by which he acquired title to 10,000 acres of land, has rightly been called the most villainous transaction in the provincial history of Pennsylvania. (13) After this transaction the Indians complained to Penn that "the white brother made too big a walk." (14) The mode of purchasing land by riding around it was also used in several instances. "As much as a man could travel in two days on a horse," was a common expression at this time. (15)

The charter from Charles II granted to William Penn and his heirs and assigns the land at the annual rent of "two Beaver skins" and one fifth of the gold and silver ore. That is it was to be held as a feudal fief at a nominal rent. (16)

"Purchasers of the soil held immediately of Penn, not of the King, and that by socage tenure." (17) Penn did not believe himself authorized to make grants upon alodial

principles. The estate therefore possessed by the grantee, in Pennsylvania, became according to Penn's idea a holding in the nature of a tenement. As such it was subject to quitrents, and to forfeiture for lack of heirs, or because of corruption of blood. (18) Pennsylvania as a proprietary colony then, may be viewed as a seigniory, divested it is true of the heaviest burdens imposed by feudal law, but endowed with such powers of territorial control as the great distance from England, the place of residence of the lord paramount, required. (19)

To carry out his plans and desires for the colony when he was absent, Penn appointed governors, and deputy governors to rule under his authority. Thus Pennsylvania started as a feudal proprietary province under the treble control of deputy governors, proprietors, and king. (20)

Immediately after obtaining the charter, Penn and his sons divided the land into three parts. The first comprised the millions of acres called the common land, which generally, though not always, sold at uniform rates. The second division included the proprietor's tenths or manors, reserved and held by the proprietors jointly, consisting usually of one-tenth of the choicest lands in a given tract. The third division was the private estate of the individual proprietors, either purchased by one of them from the others, or from persons in the province who had previously bought the property in question. (21)

In order to obtain the greatest benefit from his land, Penn adopted a plan for drawing thrifty settlers from the old world. As soon, therefore, as he had secured the charter of his Province, he offered land for sale in proprieties of five thousand acres each, free of Indian incumbrances, for one hundred pounds. (22) Each share sold was to be called a propriety. Smaller estates of two hundred acres would also be granted, subject to the payment of a quitrent of one shilling for every one hundred acres. (23) People could rent land as well as purchase it, but very few of the people entered upon land as renters, as they desired to become absolute owners of the soil in the new country. To those who desired to rent, it would be let in estates not exceeding two hundred acres each, at a quitrent of one penny

per acre. (24) Masters should receive fifty acres for each servant they brought over, and fifty acres was to be provided for each servant when his term of service expired. (25)

"While yet in England Penn sold large tracts of land in Pennsylvania to persons who were later technically known 'as first purchasers.' These 'first purchasers' formed a company called 'The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania.' This company purchased five hundred fifty-six thousand acres in trust for the company. They published articles of trade, and entered into divers branches thereof themselves, which were soon improved upon by others. They offered land at forty shillings per hundred acres, and one shilling per annum forever (this was the original institution of the quitrent in the province) and good conditions of settlement to such as choose to be adventurers in the new country." (26)

"To regulate these purchases, and to arrange for distributing land to those purchasers in the colony who could not afford to buy, Penn issued on July 11, 1681, his body of 'Conditions and Concessions' (27) These 'Conditions and Concessions' related exclusively to the first purchasers, (28) but when the lands, particularly those in the city were alloted, extraordinary claims based on real and supposed grants from Penn were set up, and continued to be urged with considerable vigor throughout the entire history of the province." (29) The "first purchasers" were those who took up land under these and other conditions which were issued before Penn left England on his first visit to the province.

If Penn's land system had been carried out on its original lines, it would have resulted in a landed gentry. He proposed a town and a province. Any purchaser of five thousand acres in the province was entitled to one hundred acres in the town; a purchaser of ten thousand acres in the province to two hundred acres in the town, and etc. The province was practically without limit in acreage, but the town was limited to one hundred shares of one hundred acres each. This arrangement would have caused the elevation of one hundred families or less, to the status of a land-holding aristocracy, separate and distinct from the mass of the

people in privileges, which could not have failed to produce a caste system, in fact, if not in name." (30) But when reflecting on these conditions, we must take into consideration that Penn was under capricious influences, and peculiar conditions in acquiring his grant at all; and also that his charter was a product of the reactionary period of the seventeenth century. (31)

In 1760 the method used in granting land in Pennsylvania was, "Upon application being made to the Proprietors a warrant is directed to the Surveyor General to survey the lands that have been applied for. That survey when made is returned into the Secretary's office, and upon the entire payment of the purchase price a Patent is made out. A bill was proposed that a new office should be elected for the registration of the warrants and surveys, as there was no office in the Province which by law was bound to record them, as they were then kept only in the Office of the Proprietaries, at their discretion, under an officer of their appointment only, receiving a salary for their Bounty and liable to be removed at their displeasure. This bill also stated that a warrant and survey are in law a complete title to an estate of inheritance in lands, for it declared that estates are claimed and held under Warrants, and Surveys, *and other writings*. By these other writings it obviously meant conveyance of an estate by Patent. It seldom happened that upon the issuing of a Warrant and Survey the whole of the purchase money is paid down. The remainder, according to the circumstances of the case, to be completed at some other, and often at a very distant period. This enabled the purchasers to retain money to expend in the cultivation of their lands." (32)

Thus titles to land were commenced by either of the following ways:

(1) By purchase from William Penn in England. These were accompanied by deeds to a tract of land, varying from three to ten thousand acres, though they did not designate any particular spot.

(2) By what were called "special grants". These were made to individuals, not according to general regula-

tion of the Land Office, but for particular service. These were laid out in more than one place.

(3) By warrants, upon application by parties for certain tracts of land in Pennsylvania. Copies of these warrants were left with the Secretary of the Land Office. (33)

The original settlers in Western Pennsylvania based their titles to farms on the "tomahawk right." Having selected a desirable spot, they encircled it with a line marked by blazing trees with an ax. There was no attention to angles, degrees and chains, the object being to designate the boundaries of the tract without reference to the number of acres. Lines thus indicated were held sacred and to this day are legal. This accounts for many ill-shaped farms, and where there were small tracts not included, they were left vacant, and in some cases these can be obtained to this day by anyone who will take legal means to obtain a title from the state. (34) In many cases the division lines between those whose lands adjoined were generally marked by tops of ridges and water courses.

Penn, though a man of liberal education, did not require the Land Office to keep very strict account of the disposition of the land, for when we examine the documents of the Land Office, or such of them as are now in existence, all appears uncertainty and confusion. (35) Grants for the most part were made in a loose way and this caused many later disputes, and caused the commission of great frauds against the proprietor and his sons. Many claims acquired either by settlement or by warrants were sold. These rights were considered personal property, and their transfer caused no little difficulty and litigation. If Penn, or his agents dealt too harshly with the purchasers dissatisfaction was sure to follow. For many years no pains were made to keep a record of any kind of the various grants. When Penn came over in 1732, for the second time, an effort was made to banish confusion from the Land Office, but this improvement was made slowly, due to the long prevalence of irregularity and carelessness. (36) The land committee was appointed by Penn from among his intimate friends in the province. The special agents of the Proprietors were located in Philadelphia. These officials

consisted of a secretary and a surveyor general, and from three to five commissioners of property. These men had authority to grant lands and guarrantee titles. (37)

The "old rights" (38) of the first purchasers were granted by deeds or lease and re-lease. At the time of the grant, the lands were not located or surveyed. Surveys were all very rough and were done incorrectly. Since the deeds were not all recorded, and afterwards purchases were made for speculative purposes by persons who never visited the province, titles were frequently defective from the outset.

In the first century, although there was a particular price at which lands in each particular district of the country were sold, yet prices varied every month, week, and day. During the life of Penn there never was a certain fixed price. The land office sold to such persons and at such prices as pleased the proprietary. Difference in price always occurred, due to different quality and value, depending on the quality of the soil. Penn was always careful to assert his right to dispose of the land of his province on such terms as he choose to make with would-be settlers, and this led to many changes in the terms of the grants. These changes were occasioned not only by differences of location and soil, but by the wishes of both parties to the contracts. (39)

"It is to be regretted that some general, accurate system for the location of lands had not been adopted at the beginning of the settlement of the province, and undeviatingly continued, thereby avoiding that intricacy in Pennsylvania titles which has been detrimental to the increase of her population. Unfortunately no system whatever can be traced in the records of the land office." (40)

Between 1718 and 1726 no titles were issued because of the boundary dispute between the heirs of Penn and Lord Baltimore. In 1732, articles of agreement in relation to the disputed land were entered into, and the land office fixed the price of land at ten pounds ten shillings currency per one hundred acres, and one-half penny sterling quit-rent per acre. This regulation continued in effect till 1762 with many exceptions to favorites who obtained grants upon much easier terms. In 1762 the rates were reduced to nine

pounds per one hundred acres and one penny quitrent per acre. In 1765 the price was further reduced to five pound per acre and one penny quitrent per acre. (The difference in the quitrent was intended to equalize the price.) There was a difference of thirty-one pounds ten shillings in the prices of one hundred acres, due to the changing of the prices. At these last mentioned rates many of the most valuable lands east of the mountains were granted away between the year 1762 and the time when the land office of the Proprietor was finally closed by the war of the Revolution.

Although William Penn had no developed plan of survey, he does deserve commendation because of his large vision of the province as a whole, and also because of his desire to have the land taken up in a series of townships rather than in the haphazard fashion of individual location. (42) County justices were enjoined to "endeavor to seat the lands by way of townships, as three thousand acres among ten families; if single persons ten thousand acres among ten of them." (43) The proprietor, on his own part, from every one hundred thousand acres reserved ten thousand acres for himself on the condition that in each instance they should be compactly together. (44) His surveyors were also instructed to locate for him five hundred acres in every township in addition to the proprietary tenths of all lands laid out. But the method of township surveys was soon lost sight of, and promiscuous surveys, according to the will of the purchaser soon became the rule. Penn also declared that "within three years after the land had been surveyed every one must appropriate and settle it, or on complaint to the proprietor that the rules of settlement had not been obeyed, newcomers might be given possession. In this case when the complaintant had paid the purchase money, interest, and fees for surveying, the proprietor should make him actual grant of the lands not rightfully settled." (45)

The controversy with Lord Baltimore became a subject of great anxiety to Penn, who resisted the high-handed and aggressive measures of the former with gentle and courteous firmness. The importance of settling this boundary dispute

finally demanded Penn's presence in England, where he could secure the aid of his friend King James in the possession of these lands. (46) The controversies with Maryland and Virginia, though adding no new element to the population, were also quite serious. The dispute with Maryland lasted seventy years, and several times resulted in bloodshed. If the Lords Baltimore had been successful in maintaining their claims, the Maryland line would have passed just north of Philadelphia and that city would no longer have belonged to Pennsylvania. If the Virginia claim had been successful, the western boundary of our state would have been east of Pittsburgh. (47)

On the death of William Penn, John, Thomas and Richard Penn acted as the Proprietorship, but in 1741 the governor, George Thomas was empowered to grant lands. After various duties were attended to in connection with the granting of the land under warrants and patents, a deed was issued under the great seal describing its bounds, and giving the complete legal title, but reserving, of course, the usual quitrent. These rents were to compensate the Proprietor for the administration of the government, and for his maintenance, if he failed to receive public support. They were collected from the common and manorial lands, and from lots in Philadelphia. Payable annually they ranged from a peppercorn, a red rose, an Indian arrow, a buck's foot, a beaver skin, or a bushel of wheat to several shillings per hundred acres, according to the period of time, the quality of the land, and the person to whom the grant was made. At any rate they formed a constitutent part of the conditions of sale, and were expressly mentioned in the patents. From the very beginning difficulty arose in the collection of the quitrents. The collectors were laughed at, were refused payment and even personally maltreated. (48)

In his Charter of Privileges, October 28, 1701, Penn declares: "That seven years quiet possession shall give an unquestionable right except in cases of infants, lunatics, married women, or persons belonging to the sea." In clearing the ground the provision was "To one acre of trees for every five acres cleared." (49) This was the beginning of forestry in Pennsylvania. In case of dispute over title, in

which one claimant held under warrant of survey, and the other by previous settlement and improvement, the latter title was usually judged superior. (50)

In 1708 William Penn for sixty-six hundred pounds mortgaged Pennsylvania to Henry Gouldey, Joshua Gee and seven other individuals in England. In 1712 he negotiated with Queen Anne for the transfer of his territory to the Crown for twelve thousand pounds because "of debts contracted for settling and improving said colonies." (51) When in 1718, Penn died, the mortgage to the above men had not been entirely paid off. In his will he devised the government of the province and territories to the Earls of Oxford, Mortimer and Piolelt, as heirs in trust to dispose thereof to the Queen or any other person as advantage should dictate. To his widow and eleven others, part resident in England and part in America he devised all his lands, rents and other profits in Pennsylvania, the territories or elsewhere on the Continent in trust with instructions to sell or otherwise dispose of enough to pay his debts. Of that which remained all except thirty thousand acres he bestowed by the trustees on the three sons of the founder by his second wife—John, Thomas and Richard Penn. All the personal estate and arrears of rent he gave to his wife for the equal benefit of herself and her children, and he made her sole executrix. (52)

In 1730 when squatters settled on the land, the Proprietors who were in destitute circumstances decided that they could have the land at the price then in vogue at the time of settlement with interest from that time; those who could not do this were obliged to pay a quitrent proportional to the purchase money. The "Law of Improvement" designated to provide future revenue for the land, declared that any one who built, cleared or resided on land not sold or appropriated by the Proprietors could acquire a title. These "improvements" were bought, sold and rented. (53) In the middle of the eighteenth century, warrants of survey were issued for lands already settled and improved on payment of two-thirds of the purchase money, the remaining dues were paid at the completion of the survey, and then the full title was granted. (54) This was done in a multitude of cases. (55)

On November 27, 1779 the Assembly passed an act vesting the rights of the Proprietary in the commonwealth and abolishing the quitrent. The safety of the people justified this measure, at least so far as the act went to divest the heirs of William Penn of their rights. This law did not, as was commonly thought confiscate the property of the descendents of William Penn, or consider them as enemies in any shape whatever, but they simply applied the words of the preamble that "The safety and the happiness of the people is the fundamental law of society." (56)

In 1784 the legislature threw the lands open to settlement under the old arrangement of selling warrants of survey to be located anywhere the applicant choose. (57) In 1785 the military tract was laid out into lots ranging from two hundred acres to five hundred acres. (58)

In 1792 the legislature passed "An Act for the Sale of Vacant Lands Within the Commonwealth." This measure introduced an entirely new feature into the legislation pertaining to the disposition of public land in its provision that the land should be sold only to such persons as would cultivate, improve, or settle the land, or cause the same to be cultivated, improved, or settled. Under this law the Surveyor General was authorized to divide the territory into districts, and to appoint deputy surveyors who were to execute warrants, limited to four hundred acres each, at seven pounds ten shillings per acre. A loophole in this law that permitted wide speculation in land by unscrupulous persons was that "If the enemies of the United States (the Indians) hostilely interfered with the settler and he was driven therefrom, and persisted in his efforts to make settlement, then he and his heirs was entitled to have and to hold the said lands as if the actual settlement had been made." (59) This was quite different from the primitive method of "taking up" lands by building a cabin and raising a crop of grain, however small, of any kind, which entitled the occupant to four hundred acres of land, and a pre-emption right to one thousand acres more adjoining, which was in effect just fifty years before.

There was an advantage to the people by the retention of control by the Proprietors, however, because owing to

the lack of sympathetic assistance from the colonists in cases where land jobbing enterprises were attempted, the people were often incapable of enforcing even their legal rights. A Pennsylvanian might succeed in establishing a monopoly, while an Englishman three thousand miles away was not greatly to be feared. This resulted in the State being the gainer by the Proprietory policy.

"In remembrance of the enterprising spirit of the founder, and of the expectation and dependence of his descendents," (60) the Commonwealth gave to the Proprietory one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Thus we have traced the land policy and the system of the Penn family in disposing of their lands in early Pennsylvania. How can we but say it is a land which the Lord has blessed; and that it needed only a wise people to render it like ancient Canaan, "The glory of the earth."

Alan C. Gregg.

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SQUATTERS AND TITLES TO LAND IN EARLY WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA (a)

or

An Introduction to Early Western Pennsylvania Land Titles

The subject of Squatters and Titles to Land is one of the most fascinating topics imaginable, especially as it is related to the early history of Pennsylvania. From our modern point of view we are very likely to consider the term "squatter" as a title somewhat questionable and surely one which does not command the highest degree of respect. And we shall be more inclined to look upon the term with less respect after we consider the following definition, namely,

"A squatter is one who settles upon a piece of land without having any legal claim to it."

However, the barren phrases and the cold words in such a definition are apt to be misleading. In order to understand just what the term implies, particularly as it is related to Western Pennsylvania, two things are absolutely necessary. First, we must know the type and general characteristics of the people who settled upon the virgin soil of this state, the circumstances which brought them here and the conditions which influenced their lives after they had settled. Secondly, we must have a general knowledge of the workings of the early land system of Pennsylvania.

In the early years of the 18th century Pennsylvania became the scene of great waves of immigration. Thousands of settlers entered the colony of the Quakers at this time due to several causes. It is well known that Wm. Penn upon acquiring the charter to this vast tract of land endeavored to attract settlers to his province in order to develop its great natural resources. The "Free Society of Traders" was organized to promote this movement. Pamphlets were prepared by Penn himself and were circulated in England and Wales as well as in Holland, Germany and France. According to the information contained in these pamphlets, religious freedom and civil liberty were offered

(a) *Paper read before the Society, May* 29, 1923.

to those who were unhappy and for various reasons were oppressed in their native countries. (1)

The most numerous people belonging to this class were the Scotch Irish and the German Palatines. Both had suffered bitter oppression and privation. Both were driven almost to desperation. More especially was this true of the Palatines during the winter of 1708-1709.

Unable to bear up under these conditions, thousands of them fled from the Palatinate in search of food and shelter and many of them finally landed in England. (2) At this time England was struggling herself with conditions growing out of an overcrowded population, with many poor and unemployed. The sight of these homeless wonderers, however, touched the deep sympathy of Queen Ann and she began making plans to provide for their passage to America. (3) Here they had been led to believe they could erect homes and enjoy absolute freedom from religious and political persecution. They had little idea of any exact location in the new world and they had less in the way of finances with which to purchase land. A certain Wm. Penn had invited them to come over and it was to his colony they wished to go.

That the Penns ever had any intention of giving away land except for certain fixed prices cannot be verified. Their whole land system was planned solely as a profit-making venture. Thus at the beginning of this influx of foreigners we can discern from these two opposing ideas with regard to the land situation that a clash of some sort was inevitable. We cannot help but feel that the poor land policy of the Penns was very greatly responsible for the attitude which many of these German and Scotch Irish immigrants assumed after reaching the colony.

There were several well defined methods of acquiring land in the colony. First, there were the proprietary grants which were, generally speaking, very irregular and informal. There was no definite rule either as to the method of granting the land or as to the extent of the grant. For various considerations, valuable or personal, large tracts quite frequently resulted. Several proprietary manors, as the proprietor's tenths were called, of 10,000 to 20,000 acres

existed. The usual individual grant however did not exceed 500 acres. (4) Another method of acquiring title to land in early Pennsylvania was through the land office. Such grants as were made through such an office were equally as irregular as those made by the proprietor or his representative. Very early the trend of affairs seems to have forecasted failure for Penn's whole system. Constant reforms were necessary and then they were never wholly successful. A final method of acquiring land existed. It was known as settlement rights and it more directly concerns us in dealing with the subject of Squatters. In fact it was the ultimate outgrowth of squatter settlements.

After the year 1769 we find that the tendency toward small holdings became almost a fixed rule. This was not due to any law with regard to such holdings but rather it was due to the practice of the colonists in actual occupation of the land. Squatting though discouraged by the proprietors, since it defrauded them of their quit rents, soon became the most popular method of acquiring lands. James C. Ballagh, discussing the land system in his monograph entitled, "Introduction to Southern Economic History" says,

"Squatter's rights forced their way from presumptive titles to an established position first as personality and finally as reality. They became the basis of land transfer through the customary alienation of improvements instead of legal title." (5)

With these general ideas of early land conditions in mind let us take up more in detail the characteristics of the people whom we are to designate as squatters. We have briefly reviewed conditions and circumstances in Europe at the beginning of the 18th century when thousands of Palatines, "with poverty and misery for companions" braved the perils of the ocean "in order to seek a home in America" the land of plenty and an asylum for the oppressed. (6) These people, unable to come directly to Pennsylvania, had to be contented with landing in New York, since this was the main port of entrance into this country at that time. But, finding demands, charges and unexpected conditions in general, out of harmony with their fondest dreams and which, if submitted, to would have

meant practically serfdom, they cast about for a new place to settle. (7)

Having previously heard of land on Swatara Creek and Tulpethocken, west of Reading in Pennsylvania, many of them united to cut a road from Sechochary to the Susquehanna River. Carrying their goods to this point they made canoes and floated down the river to the mouth of the creek. Their cattle meanwhile had been driven overland. Thus began a settlement in this interior region of Pennsylvania. Others soon followed and settled without the permission of the proprietary of Pennsylvania or his commissioners. Nor indeed did they even have the consent of the Indians. (8)

Upon the alleged invitation of Governor Keith of Pennsylvania many more settlers came into this region. Their cabins had scarcely been constructed when the Indians informed them that their land had not been purchased by the government. They of course insisted that Gov. Keith had given his permission. (9) In 1717 Secretary Logan, becoming somewhat incensed over conditions wrote,

"We have of late a great number of Palatines poured in upon us without any recommendation or notice, which gives the country some uneasiness, for foreigners do not so well among us as our own English people." (10)

About the year 1718 the Scotch Irish immigration to Pennsylvania became very pronounced. From the advent of this class into the colony the frontiers were pushed steadily westward. They were a restless adventurous type and did not mix well with the German element. (11) They settled in large numbers in Conestoga Manor, a tract of 15,000 acres reserved by the Penns near the Maryland line where no lands could honestly be sold because of the disputed boundary line. (12) James Logan again writing to the Penns in 1724 calls the Irish, "bold and indignant strangers." Continuing in the same letter he says,

"We have from the north of Ireland great numbers yearly, eight or nine ships this fall discharged at New Castle. It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither, last week not less than six ships arrived. In one year's time 5,605 Scotch Irish landed in Pennsylvania." (13)

The deeds of the Scotch Irish and their influence upon the development especially of Western Pennsylvania are well known. When appealed to for appropriating these lands their reply was that, "it was against the law of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and to raise their bread." (14) They pressed into the interior of the province beyond the settlements of other immigrants because land was more easily acquired even if they did take it without the formality of securing a title to it. (15) For this apparent disregard of existing land laws and for their courage and spirit of reckless adventure we are indebted to them for frustrating an absentee landlord system in America. (16) Experiences in Ulster when rents had been raised after they had settled the country and made the lands valuable through their industry, had created in these people an almost inherent hatred and disregard for rents of any kind whatsoever. (17)

The proprietors were slow to recognize the type and character of people with whom they were to deal. The Penns were little concerned about conditions so long as revenue poured in. Changes in the land system were therefore necessarily slow. On the part of the German settlers there seems to have been an inclination to make good their titles for their children's sakes. They desired them to have a settlement that they could depend upon and at the same time be freed from any pretended Indian rights. (18)

At an early period there was an inferior kind of title invented by the rude squatters of the border known as a "tomahawk title." This seems to have consisted in deadening a few trees near a spring and marking others by culling the bark. This procedure while not legal was respected by the settlers as establishing a priority of claim with which it was a grave dishonor to interfere. (19) Such rights as these were often bought and sold among the settlers themselves especially among the poorer class of immigrants who came to the province without means of securing a title by immediate payment. (20)

In 1743, the proprietors began to eject squatters in Southern Pennsylvania. As a preliminary measure they

ordered all land to be carefully surveyed. As matters turned out, however, it proved much easier to give orders than to have them executed. The surveyors and their assistants were resisted, their instruments were broken and they were compelled to withdraw. The Scotch Irish insisted that the land was theirs; they had devoted time and labor to its improvement. In the face of legal proceedings, however, many of them submitted and in the end purchased the land (21)

But it was a different type of settler who crossed the Alleghenies and faced the perils of an unknown wilderness depending almost wholly upon his rifle for food and safety. Stringent orders were issued protesting against persons making settlements beyond Lycoming Creek and those who were already there were given orders to depart. No one, however, in these wild unclaimed regions of Western Pennsylvania ever took such orders very seriously. Agents were laughed at and not infrequently they were maltreated. It is estimated that as early as 1726 about 10,000 Scotch Irish and German immigrants had settled along the western frontier region without the shadow of a right. (22) We are also told that in Northwestern Pennsylvania sturdy, self-reliant pioneers hardened in the eternal conflict between man and nature persisted in occupying forbidden lands in defiance of all orders and proclamations. They fully realized that they were beyond the bounds of lawful authority and could expect little either in the way of encouragement or protection from the proprietory government. (23)

And these Northwestern Pennsylvania pioneers were compelled to adopt a system of government of their own. They were solemnly obligated to support and defend their agreement for mutual support and protection. They gave themselves the name of "Fair Play" men and every year they elected three of their number to constitute a court. Newcomers were obliged to appear before this court and promise under oath to submit to the laws of this community. If they agreed to abide by these conditions they were permitted to take possession of unoccupied lands and were assisted in building their cabins. (24)

The Indians were another source of trouble to the proprietors. They desired some faithful people to be stationed

on the ground with power to remove anyone attempting to settle. Colonial authorities had always had trouble in preventing encroachments on the Indian's hunting grounds. The proprietors forbade any one purchasing land from the Indians, and a law was enacted declaring such purchases as entirely void. But such matters were rather immaterial to the squatter. Wherever he found a vacant piece of land he cleared a few acres and erected his home. And, if necessary, he was prepared to protect his home at the point of his rifle. Yet these people were not a belligerent sort. When officials came into Western Pennsylvania in 1750 to remove certain settlers from Indian Territory, most squatters acknowledged that they had no right or authority to take possession of lands as they had done. Some even later admitted having seen one of the governor's proclamations forbidding such action. Their manner was not one of guilt, however. They did resist being taken into custody by a sheriff and called out,

"You may take our land and our houses and do as you please with them; we deliver them to you with all our hearts, but we shall not be carried to jail." (25)

Meanwhile some of the Indian chiefs communicated with the proprietory of Pennsylvania as follows:

"We have thought a great deal of what you have imparted to us, that ye have come to turn the people off who have settled over the hills. We are afraid not-withstanding the care of the government that this may prove like many former attempts—the people will be put off now and next year will come again * * *" (26)

The result of this plea was of no immediate consequence. True, a number of settlers removed their belongings and their cabins were burned. But ere long they were back on the same spot just as the Indians had prophesied. The rank or standing of the claimant to the land on which they settled meant nothing to them. Washington had been granted a patent to some land around Pittsburgh. But before the patent was issued squatters had settled within the boundaries. Washington entered suit against them but this only served to make them bitter and dangerous. Wash-

ington's lawyer wrote to him concerning the matter that, "if he succeeded in his suit against the settlers on his estate, they would probably burn his barn and fences." (27)

So strong in a few years did the westward movement become that it seemed almost an utter impossibility on the part of the proprietors to prevent the occupation of their lands by squatters. Many liberal concessions were made in order to secure some sort of financial return. Lands on the extreme western frontier were permitted to be taken up without a title. This concession was made in order that their might be a line of defense between the settlements and the Indians. Those who wished to secure a title to such lands could do so by paying ten shillings for one hundred acres. Even at such a low rate very few took advantage of the offer. (28)

In the meantime settlers pushed steadily westward. There was some question as to the exact ownership of land in South Western Pennsylvania. The exact extent of Pennsylvania west of the Alleghanies was disputed by Virginia and so long as the dispute remained unsettled neither colony could legally claim the land and grant titles for settlement. Whether these immigrants knew this or not cannot be conclusively proven. Whatever the case may be squatters settled along the Monongahela, and between the rivers and Laurel Ridge. Later they reached the Ohio River. Braddock's Trail, as it was then known, was the route by which the greater number of them crossed the mountains. A smaller number of them came by way of Bedford and Fort Ligonier, the military road to Pittsburgh. They came to Pennsylvania generally from the upper parts of the then colonies of Maryland and Virginia. They were largely Scotch Irish and Germans. (29) Land was the object which invited these people to cross the mountains, for as the saying was, "it was to be had for taking up." (30)

In 1755 Gov. Morris offered to grant lands west of the Allegheníes free of purchase money and with exemption from quit rents for fifteen years. This offer was extended to all persons in Pennsylvania and neighboring provinces who would join an expedition for the expulsion of the

French. The proprietors for a time seemed inclined to accept this proposition but as they saw the chances of securing any quit-rents from the class of people who would settle there were very small and that if they agreed to forego the legal right of demanding it they would be guilty of an inconsistency which might militate against its collection in more favorable localities, they decided to instruct Gov. Morris to grant lands at the usual quit-rent of a half penny per acre or even a farthing per acre if no more could be obtained. Payment of this rent, however, was not commenced until 1786. The governor was also instructed to provide strict regulations for preventing evasion by the people of the conditions on which the grant should be made. They must actually settle the land and not dispose of it to speculators. (31) The rejection of this offer of so-called campaign lands left little for the proprietors to do but to recognize the squatter's right to the land which he had settled and improved.

In 1768 the proprietory of Pennsylvania purchased from the Indians the country as far west as the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. Before an office was opened for the sale of these lands the governor made a proclamation restricting his surveyors to respect the lands of actual settlers who had improved it to the value of £5. Also they were not to be surveyed on warrants or locations of a date posterior to the settlements, except to those by whom settlements were made. (32) Land acquired in this way was not an absolute right or title such as was acquired by warrant, survey, and patent. It was subject to the payment of the price customary at the time of settlement, with interest on such price until paid, minus the value of the improvements. (33)

An act of Sept. 1794 required the raising of grain as one of the conditions necessary to settlement. Instead of this being a hardship upon settlers it was intended for their encouragement. It served as a means of discriminating between bona fide settlers and those who were not such. Anyone who took possession of vacant land without intending to make it his place of residence was in fact a trespasser. And any encouragement shown to such a person operated to the injury of those who intended in good faith

to settle. It prevented them from going upon lands which by law were open to their occupation. The proprietors had in mind persons addicted to agriculture whose means would not allow them to adopt the usual and more regular method of an application warrant and survey, for official surveys could not be obtained according to the regular course of the land office without payment of purchase money. (34)

Slowly but surely the Penns had been playing a losing game. Managerial affairs were badly confused because of a lack of cooperation between the commissioners, the appointed governors and the Penn heirs. Foreign immigrants came into the colony with false impressions regarding rights to land. So long as they remained in the eastern part of the province they could be managed. But as the strict rules of the proprietors bound them to respect the land laws in the east they moved westward establishing settlements as they went. As the arm of the law reached out they moved farther westward until at last they had crossed the Alleghenies. Among the first settlers in Western Pennsylvania was Christopher Gist who had a small group of dwellings near Laurel Hill in the section now known as Ligonier Valley. The St. Clairs settled very early on the site now occupied by Brownsville. A man by the name of Frazier had a small post near the mouth of Turtle Creek. There were other settlements very early in the Beaver Valley, in Chartiers Valley and near the present site of Pittsburgh. In March 1785 William Butler wrote to John Armstrong from Pittsburgh,

"I presume that Council had been made acquainted with the villiany of the people in this country, they are flocking from all quarters, settling and taking up not only the United States' lands, but also the state's. Many hundreds have crossed the river and are daily going, many with their families. The wisdom of the Council I hope will provide against so gross and menacing an evil." (35)

It finally dawned upon the proprietors that little could be done to eject squatters from their lands. Through a hardy perseverence and industry the squatter gained his point and was given a special legal protection. The old time "tomahawk title" gave way to the "law of improvements"

and the power of preemption protected his rights of priority as a settler. Time has erased to a very great extent the disrespect which the term "squatter" seems to have called forth and we may now justly look upon the squatter as the pioneer among homesteaders who later play such an important role in the development of our nation. As for the part which squatters play in Western Pennsylvania there is much yet to be said. I have hardly touched the surface of the subject. However, if in so doing I have awakened an interest in others which shall lead to a more thorough investigation of this subject then my one aim shall have been realized and my efforts shall not have been in vain.

May 29, 1923. **James N. Fullerton.**

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EARLY WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA AGRICULTURE.

It has been well said that Pennsylvania like Gaul is divided into three parts, the eastern, the central, and the western parts. Indeed this is quite true, for upon an examination of the topography and the geology of the land we note three distinct divisions. In order to be coherent with my topic I shall deal with the third part and then only with the southwest because there was little settlement in the northwestern Pennsylvania until after 1800. Settlement in the southwestern Pennsylvania did not take place until after the French and Indian wars. According to Veech, settlement began in 1765. (1) He states that—the great abundance of game; general impunity from the Indians; the fertility of the soil; the fine springs and water courses; the cheap land and the easy access to the roads were the factors which aided in the moulding of this fur trading section into a territory of thriving farms and grain fields. (2)

I have only attempted to cover agriculture up to 1800, hence that leaves only a short period of thirty-five years and as I have stated, material in this field was scarce; much which might be said will remain unsaid and, upon second thought, there will necessarily be transfer of data from eastern and central Pennsylvania, since many of the settlers poured across the mountains into the Allegheny Plateau and brought with them their ideas concerning agriculture.

Now let us consider for a minute European agriculture and see what relations it bears to the agriculture of early western Pennsylvania. In Europe few plants were cultivated. Rye, barley, oats, wheat, beans, vitches, cabbage, and apples were the common crops. (3)

British agriculture had developed little before 1750. Rotation of crops and methods of fertilization were not universally common, but were only practiced by the upper portion of agriculturalists. Modern machinery had not yet come into existence with its revolutionary influence upon crops, prices, methods of cultivation and labor. The im-

plements used resembled those used by the Egyptians four thousand years before. (5) As yet labor was plentiful and products were scarce. Hence only the crudest notions of agriculture were carried into western Pennsylvania by the settlers.

The first settlers endured many hardships. "They generally left better homes in the east, but were willing to endure all manner of hardships for a few years with the hope of abundance later on." (6) "The life of the backwoods was rude and simple in the extreme. The pioneers cleared a little tract of land in the forest, began to farm in a rough sort of a fashion; hunted and traded with the Indians." (7) The Scotch-Irish were the first to scatter about the forts in Western Pennsylvania to farm and trade with the Indians. (8) "These Presbyterian Irish were already a mixed people," and hardened by the frontier activities in Ulster, made tip-top settlers for the frontier of western Pennsylvania. (9)

"The daily labors had to be carried on in constant preparation against surprise. While at work in the fields or forest their trusty rifles had to be within easy reach; sometimes, they even laid them across the plough handles. The women, the children, and the sick were left alone in the house. When the settler returned he little knew whether he would find them alive or not." (10)

The fort played an important role in the lives of the pioneers. "Often in the middle of the night, by the message that the Indians were at hand, the whole family was awakened and in dead silence prepared to move to the fort." (11) Families that had retired in their own homes the night before were found in the fort before dawn. "Upon these occasions the whole population huddled together in the forts. The whole country might have reminded one of a desert region if they had not seen the small fields of corn and other grain waving in the patches of cleared land." (12) Their crops they frequently had to leave in a deserted state during the summer and a great part of their labors was lost by this circumstance.

The losses sustained by their crops were not the only ones. Their sheep, hogs, goats and cows were devoured by

the panthers, bears, and wolves. "A pack of wolves would approach the cabin of a farmer in the quest of pigs or sheep and announce their presence by prolonged howls which terrified the community almost as much as did the war hoop of the Indians." (13) A man was also in danger after nightfall due to an instinct of the wolves to be brave in the dark. The only way one could become safe was to climb a tree. However there was no special delight afforded to one spending his night on the leafy down of a hickory or a stout oak. (14) Horses and cattle frequently got into their fields through breaches in the fences. Squirrels and coons were formidable enemies. They dug out the newly planted fields and feasted upon the ripening grain. (15)

All men presumed to know how to handle a rifle. Small boys looked forward with great pleasure for the time when they could be entrusted with fire arms. (16) "Every acre, every rod of ground which they claimed had to be cleared by the axe, and held with the rifle." (17) "These early pioneers ran the order of defense about the border settlements like a Dakota farmer ploughs a fire guard about his farm." (18) Often the work of guarding was carried on by a party of men each of whom was in military preparation. A sentinel was placed on the outside of the fence so on the least alarm the whole country could repair to their arms. (19)

Another great difficulty which the settlers had to battle with was the decided difference in climate and soil. Frosts and snow set in early in the fall. Frosts came about September 21st. Hunting snows came by October. Winters set in with a great deal of severity. It was no unusual thing to have snows one to three feet deep and of long continuance. (20) The spring was very short. The summers were cooler and more dry than at present. (21) The mills were not expected to grind after May. "All the housewives took care to have a summer supply of flour, otherwise they must revert to a hand mill." (22)

The western pioneers owe much to the American Indian. They practiced the Indian method of agriculture for the first years because the settler was merely concerned with ekeing out an existence for the first year or two. Along

with the Indian corn and squash there was plenty of game and wild meat. Patterson says the early settlers were hunters instead of cultivators of the soil. The Indians were not planters—only scratchers in the soil. They cleared spots along the streams and the flats and carried on agriculture in very primitive fashion. "Their practice was to burn off the trees, scrape up the top soil into little hills, and plant the seed therein. Indian corn was indigenous and the Indians had raised it from time immemorial. Women did the work, and the only implements were their fingers, a pointed stick for planting, and a clam shell or a scapula of an animal for a hoe." (24) Corn was sometimes planted without felling the trees and dead fish were used as fertilizer. Beans and peas were planted between the rows of corn. (25) Tobacco was another indigenous plant and the early pioneers were not long in learning its narcotic use.

The settlers also adopted the Indian method of clearing the earlier sections. The trees were felled by girdling them or by building fire around their bases. When they fell, they were burned into suitable lengths, heaped on a pile and reduced to ashes. This was commendable in that it used a minimum amount of labor, yet, on the other hand, it was quite destructive. (26) "It is estimated that an industrious woman could burn off as many fallen trees in a day as a strong man could cut with a steel axe in two or three days." (27) Penn tried to guard against this destruction of the forests for, in his charter, it is stated that, "A fifth part of the land was to be kept in its original condition." (28) Later different methods of clearing were applied. The timber being sawed into lengths ten to twelve feet and used for building. This was usually a winter's job and the neighbors aided each other. "Money was scarce, labor plenty and cheap, hence grubbing, chopping and logging frolics were frequent and popular." (29)

The whole system of the Indians was wasteful and disorderly but it yielded quick and fairly large immediate returns for a minimum of labor expended. And the first settlers owe their existence for the first several years to this crude agricultural system.

Ernest Bogart, in his *Economic History of the United States*, says that the great attractions to the farmer in the

Middle colonies were three fold, namely, free land, great fertility of the soil, and the assurance of a living and the necessities of life. (30) These attractions, with the exception of the first, were characteristic, in an agreeably large measure, of the entire colony of Pennsylvania, and land, in the west, was cheap, many of the settlers being squatters.

Much can be said on the positive side of the second, namely, the great fertility of the soil. "Among the old thirteen states no richer or more productive soil existed than was to be found in Pennsylvania." Many mountains mark the western section of Pennsylvania but between these mountains are exceedingly fertile valleys. "Generally speaking the soil of Pennsylvania is rich, this is especially true of the limestone regions in the eastern part as well as in some of the counties on the Ohio in the west." (32) These limestone regions are adaptable for grain raising. Greene speaks of Pennsylvania as "the chief granary of the continent." (33) The surface was rolling and, near the streams, hilly. The uplands are fertile and can be cultivated to the very top. (34) Crumrine, in his *History of Washington County*, says, "The county in general is excellent for grazing and well adapted for all the requirements of agriculture". (35) The whole of the western border is well adapted for grain raising and agriculture. (36)

The climate of Pennsylvania in the main is temperate, but yet the extremes of heat and cold are found here. The climate of Western Pennsylvania today is quite different from that of the early pioneer days. The winters were long and severe, the spring short and the summer hot and dry with a short cool fall. Here was also found the variation that Penn spoke of when he wrote home, "The weather often changeth without notice, and is constant almost in its inconstancy." (37)

With this variety of climate and fertile soil the third great factor, namely, the assurance of a living and the necessities of life, was guaranted. All the food, as well as flax and hemp for clothing, leather for shoes, and timber for building, were raised at home. The few things not produced, such as salt, coffee, and implements could be brought over the mountains from the east on pack horses.

With the great variety of soil and climate the pioneers after a few years were able to produce a variety of crops.

The cereal crops seem to have taken a lead from the first. Corn seems to have taken the lead in Western Pennsylvania. According to one author, "Corn was used mainly for bread and by hunters and travelers in the form of 'Johnny Cake', which was originally called journey cake." (38) "Corn is in especial favor. The settlers fed upon it in the winter, and parched grains were carried in the leather wallet to serve as his only food," says Theodore Roosevelt in his *Winning the West.* (39) Everybody is familiar with the results of the excessive corn supply in the early nineties of the eighteenth century. It is quite evident that corn was supreme. Rye was another crop which occupied many acres. Both corn and rye were raised especially for the distilling industry. Drink was very common in those days and regarded as an absolute necessity of the agricultural class at harvest or any gathering of the farmers. "For each frolic one or more two-gallon jugs of whiskey were indispensable," says W. J. McKnight, in his *Pioneer Outline of History of Northwestern Pennsylvania.* (40).

Flax culture was the mainstay of our early pioneers. It is readily grown on any soil and the seed gave them pure linseed oil. The finer fiber was spun into cloth and the coarser into a material called "tow". (41) The fabric made of tow or linen was not warm. So a mixture of wools and linen called "linsey-woolsey" was made. (42) The Irish potato was given much attention and was one of the crops which ranked with corn and rye. Buckwheat, millet, oats, barley, hay, peas, tobacco and mellons were raised. Many berries such as strawberries, blackberries, raspberries, and wild grapes were cultivated.

The early settlers were anxious to raise wheat, but they insisted upon raising it upon the highlands first. The good fertile river valleys were considered too damp and also they were hardest to clear. (43). Later the western settlers learned where and how to cultivate wheat, for Jenkins speaks of the wheat production as following, "Wheat was so plentiful in western Pennsylvania and the market so poor that it was customary to feed it to the cattle while rye, corn, and barley had almost no value for man or beast." (44)

Every family besides these fields of a few acres, had its garden planted with smaller vegetables such as beets, parsnips, carrots, and radishes. The later grew to be seven inches in diameter. (45)

An orchard was planted as soon as possible after the clearing had been made. "Large orchards of apple trees are propogated in almost every plantation, which ever produce great quantities of fine, large, and well flavored fruit," says Robert Proud, in his *History of Pennsylvania.* (46) Peach and cherry trees were planted and produced luxuriantly.

We shall now turn aside and consider the early methods of planting and harvesting. The whole system was crude and simple.

The ground was prepared with a crude wooden plow dragged by several oxen. Later, and especially among the Germans, the horse was used. (47) "The planters only plough the land once, and do not fertilize it and never allow it to lay fallow", says Michaux. (48) The crops were planted by hand and covered by a hoe or a crooked stick. The weeding and cultivation was done by hand and the hoe. This was not such a task as one might think because the soil was a good loam and the farms were only three or four acres in size.

Wheat and other grains were cut with a sickle and threshed with a flail or trodden out by oxen. "After the country was opened up a new system of reaping was adopted. The fields were run out at the time of sowing in what was called throughs, lands eight feet wide. Two full hand reapers were expected to cut this width and keep up with the gang or else be docked in their pay. The best reaper was selected as the leader and the rest had to follow not far behind to the end of the through. At the end of the through which extended across the field, one half of the reapers took up the sickles and carried them back half way to the starting point, where on the arrival of the other half the sickles were taken up, thus the grain was cut and bound into sheaves by the time the gang reached the beginning." (49) In after years the cradle took the place of the sickle. By this method a man could cut two to three acres in a day.

To flail ten to twenty bushels of wheat was a good heavy day's work. (50)

Hay-making made a special demand upon the human muscles. Expert cutters were engaged long before hand. These experts with the scythe took as much pains as the barber does with his razor. The boys of the neighborhood were used to bring up the rear. Their scythes were hung low and they, the boys, were not expected to make such large cuts. (51)

Little was done in this early frontier but farming, yet every farmer was at times a hunter, a miller, a trapper, a blacksmith, a lumberman, a sailor, and what not. In fact every early western Pennsylvania farmer was a "Jack-of-all trades." (52)

The farmers were free-holders, hence there were few hired servants. In the few cases that did exist, the servants were, "washed, lodged and boarded," by the year receiving in addition from ten to sixteen pounds sterling. (53) In many sections the only available labor was that of the family or a neighbor. Consequently then the planter only cleared a little land so that he and his immediate family could do the work. (54) Women worked in the fields and became quite as expert as the men with the scythe or the cradle. A day's work lasted from daylight to dark. Naturally, then, there was much cooperation among the farmers in harvesting and planting.

The implements used by the western pioneers were as crude as their methods of cultivation. There was not a great variety and even then some of the implements were shared by several farmers. The average farmer had a wooden plow, a spade, a wooden fork, an ax, a scythe, and a saw. (55) With these he could manage and get along reasonably well. The plows were constructed largely of wood and were heavy and clumsy. They usually required four oxen and two men to manage them. Harrows were nothing better than thorn branches cut from the nearest forest. Later these were followed by the triangular harrow. (56) Hay was often hauled with grapevines instead of rope.

There were few farm vehicles. A cart with iron rims, imported from England, passed from father to son. Few of the farmers had wagons but hauled their crops on sleds. (57) Rafts were used on the streams. The German farmer was better equipped than the others. (58)

Domestic animals were produced in large numbers. Cattle provided materials for meat, butter, cheese, and leather. Hogs were found running everywhere. Sheep were plentiful and served as a source of food and clothing. Horses roamed about freely in the woodland. (59)

In addition to these domestic animals the settlers tamed several wild animals. The American reindeer was drafted into service. Beavers were trained to go fishing and bring the catch back to their masters. (60) Wild geese lost their shyness and pigeons, which had wintered in the settlers cabin, became so tame that they flew out in the spring and returned.

In order to keep the swine and the cattle in-side the palisades and the worm fences, a triangular yoke was placed about their necks. A wooden tooth, resembling a wagon spoke, stopped a horse just as he was lifting his front foot. Bells were indispensable to indicate the whereabouts of the cattle or tell when they were approaching the fields." They also served as a protection against wild beasts, rarely ever would a wolf or a bear attack an animal which wore a bell." (61) Bells in fact were the sign of an efficient farmer. Doddridge tells us of a drove of horses, intended for a Baltimore market, on whose necks bells were hung. At the lodging in the mountains two bells were stolen. The drover had not gone far the next morning when he realized that the bells were missing. A man was sent back for the bells. The farmer and the hired man denied stealing the bells. "By a custom of the times the torture of sweating was applied to them." This brought a confession and the bells were forthcoming and hung about the necks of the culprits. When it came time for the owner to use his hickory he said to the thief, "You infernal scoundrel I will work your jacket nineteen to the dozen. Only think what a rascally figure I should make in the streets of Baltimore without bells on my stock." (62)

Much of the timber cut was used for fences. There were different types of fences, but the one which was especially common was the palisade, formed by sticks driven into the ground close to-gether. Another was the rail, made of rails six to eight feet long laid on top of each other at a sufficient angle to remain secure. These were called worm fences because they were so crooked. (63)

We shall now devote a short time to the barns and the homes of these western pioneers. The barn was generally erected of round logs laid in double layers. The roof was made with clap boards at first then straw, and finally shingles. These crude structures were built largely as a protection against the wolves and the bears which roamed at will. They were not much protection against the blasts of winter. (64)

"The houses west of the Allegheny were low cabins made of the trunks of trees from twenty to thirty feet long and four or five inches in diameter placed one above the other and supported by letting their ends into each other." The roof was formed of similar logs. Shingles were fastened to these by large splinters. Two large doors usually took the place of windows. These were hung on wooden hinges and at night were pushed to and closed with a huge log. The chimney which was at one end was also made of tree trunks. The back was covered with clay to separate the flames from the wooden wall. Four or five days are enough for two men to complete such a house. (65) "If well to do, besides the large living room there might be a small bedroom and kitchen and a loft where the boys slept." (66)

Before the lapse of a half century after the settlement began agriculture was a prosperous industry in the eastern and in the western parts of Pennsylvania best adapted to the tillage of the soil and yet legal records make little mention of agriculture before 1784. The General Assembly in that year directs 150 pounds to be granted to the Philosophical Society for the purpose of encouraging agriculture. (67) In 1788 the council made inquiries of the Pennsylvania Agriculture Society concerning the Hessian fly and its effect upon wheat. (68)

One is rather impressed that agriculture had not gone far beyond the primitive stage before 1800. It is a striking

feature that the only industry open to these western pioneers should have developed so slowly. I believe the following reasons reveal the solution:

1. The wilderness required arduous labor and time.
2. Indian assaults were frequent and destroyed many crops, tools, and stock.
3. Wild beasts had their influence too upon crops and stock.
4. Seeds were hard to obtain.
5. The character of the soil was not understood.
6. Tools were crude and difficult to manage.
7. Transportation was inadequate.
8. The amount produced was greater than the amount consumed.
9. Labor was scarce.
10. The farmers were isolated, hence no conventions, no clubs, no societies of any kind. Neighbors were not able to profit by the experience of brother pioneers.
11. Superstition played a large part in planting and reaping.

I have attempted to give a general survey of agriculture up to 1800, a sort of a panorama as it were, and not a detailed account. If I have succeeded in doing this my time and labor has been well spent.

W. J. Hayward.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

NOTE BOOK OF COLONEL GEORGE MORGAN.

"Colonel Morgans reply to the Delaware Chiefs, who were in Council at his home near Princeton, May 12, 1779."

To this unsought for, & unexpected Addrefs, I made the following reply——

George Morgan—

Brothers the Delawares

I cannot but thank you for your affectionate Words & kind testimony of your Love with which they are attended—But Brothers, I do not think myself at liberty to accept of any Gift, or Grant of Lands from any Indian Nation—: I am a Servant of the United States & although I enter'd into the Service of my Country through a principle of securing her Liberties, yet I am paid by her, for acting as her Agent, among the Indian Nations & all the good I have done you, it has ben my duty to do—I only lament that I have not had it in my power to serve you, & the other Nations, more effectually; as thereby I should have efsentially served my own.

Brothers.

I have another reason why I cannot consent to accept your generous Gift. It is my Opinion that it would insure your Nation, were I to accept of the kind offer they now make to me, through you—for although I am satisfied as to the Justice of the Act, Yet it would show a bad Example to bad Men, for such you know there are among all Nations, Who might be induced, Under the Appearance of kindnefs & friendship, to make you drunk & take the Advantage thereof, to induce you to sign Writings you do not understand, & to cheat you of your Country—Now, in order to prevent such Evils, I recommend to my Brothers of the Delaware Nation, & to every other Indian Nation, not to make any Gift, Grant, or Sale of Lands, to any Person or Persons whatsoever, but after the maturest repeated deliberations in full Council of the Nation, and in Presence of Commifsioners of Congrefs. For these reasons Brothers, & to convince you of the perfect Friendship, the United States has for your Nation, I desire you will recall what you have said, & not think hard of me for speaking my mind so freely.

George Morgan.

Interpreted by
Daniel Sullivan,
In Presence of General Lewis Morris—

To the foregoing the Delaware Chiefs made the following reply—

Brother Taimenend—

What you have said is very right, but we shall think it very hard if you refuse to accept what the Friendship of our Nation in full Council have afsign'd to you for you & your Children

forever. We therefore insist that you accept the same as a token of their Love to you—

Key-ley-leymont was the Speaker of this which was repeated by Israel—Interpreted by Daniel Sullivan.—

I then spoke to the Chiefs as follows—
Brothers—Chiefs & Wise Men of the Delaware Nation—

You know I never deceived you—I never told you the thing that was not—Therefore believe me now, I tell you it will be good for you to follow my Advice; And when I say I will never impose upon you—I cannot accept the generous Gift of your Nation, but I thank them for their Friendship, which I shall ever retain a due Sense of—

Taimenend—

Interpreted by
Daniel Sullivan—.

To this the Chiefs after a Short Consulation spoke to me by Key-let-leymont as follows—

Brother Taimenend

It is the Resolution of the Delaware Nation that your Children shall forever pofsefs & enjoy the Lands we have described to you & which you yourself refuse to accept— And we now tell you that it must & shall be so— therefore the Delaware Nation do now give the Said Land, to your Children & their Posterity forever—

Interpreted by Daniel Sullivan— George Morgan.—

LETTER WRITTEN BY MRS. ANDREW JACKSON TO BENJAMIN BAKEWELL.

Washington City,
March 8th 1825;

Dear Sir,

I have postponed the acknowledgment of the receipt of the valuable Celery Glafses, which you have had the kindnefs to present to me, believing that I should pafs thro Pittsburgh on my return to Tennefsee and should have the satisfaction to see you and to tender in person, the very grateful obligation which I owe you for this compliment—

But having been seriously indisposed for some weeks, and being still so, Mr. Jackson is on this account compelled to relinquish the pleasure which we had promised ourselves from the visit.

You will, therefore, be pleased to receive this feeble exprefsion of my thanks for so flattering a token of your esteem and kindnefs. Besides its value, as a beautiful sample of domestic industry, it is doubly dear to me as an evidence of the friendly feelings entertained toward me. by your daughter, Mrs. Campbell. Be assured Sir, that the little attentions which I have been enabled to bestow upon her, and her excellent Husband, are far short of their merits, and are more than requited by the kind opin-

ion of which you have authorized me regard these glafses, together with your own, as a token.

Accept with my own, the best wishes of my dear Husband for your prosperity and happinefs, and be pleased to present us respectfully to all your family.

Your obedient Svt.

Rachel Jackson.

To
Benjamin Bakewell, Esq.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

LETTER WRITTEN BY DANIEL WEBSTER TO BEJAMIN BAKEWELL

Washington City,
May 16th, 1836.

Dear Sir,

Allow me the pleasure of introducing Thos. H. Perkins, Esq. of Boston, to your acquaintance. He is a gentleman of first rate standing and character, and well known in most parts of the United States, but has heretofore never been in the Western Country. He is now on a tour, in that direction, and if he should be in your place, I commend him to your kindest notice and regards, as a most estimable man, and a personal friend of mine, of long standing.

Yrs. very truly,
Daniel Webster.

To
B. Bakewell, Esq.
Pittsburgh,
Pa.

The
Librarian.

DEPARTMENT OF OLD NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

Pittsburgh Daily Morning Chronicle,
November 13, 1843.

We are glad to perceive that measures have been taken for the formation of a Historical Society in this city. Institutions of this kind are productive of vast benefit to the generations who may succeed the present. The following are the proceedings of the meeting called for the purpose of organizing a Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

At a meeting of several gentleman of this city, interested in collecting and preserving materials relating to the early settlement of this portion of the Western country, on Monday, the 23 ultimo, the Hon. Wm. Wilkins was called to the chair, and Joseph P. Gazzam, M. D., appointed Secretary. After consultation, it was agreed to form an association to be called The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. The Rev. Dr. Upfold presented a draft of a constitution for the society, which having been considered, was unanimously adopted, and the following named gentlemen chosen to fill the several offices created by it, for the ensuing year, to wit:

President,
Hon. Harmar Denny,

Vice-President,
Rev. John Black, D. D.,
Benjamin Bakewell, Esq.,
Hon. William Wilkins,
Richard Biddle, Esq.,

Treasurer,
William H. Denny, M. D.,

Recording Secretary,
David Ritchie, Esq.,

Corresponding Secretary,
Neville B. Craig,

Counsellors,
Rev. George Upfold, D. D.,
Thomas Bakewell, Esq.,
William Addison, M. D.,
Hon. John M. Snowden,
Hon. Charles Shaler,
William Eichbaum, Esq.,

At a meeting of the society held at the Western University, on Thursday, the 22d inst., it was, on motion, Resolved, that the proceedings of the primary meeting, with the list of officers, and a statement explanatory of the objects of the association, be published.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
Saturday July 6, 1793.

Thursday the 4th inftant, the anniverfary of Independence, was celebrated by a number of the inhabitants of this town convened upon Grant's-Hill, and after a few words of an oration by Citizen Brackenridge, sat down to an entertainment, under a booth on the Hill. The following toats were drank, with discharges of artillery at each.

1. The Day, and all who celebrate it elfewhere.
2. The Principles that gave the Day birth.
3. The wife in the Senate and the brave in the Field, who have supported the principles of our Independence.
4. The cause of Liberty in France, and the eftablifhment of the Republic.
5. The cause of Liberty in Great Britain and Ireland, and a reform in the reprefentation of the Commons.
6. The Rights of man in all Countries.
7. The Democrats of America.
8. Ariftocrats where they ought to be.
9. The Weftern Country.
10. The free ufe of our rivers to the Ocean.
11. The poffeffion of Detroit and Niagara, which are ours by Treaty.
12. The reduction of the Savages, and Peace on this foundation.
13. Foreign Commerce and Domestic Manufactures.
14. Agriculture and Mechanics.
15. Literature and Science, the offspring and the ornament of Liberty.

16. Volunteer. The Fair of America. The day was fpent, and concluded with hilarity and good humour.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
Saturday, July 6, 1793.

Thursday being the anniverfary of American Independence, a large company of Citizens from Pittsburgh, met at the tavern of Mrs. Ward on the fouth weftern bank of the Monongahela river, in order to celebrate the important event. The Company consisted of about 50 ladies and gentleman, who, at 3 o'clock sat down to an entertainment prepared by Mrs. Ward which would have done honor to the firft hotel in the United States—Mirth and good humour crowned the fasft, and the evening closed with a splendid ball. After dinner the following toafts were drank, accompanied by a grand discharge of artillery from Fort Fayette.

1. The Day—May the glorious fpirit of 76 never cease to animate the American breaft.
2. The Prefident of theUnited States.
3. The Vice President and both Houfsef of Congress
4. The Commander in Chief and the Troops on the Frontiers—May wifdom direct their councils and honor their hearts.
5. The Secretary of the Treafury.
6. The Governor of Pennsylvania.
7. The Governor of the Western Territory—May misfortune never be the criterion of merit.
8. The Memory of Major General Butler and of thofe Heroes, who difcharging that duty which they owed to themfelves and to their country fell gallantly fighting.
9 The American Fair—May their prudence and induftry equal their charms.
10. The French Nation—May their efforts to obtain freedom be fuccefsful.
11. The Marquis la Fayette.
12. The French Army—May moderation and virtue direct their councils, and valor brace their arms.
13. The Western Territory—Population to its wilds, and civilization to its citizens.
14. Freedom to our Trade, and fuccefs to our Manufactures.
15. The Town of Pittsburgh—May it be as celebrated for the unanimity and induftry of its inhabitants, as for the elegance of its fituation.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
Saturday, July, 6, 1793.

"ORATION"

By Citizen Brackenridge, on the Celebration of the Anniversary of Independence, July 4, 1793.

The celebration of the day, introduces the idea of the principle that gave it birth. The wisdom of the king of Great Britain who faw the growing greatnefs of the provinces, that they were now of age to act for themfelves and bade them be independent? No—The wifdom of the parliment of Great Britain, that feeing the inconvenience or impoffibility of our being reprefented in the legiflature, and fenfible of the unreasonablenefs of being bound by laws without being reprefented, saw the expediency of a feparation from them, and said to us, be independent and become an allied power? No—Nothing of all this, The king and parliament of Great Britain, were of opinion that without reprefentation, we were bound by their laws, and though defcendants of their ifle, had no right to freedom in a great forest.

Whence then our independence? It was the offspring of the underftanding and the virtue of the people of America themfelves. The eloquent advifed, the brave fought; and we fucceeded. The day on which we affumed our rights became a festival, and every future year fhall remember it. The celebration of the day introduces the idea of the effect of it beyond the fphere of the ftates. The light kindled here has been reflected to Britain, and a reform in the reprefentation of the commons is expected.

The light kindled here has been reflected to France, and a new order of things has arifen. Shall we blame the intemperature of the exertions? Was there ever enthufiafm without intemperance? and was there ever a great effect without enthufiafm? Thy principles; O! Liberty, are not violent or cruel; but in the defperation of thy efforts againft tyranny, it is not always poffible to keep within the limit of the vengeance neceffary to defence. Do we accufe the air, or, the baftile of the mountain, when the rock is burft, and the town engulphed? The air of itfelf is mild, and scarcely wafts a feather from its place. But reftrained and imprifoned, the yeilding and placid element becomes indignant, and fears the globe before it. Do we accufe the hurricane, when the mariner is toffed with the tempeft, and is an incidental sufferer in the ftorm? The naturalist does not. He tells you that the equilibrium of the atmofphere has been difturbed, and if man has suffered more than the demerit of his tranfgreffions, it is in a ftruggle of nature to reftore itself.

Is it the duty of thefe ftates to affift France? That we are bound by treaty, and how far, I will not say; becaufe it is not neceffary. We are bound by a higher principle, if our affiftance could avail; the great law of humanity.

We might, it is true, alledge the ftipulations of a treaty, and the guarrantee of her poffeffions to France. But all the world would know, and we ought to avow it, that it is the cause of republicanism which would induce our efforts. The tyrant of Great Britain alleged the ftipulations of a treaty relative to the opening of the Scheldt, and waited for no requisition on the part of Holland to observe the guarantee. But all the world knew, and he might have avowed it, that it was not the opening of the Scheldt, but the attack upon monarchy that prompted his interpofition. Shall kings combine, and fhall republics not unite? We have united. The heart of America feels the caufe of France; fhe takes a part in all her councils; approves her wifdom; blames her exceffes; fhe is moved, impelled, elevated and depreffed, with all the changes of her good and bad fortune; fhe feels the same fury in her veins; fhe is toffed and fhaken with all the variety of hopes and fears, attending her fituation: Why not? Can we be indifferent? Is not our fate interlaced with hers? For, O! France if thy republic perifh, where is the honor due to ours? From whom refpect to our flag uon the feas? Not from France restored to a monarch, and indignant at thefe very feelings which are now our glory:

Not from the defpots that are againft her; thefe will eafily recollect that the caufe of their evils took their rise here.

Can we affift France by arming in her favor? I will not fay that we can. But could we, and would France say, United States, your neutrality is not fufficient; I expect the junction of your arms with mine; your heroes on the foil, and your privateers, on the ocean, to diftrefs the foe; who is there would not fay, it fhall be fo: you fhall have them; our citizens shall arm; they shall attack; our oaks fhall defcend from the mountains; our veffels be launched upon the ftream, and the voice of our war, however weak, fhall be heard with yours.

If we ourfelves fhould judge that our arms could affift France, even though the generous republic required it not, yet who would hefitate to interfere, not only at the rifk of property; but life itfelf? Is it illufion, or do I hear France fay; My daughter America; I know the dutifulnefs of thy heart toward me; and that thou art difpofed to fhow it by taking part in this war. But I wifh thee not to provoke hoftilities for my fake. If I perifh, I perifh; but let not a mother draw in a haplefs child to fuffer with herfelf. Is it illufion; or do I hear America, reply? I do, and it is in the language of the Moabitifs Ruth, to her mother-in-law, the Jewifh Naomi "Intreat me not to leave thee or re-

turn from following thee; for wither thou goeft, I will go, and where thou lodgeft, I will lodge; thy people fhall be my people, and thy God, my God; where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried.

Go do fo to me, and more alfo, if ought but death fhall part thee and me."

But whether we affift or not; thy caufe, O! France, will be triumphant. Did the enthufiafm of a fmall Roman people repel their invaders, until Rome became the protecrefs of nations? Did the enthufiafm of a few Greeks, repel the millions of Afia, and afterwards overrun her kingdoms? Did the enthufiafm of the Saracens in a few years fpread to Spain on the one hand, and the Indus on the other? Did the enthufiafm, of a few mad Crufaders, burft upon the Saracen, and eftablifh the kingdom of Jerufalem in the center of his empire? And fhall the enthufiafm of a brave people more numerous than the early Roman republic; the Greeks under Alexander, the Saracens of Arabia, or the Crufaders of Europe, be fubdued by all that are againft them?

The weight will but condenfe refiftance, and as the materials of explofion in the ordonance acquire a fpring by confinement, fo in proportion to the attack of this people, Will their voice be terrible, their blow irrefiftable.

France will be independent alfo, and celebrate her anniverfaries; and in doing fo will recollect that our independence had preceded hers and made the example.

The anniverfary of the independence of America will be a great epocha of liberty throughout the world.

Proceed we then to celebrate the day; advance to the feftive board; pour out libations to fentiments of liberty, and let the loud mouthed artillery be heard on the hill.

The

Librarian.

,96'

STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA JOINS IN FOSTER CELEBRATION.

More and more the people of America are coming to honor the memory of individuals other than military heroes. We are at last beginning to realize that it is our duty to perpetuate the names of soldiers of peace just as much as soldiers of war. Great inventors, scientists, explorers, authors, musicians, and writers of verse are today contributing more to the happiness and success of mankind than in any other period of history.

It was therefore a happy thought on the part of Mr. William H. Stevenson, President of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the Board of Directors when they decided to invite the City Council of Pittsburgh, and the Chamber of Commerce to participate in a program on July 4, 1923, honoring the memory of Stephen Collins Foster, America's greatest writer of Folk songs. It is not generally known outside of Western Pennsylvania that Foster was a native of Pittsburgh, that he spent the greater part of his life here, and that his remains are buried in old Allegheny cemetery.

Stephen Collins Foster was born July 4, 1826, on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and it was on the anniversary of his birth, July 4, 1923, that the state of Kentucky, whose fame Foster had immortalized by the song "My Old Kentucky Home," paid him due recognition. The Old Kentucky Home Commission, created by an act of the Kentucky legislature in 1922, successfully conducted a state-wide program for raising funds to purchase the old Rowan Home, Federal Hill, near Bardstown, Kentucky.

It was in this beautiful old southern home that young Foster, while visiting his kinsmen, Colonel John Rowan in 1852, wrote the words of that immortal song "My Old Kentucky Home." And when Governor Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky, speaking for the members of the Old Kentucky Home Commission, invited the citizens of Pittsburgh to

join with the people of the old Bluegrass state in publically honoring the memory of Stephen Collins Foster on the ninety-seventh anniversary of his birth, the invitations were gladly accepted.

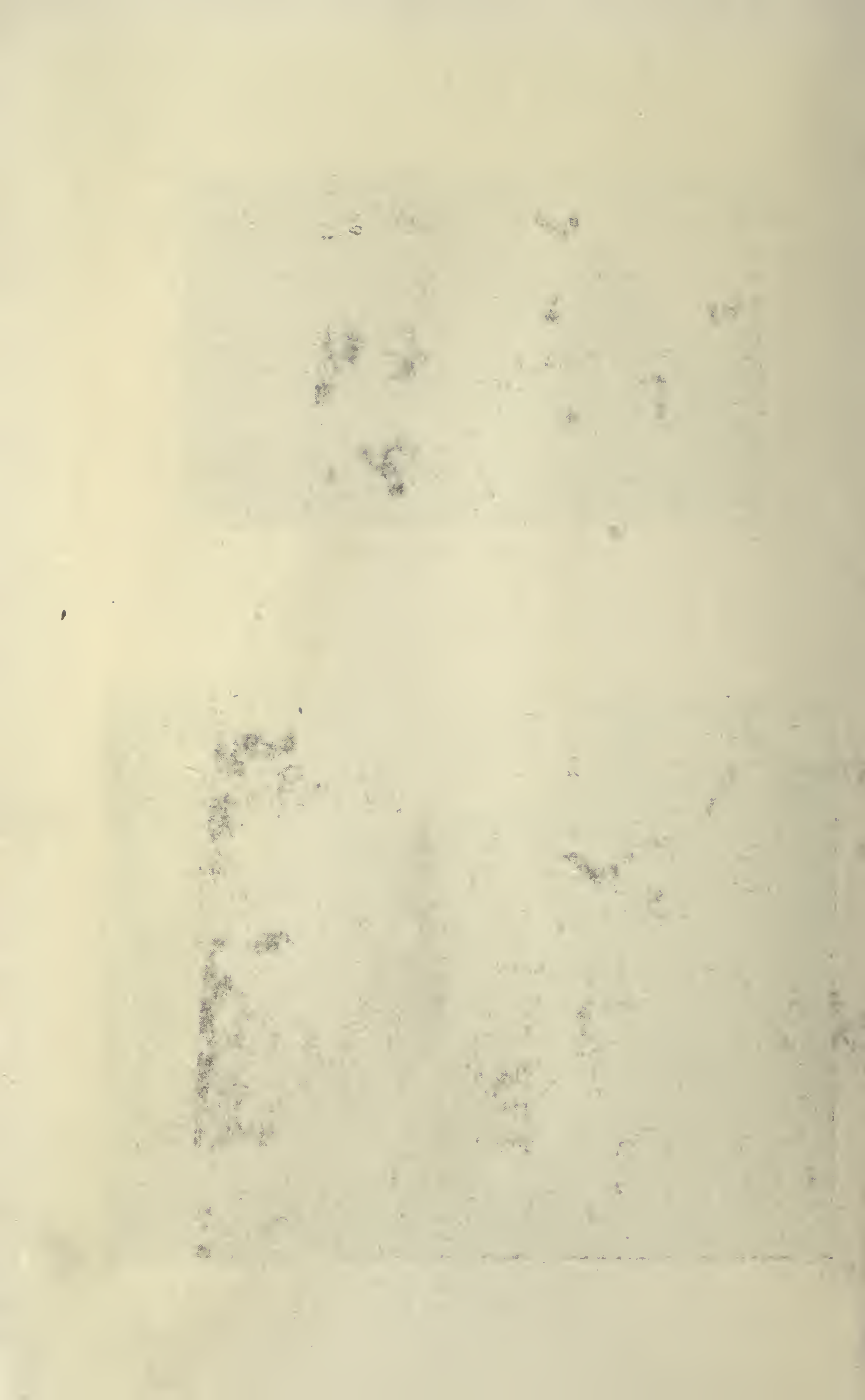
The Pittsburgh representatives, consisting of the President and officers of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, the city council and the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, chartered a special Pullman car, and left for Bardstown, Kentucky, on the afternoon of July 3rd. The Historical Society was represented by its president, William H. Stevenson, John E. Potter and General A. J. Logan. The city council was represented by Daniel Winters, president, and Robert Garland, while A. L. Humphrey, president of the Chamber of Commerce, Thomas A. Dunn, and F. D. Marshall represented the latter organization. Dr. John W. Oliver represented the University of Pittsburgh. Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Rose (Mrs. Rose is a granddaughter of Foster's) and their two children, Dorothy and Dallas Clayland, and William Barclay Foster, a nephew, accompanied the party as special guests of honor and were presented to the audience by Councilman Robert Garland. Ex-congressman James Francis Burke of Pittsburgh delivered the chief address for the visiting delegation.

Upon arriving at Louisville at seven thirty o'clock on the morning of July 4th, the Pittsburgh delegation was met by a reception committee, headed by Mayor Houston Quinn, and tendered a breakfast at the Seelback Hotel. The party was then taken for a short drive about the city. Returning to the station, the private car, bearing the Pittsburgh party was attached to the special train carrying the Kentucky delegation from Louisville to Bardstown. Governor Morrow and his party, including the members of the Old Kentucky Home Commission, and Mayor Quinn and his friends, joined the Pittsburgh party and acted as hosts for the visitors.

Upon reaching the historic city of Bardstown, their local Chamber of Commerce met the visitors and extended them an enthusiastic welcome. After an automobile trip about the city, the visitors were conducted through the historic old St. Joseph's Cathedral, the first cathedral built west of the Allegheny mountains, and the second oldest in

THE FOSTER HOMESTEAD

THE OLD KENTUCKY HOME
Bardstown, Ky.



the United States. Following the dinner served by the Bardstown Chamber of Commerce, the visitors were then driven to Federal Hill, where stands the historic old Rowan home, immortalized for all time by the genius of Stephen Collins Foster, as "My Old Kentucky Home." There, assembled beneath the trees on that sloping hillside were some 20,000 people, gathered from all parts of Kentucky, many from distant states, eager to participate in the memorial exercises on the patriotic day.

Old Federal Hill and its historic surroundings breathes the spirit of Kentucky hospitality. John Rowan, the builder of that old home was himself a native Pennsylvanian. He was born in York County, this state. Following the close of the Revolutionary War, he went west, settled near Bardstown, in Nelson County, Kentucky. And in building his home in the "wilderness of the west," little did he think that in years to come, another Pennsylvanian, gifted with the genius of a great composer, would immortalize that home for all time to come. But such was the destiny of fate!

Here the social and cultural life of Kentucky centered for more than half a century. Soldiers, statesmen, artists and writers gathered there, and enjoyed the famed hospitality of the Rowan Home at Federal Hill. Among the great throngs that gathered therein during the course of years were three young men who were destined in later life to make themselves famous in the field of art and letters,—Theodore O'Hara, William Haines Lytle, and Stephen Collins Foster. O'Hara, author, soldier and poet, wrote the "Bivouac of the Dead," and "A Dirge for the Brave Old Pioneer." Lytle was likewise soldier, poet and orator, whose ode of Anthony to Cleopatra entitled "I am Dying, Egypt, Dying," has become a literary classic.

But it was the third member of this tri-umvirate, Stephen Collins Foster, a native Pittsburger, who was destined to achieve greatest fame by composing the immortal song, "My Old Kentucky Home," while visiting at Federal Hill in the year 1852. In later years it became the state song for Kentucky, and is said to be the most widely translated song in all the world. One authority says it has been translated into all the languages of Europe, into many

Asiatic languages, and sung by people in the "Isles of the Sea." (1)

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, the city of Pittsburgh, and the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce all brought deserving honor to themselves by participating in this historical program. Ex-congressman James Francis Burke, in delivering his masterful eulogy upon Foster well said that "Now after a lapse of sixty years, on this sacred spot of southern soil, the sons and daughters of Kentucky and Pennsylvania join in their tributes to the minstrel in whose heart that song was born, and dedicate to his memory the scene in which he found his inspiration."

President A. L. Humphrey for the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce presented to the Old Kentucky Home a beautiful painting of Stephen Collins Foster, which is to adorn one of the rooms in that historic shrine.

Daniel Winters, president of the City Council for the City of Pittsburgh presented a bronze tablet which has been placed upon the walls of the old home, bearing the following inscription:

1826 1864

In memory of

STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER

Born in Pittsburgh, Pa., July 4, 1826

Who on a visit to Kentucky in 1852,

wrote in this House the immortal song:

"My Old Kentucky Home"

Presented by

The City of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

1 9 2 3

William H. Stevenson on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, presented de luxe copies of the souvenir program to the Governor of Kentucky and also to the Women's Committee who restored and have the care of the old Rowan homestead.

JOHN W. OLIVER.

(1) *Current Literature*, July 1901.

BRONZE TABLET
Presented by the City of Pittsburgh

THE FIRST CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, NOVEMBER 15TH-18TH, 1881.

A STUDY IN CONTEMPORARY LOCAL NEWSPAPERS AS A SOURCE

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The possibilities of local history in America are increasingly realized. Not the least of these possibilities is training in historical method. In larger places the files of several newspapers are usually accessible to the historical student. In spite of the toil and fatigue connected with research in newspaper files, there is something peculiarly attractive about such work. When, as is sometimes the case, the information sought has peculiar, great or permanent value, the incitement so necessary to satisfactory research is raised to a high pitch. If, in addition, some outside source exists by which to test the accuracy of the parallel newspaper material the demands of research as regard material are almost completely met. The combination of all these elements is responsible for this paper. (a)

The National Labor Congress which proved in its outcome to be the first convention of the American Federation of Labor met in Pittsburgh in November, 1881. Of the fifty three or more journals (1) published in Pittsburgh at that date, eleven or more were daily newspapers of the ordinary type. (2) Of these dailies of the ordinary type,

(a) I am indebted to Mr. Donald Couch, one of my pupils, for an important preliminary investigation of this subject as a term paper theme.

(1) *Diffenbacher's Directory of Pittsburgh*, 1881-1882 (Diffenbacher & Thurston, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1881), page 880.

(2) *Ibid.* Of the remainder, seventeen were definitely trades journals, industrial, commercial or professional. Five were definitely labor papers. Seven were definitely religious papers. Three were local community or ward papers. Two were social and cultural in a special sense. Four were weeklies but whether of the political, religious or labor type it is difficult to determine exactly. Of the other three it is impossible to say anything. It might be mentioned here that city directories can be used as a source of considerable value in a study of the rise and decay of journals and types of journalism. The directories of Pittsburgh, for instance, are complete since 1852 and the Carnegie Library contains scattered volumes for the period since 1815.

the files of five of the seven (3) or more in the English language and one of the four (4) in the German language are accessible in the Carnegie Library. (5)

Of the five English newspapers whose files are accessible, three (6) received on the last day of the convention a note of thanks, "for their very faithful reports of the proceedings of this Congress" (7) and would seem to possess particularly high value as a record. The other two (8) were not in good favor by reason of difficulties with the local printers union and their reporters were excluded from the hall of the convention. (9) Just why the German newspaper, *Der Freiheits Freund,* whose files are accessible and which apparently was not involved in union difficulties, was omitted from the note of thanks is uncertain, beyond the fact that only English papers were included.

The minutes of the meetings of the convention, (10) presumably an accurate if not altogether complete record, (11) though out of print, are available in some of the larger libraries and serve as a standard to test the accuracy of the accounts found in the six newspapers, the files of which are accessible in the Central Library.

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(3) *Commercial Gazette, Evening Chronicle, Evening Telegraph, Daily Post, Times, Dispatch and Leader.*

(4) *Der Freiheits Freund, Beobachter, Volksblatt and Republicaner.*

(5) The first five above named in English and *Der Freiheits Freund.*

(6) *Commercial Gazette, Evening Chronicle and Evening Telegraph.*

(7) *Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor,* 1881-1888. (Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1906), page 24. The *Dispatch, Labor Tribune, Sunday Critic* and *Globe* were included in the note of thanks.

(8) *Daily Post, Times.*

(9) The *Times,* November 16, mentions the case of its reporter. *Der Freiheits Freund,* November 16, mentions the case of the reporter of the *Daily Post.* These two papers are therefore of weakened historical value on this topic.

(10) *Proceedings, loe cit.*

(11) The complete accuracy of these cannot be guaranteed in theory or in fact. Note that the Pantagraph edition used, says, "Report of the First Annual Session of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 15, 16, 17 and 18, 1881. Published by the authority of the Federation." This is a good example of the lack at times of historicity in official documents.

Careful comparison of the seven accounts and satisfactory organization of the results seen should make an interesting study in local history.

The call for this Congress was a result of a meeting held in Terre Haute, Indiana, in August 1881. (12) This Terre Haute convention resolved to hold a Congress of Labor Unions of the United States in Pittsburgh on November 15th. The object of the Congress was officially stated in a formal call, (13) addressed and sent to all the Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. This call, in view of the fact that the objects outlined were later adopted by the Labor Congress and have consistently formed the policy of the organization for forty years, deserves quotation in full. It was in the following language:

"Fellow-workingmen:— The time has now arrived for a more perfect combination of Labor—one that will concentrate our forces so as to more successfully cope with concentrated capital.

"We have numberless trades unions, etc., all engaged in a noble task of elevating and improving the conditions of the working class. But, great as has been the work done by these bodies, there is vastly more that can be done by a combination of all these organizations in a federation of trades.

"In Great Britain and Ireland annual trades unions congresses are held. The work done by these assemblies of workmen speaks more in their favor than a volume of arguments.

"Only in such a body can proper action be taken to promote the general welfare of the industrial classes. There we can discuss and examine all questions affecting the national interests of each and every trade and by a combination of forces secure that justice which isolated and separated trade and labor unions can never fully command.

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(12) *Proceedings*, page 6; *Evening Chronicle*, November 14; *Telegraph*, November 14.

(13) Quoted in full in *Proceedings*, page 6, and *Evening Chronicle*, November 14. Quoted in part in *American Federation of Labor, History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book* (Washington, D. C., 1919), page 41. Paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 are accurately quoted in *Times*, November 15.

"A National Trades Union Congress can prepare labor measures and agree upon laws they desire to be passed by the United States Congress and form a Congressioanl Labor Committee to urge and advance legislation upon measures wanted at Washington and report to the various trades.

"In addition to this, an annual Congress of Trades Unions could organize a systematic agitation to propogate trades union principles and to impress the necessity of protective trade and labor organizations and to encourage the formation of such unions and thus amalgamation in trade assemblies. Thus we could elevate trade unionism and obtain for the working classes that respect for their rights to which they are justly entitled.

"A federation of this character can be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried officers. The expenses of its management will be trivial and can be provided for by the Trades Union Congress.

"Impressed with the necessity of such a federation and the importance of a National Trades Union Congress to perfect the organization, we, the undersigned delegates in a preliminary convention assembled at Terre Haute, Indiana, do hereby resolve to issue the following call:

"That all international and national unions, trades assemblies or councils and local trades or labor unions are cordially invited to send delegates to a National Trades Union Convention to be held at Pittsburgh on the third Tuesday of November, 1881. Each local union will be entitled to one delegate, for one hundred members or the major part thereof, also one delegate for each international or national union, and one delegate for each trade assembly or council."

The corresponding secretary, M. W. Moore, was able to report on November 6, that 55 organizations had responded. (14) These embraced printers, painters, cigar makers, moulders, carpenters, shoe makers, plasterers, seamen, iron and steel workers, marine and pastry cooks, window-glass workers, spinners, cigar-packers, bookbinders, cap-finishers, boot-makers, furniture workers, cap-coverers, horsesmiths, and granite cutters. (15) Notice of intention

(14) *Evening Chronicle,* November 14.

(15) *Ibid.*

to participate had been given in advance by a long list of delegates. (16) According to a conservative estimate (17) at least 120 were expected to be present when the roll was called, while a less cautious statement (18) was made that 400 to 500 delegates were expected to be present.

Delegates of the convention began to arrive in Pittsburgh on Saturday, November 12. (19) Between fifty and sixty delegates had arrived by Monday night, November 16. (20) Others came in on Tuesday and later.

The newspapers contain references to unofficial preliminary conferences not mentioned in the minutes. One was "a conference" Monday afternoon "of foreign delegates" to be "held at the St. Clair Hotel for the purpose of blocking out a plan of operations for the meeting" on Tuesday. (21) Another was a caucus of the Allegheny County delegates on Monday night and Tuesday morning (22) with the object of consulting "as to the rules of the Congress and also to select subjects which the delegation consider(ed) as most desirable for the Congress to take action upon." (23)

Advance notice and comment on the convention appeared in all six newspapers. (24) While sometimes mainly news items of a common type, some of the newspaper material is interpretive of local sentiment in regard to the convention. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 15, says, "There are a number of radical Socialists from abroad who will attend

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(16) List given *Telegraph*, November 14. It includes 35 names. Identical *Times*, November 15.

(17) *Commercial Gazette*, November 14.

(18) *Daily Post*, November 15. *Freiheits Freund*, November 14.

(19) *Evening Chronicle*, November 14. Cf. *Times*, November 14.

(20) *Commercial Gazette*, November 15. Cf. *Evening Chronicle*, November 14, "and a large number on the morning trains to-day"; *Daily Post*, November 15.

(21) *Evening Chronicle*, November 14.

(22) *Evening Chronicle*, November 15.

(23) *Ibid*, November 15. In view of later developments I suspect another object of these caucuses was organization for capture of the federation. This was the impression given some of the foreign delegates according to the *Evening Chronicle*, November 15, which, however, asserted, "Nothing was further from their thoughts."

(24) *Commercial Gazette*, November 15. Other papers, November 14, and, in the case of morning papers, November 15, also.

the Congress" and voiced the rumor of the probable development of "an inharmonious spirit," while foreseeing better results in "eminently practical" Pittsburgh.

The *Telegraph*, November 14, remarked, "The work of the convention will be important." On November 15, it added, "The Labor Congress — seems to be capable of the greatest amount of good that can be accomplished by labor organizations." The *Telegraph* spoke favorably, on the same day, of the idea of federation, but added, "Like all other self-constituted organizations, it must depend upon public sympathy for its real force, and this can only be obtained when its acts are just and based on the broadest principle of right." Its final statement was, "The best interests of both capital and labor may be consulted in the most complete and extensive organization of each, when based upon the broad intelligence and love of justice that are characteristic of the American people."

The *Commercial Gazette*, November 15, remarked, "The delegates have been selected with especial reference to their fitness for the duties they are expected to perform."

The *Daily Post*, November 15, states, "The work of the Congress will be highly interesting."

Newspaper reporters evidently got busy early. The objects and expectations of the delegates are stated in advance with satisfactory accuracy, (25) with the exception of too sanguine statements in regard to a tariff "protective in the highest degree." (26) The best statement of the objects of the Congress was given to a reporter of the *Commercial Gazette* by one of the delegates, probably Samuel Gompers (27) of the International Cigar-Makers Union

(25) *Evening Chronicle*, November 14 and 15; *Telegraph*, November 14; *Commercial Gazette*, November 15; *Freiheits Freund*, November 14; *Daily Post*, November 14; *Times*, November 14.

(26) *Evening Chronicle*, November 15; *Commercial Gazette*, November 15.

(27) With this impression I wrote Mr. Gompers, who replied, October 19, 1922, "So far as my memory serves me, I think you are safe in attributing to me the interview given in the Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette of November 15, 1881. As you can appreciate, forty years is a long period of time, in a life that has been as crowded as mine, to state definitely whether I did or did not give a certain interview on a certain day for a certain paper."

of New York. In the opinion of this delegate, "the object of the gathering is to concentrate the forces of labor, in order that needed reforms may be the more easily obtained. In the federation it is proposed to form, all questions affecting the national interests of the various trades will be discussed, a Congressional Labor Committee to secure the passage of such laws as are needed by the various trades to better their condition. In addition, the yearly meetings of the association will bring the principles of trade unionism before the public in their proper light and new organizations will be formed in localities which are now hostile to organized labor. In Great Britain an organization similar to the one proposed has long existed; yearly meetings are held, and the result has been to greatly ameliorate the condition of the working people. Committees are appointed each year which exercise a general supervision over the affairs of all trades; direct agitation when it is needed, and pay particular attention to securing the passage of beneficial and the repeal of obnoxious laws. The result has been satisfactory in the highest degree, and promises to continue so, as the Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. Henry Broadhurst, has recently been elected to Parliament, and within the House of Commons can accomplish much more than he could outside.

"The advisability of organizing a federation of all the trades in this country has been under discussion for a long time, but it was not until last August, when a national convention of trade unionists was held in Terra Haute, Indiana, that any decisive steps were taken. The subject was fully discussed at that convention, and as a result the Congress which meets today was called. The federation will be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried officers. The expenses of its management will be trivial, and can easily be provided for." (28)

With such objects and motives the first session of the convention was called to order at 2:00 P. M. on November 15, by L. A. Brant of Detroit, president of the Standing

(28) *Commercial Gazette,* November 15.

Committee. (29) A prayer for guidance was offered by K. McKenzie, a delegate from New York. (30) President John Jarrett, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, an organization which stood well in the community for its prudence and wisdom, (31) was chosen Temporary Chairman with M. L. Crawford of Chicago, and H. H. Bengough of Pittsburgh as Temporary Secretaries. (32)

The first action of the meeting, after temporary organization, was the appointment of a Committee on Credentials, consisting of one delegate from each of the twelve states represented. (33)

While this committee spent about two hours (34) upon its work, the Chairman gave the delegates an opportunity "to express their views." (35)

These speeches, five in number, (36) all "displayed

(29) *Proceedings*, page 6; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16. The *Times*, November 16, says, "L. A. Brant of Chicago."

(30) *Proceedings*, page 6. Five papers on November 16. *Evening Chronicle, Telegraph, Commercial Gazette, Freiheits Freund* and *Times*, give his name as "A. M. McKenzie." The *Post* omits the matter.

(31) Editorial, *Daily Post*, November 17.

(32) *Proceedings*, page 7, mention W. C. Pollner as one of the temporary secretaries. This fact is not mentioned in any one of the six papers at this point all of whom, on November 16, mention Jarrett, Crawford and Bengough, though the *Commercial Gazette* notices the fact on November 17 in connection with the election of permanent officers.

(33) *Proceedings*, page 7. All the papers of November 16 mention this, the *Daily Post*, however, omitting the number of states represented.

(34) *Telegraph*, November 16. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 16, says, "The Committee on Credentials returned about half past four o'clock." The *Freiheits Freund*, November 16, says, "It was about four o'clock." The *Times*, November 16, says, "After two hours had passed." The matter is omitted by *Proceedings*, *Evening Chronicle* and *Daily Post*.

(35) *Daily Post*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 7, *Evening Chronicle*, *Commercial Gazette*, *Times*, all of November 16 and all of which merely say speeches were made. The matter is omitted entirely in the *Telegraph*.

(36) *Proceedings*, page 7; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. The *Daily Post*, November 16, mentions only four speeches. The number of speeches made is not given in the remaining four papers.

moderation and intelligent understanding of the relative positions of capital and labor." (37) "All were conservative in tone, and, while the difference between labor and capital was referred to as a conflict that was irrepressible, none of the speeches were in the slightest degree communistic. On the contrary, the intelligence and moderation displayed was remarkable. All the speakers expressed themselves as being in favor of the greatest moderation." (38) In the language of the *Times*, "There was no tinge of the socialistic about these speeches, and if the communistic element is represented in the Congress, the representatives had the good sense to sit still and listen to cooler counsel from more conservative men." (39)

Mr. A. C. Rankin, of the Iron Moulders of Pittsburgh, "made an interesting and vigorous speech." (40)

"Mr. M. Gompers, of the International Cigar-Makers Union, gave a very interesting narrative of the struggles of his union. When first organized different branches charged different dues and different initiation fees, but this plan didn't work well. Then a uniform rate of dues and a uniform rate of initiation fees was made for all lodges in the country. The fund was considered general, and if a lodge in Lincoln, Nebraska, needed money, they could send to New York and demand $500. If one lodge necessarily spent more than pro-rata that lodge could demand the New York or Pittsburgh lodge to send money until the funds of each were balanced.

"Another difficulty encountered by this union was that sometimes a strike would be declared when it was useless, and although the union sent money to strikers they would be whipped. For this reason it was determined that a general executive committee or advisory body should pass on all propositions to strike for an increase in wages, and the speaker thought it would be a good idea also if every member of the Union had the privilege of voting, whether any particular lodge should strike for an increase. In that case

(37) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16.
(38) *Commercial Gazette*, November 16, quoted. Cf., also, *Freiheits Freund*, November 16, for a similar comment.
(39) November 16, Cf. *Freiheits Freund*, November 16.
(40) *Daily Post*, November 16. This is the sole comment. The speech is not given in papers or *Proceedings*.

each member would feel personally responsible and would contribute more willingly to sustain the strike." (41)

Gompers "closed with a long string of very valuable suggestions to the Congress". (42) He "said he had come to Pittsburgh, not to air his opinions, but to work, not to build a bubble, but to lay the foundations for a superstructure that would be solid, and that would be a true federation of trade unions. He was in favor of progressing slowly, and wanted the organization to be emphatically a workingmen's organization; one that is not defied by money, but which will in itself contain the elements of strength—the organization—could not be good unless the founders were good, could not be honest unless they were honest; therefore, the elements essential to success were goodness, honesty, industry and practicability." (43)

"R. E. Weber of the Printer's Assembly, Knights of Labor, of this city, related the experience of the *Dispatch* printers during the last strike, when the proprietors of that paper brought on printers from Cincinnati to take the place of the home printers. The strikers sent committees to other Assemblies of the Knights of Labor and in every case an audience was given the committee. The strikers thus got their side of the case before fellow workingmen and from nearly every Assembly they also received financial aid. Where money was given freely the printers accepted it as a gift, but in some cases they borrowed the money, most of which they have since paid back. Mr. Weber predicted that all newspapers in the city will surely come under control of their Union, pointed out the strength of the workingmen when all trades are united to support each other, and closed with the assertion that if the striking mechanic knew he could go every Saturday and get money to keep

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(41) *Daily Post,* November 16.

(42) Statement of *Daily Post,* November 16.

(43) Quoting *Commercial Gazette,* November 16. The substance of this is given in the *Freiheits Freund,* November 16. The *Times* in a general comment on the five speeches, November 16, says, "A general desire was expressed for the formation of an organization that would advance the cause of labor, honestly and fairly." This idea plainly came from the speech of Gompers.

him from starving, he would be a much stronger union man than if no money awaited him." (43a)

"R. Powers, of the Seamen's Union of the Lakes, was the next speaker. He related in detail the efforts of ship owners to break up their union and closed by telling changes in the marine laws desired by his Union. One case objected to is that requiring a sailor to pay $15 down if he desires to bring suit for the recovery of wages or for any other cause. They also want a new law providing that at least two-thirds of the crew on any one ship shall be American citizens". (44)

The speech of W. G. McKean, Erie Typographical Union No. 77, which followed that of Mr. Gompers and preceded that of Mr. Weber, does not seem to have attracted attention and is nowhere reported.

On its return the Committee on Credentials reported that ninety-six delegates had presented proper credentials and were entitled to seats. (45) These delegates representing twelve states and a large number and variety of labor organizations, (46) in answering the roll call, gave the number of members in the organizations they represented. (47) Reporters estimated the number represented

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(43a) Quoting *Daily Post*, November 16. Contents of speech not mentioned elsewhere.

(44) Quoting *Daily Post*, November 16. Contents of speech omitted elsewhere.

(45) *Proceedings*, pp. 7-9, lists one hundred and seven of which eleven are marked as having been received subsequent to the committee's first report. Four papers of November 16, *Telegraph, Commercial Gazette, Freiheits Freund* and *Times*, put the number at ninety. This suggests quadruple use of one reporter's notes. The *Daily Post*, November 16, says, "In all thirty one delegates were present," manifestly an error.

(46) *Proceedings*, pp. 7-9. The *Telegraph*, November 16, lists thirty four who intended to come. Of these seven did not come, the last name only of four is given and the names of four are misspelled. Obviously in the absence of the minutes this would be a defective record. Other papers only give scattered names.

(47) *Proceedings*, page 7. *Commercial Gazette*. November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. This device is not mentioned in the other papers. The *Daily Post* mentions a ticket given entitling the holder to reduced hotel rates.

at 215,634. (48) Later arrivals (which we know increased the number of delegates to only 107) it was estimated would increase the number of workingmen represented in the convention to almost half million. (49) A special report of the Committee on Credentials on a case of double representation and two motions adding two additional members, one without credentials and the other a substitute mentioned in the *Proceedings* (50) are not discussed in the newspapers.

"On motion, a Committee on Permanent Organizations was appointed, consisting of one delegate from each of the states represented." (51)

"A resolution was offered and adopted fixing the hours of the sessions of the Congress from 8:00 o'clock a. m. to 12:00 m. and from 1:00 p. m. to 5:00 p. m." (52)

"A motion was offered and adopted that each State delegate select a representative to serve on the Committee on Resolutions and Platform of Principles." (53)

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(48) *Telegraph*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. Again this may be quadruple use of one reporter's estimate. The *Times*, November 16, puts number represented as "about 225,000". No estimate, strange to say. is given in the *Proceedings*, page 7.

(49) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16; *Times*, November 16. Cf. *Telegraph*, November 16, "Additional delegates have since arrived." No estimates here in *Daily Post*.

(50) Pages 9-10.

(51) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 10, which gives the names. The appointment of this committee at this time is mentioned in all six papers but none of them give the names. The language of the *Telegraph* and *Commercial Gazette* is identical at this point.

(52) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 10; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Resolution mentioned without hours fixed, *Telegraph*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. Omitted in *Times*, November 16.

(53) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 10. *The Evening Chronicle*, November 16, omits this. The *Telegraph*, November 16, says, "A committee consisting of one delegate from each State represented was appointed to prepare a declaration of principles." The *Commercial Gazette*, November 16. uses the same language. The *Freiheit Freund*, November 16, is in accordance with the *Proceedings*. The *Daily Post*, November 16,

J. S. Shuttuck, of Beaver Falls, Penna., then offered the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, the united labor organizations of Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and West Virginia have, by unanimous resolutions, denounced the proprietors of the Pittsburgh *Evening* and *Sunday Leader*, *Daily Post* and *Times*, for their unjust and unwarranted action in discharging from their employment competent and faithful Union printers, and employing in their stead imported "Rats", therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention of representatives of organized labor of this country, recognizing the importance of keeping the public press square on the labor question, do hereby ratify the action of the organizations referred to, and in order that the determined opposition by said journals may be further condemned, the representatives of the above Pittsburgh papers, viz., the *Leader*, *Post* and *Times*, be debarred from seats upon the platform with the representatives of honorable and fair journals." (54)

A "short but spirited address" by Mr. Shuttuck sustaining the resolution, support of the resolution by R. E. Weber, and a defense of the course pursued by the Printers by Alex C. Rankin mentioned in the *Proceedings*, (55) are not referred to by any of the newspapers. Adjournment follow-

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says, "A committee to prepare a declaration of principles was appointed. The Committee consists of one member from every State represented." The *Times*, November 16, merely says, "a committee to prepare a declaration of principles of the Congress" was appointed.

(54) Quoting resolution, *Proceedings*, page 10. The *Evening Chronicle*, *Telegraph* and *Commercial Gazette*, all of November 16, contain identical language, "presented a resolution endorsing the action of the local trade organizations in reference to the daily papers of the city which do not employ union printers and prohibiting any representative of those papers from attending the meeting of the Congress". The *Freiheits Freund*, November 16, mentions the three papers. The *Daily Post*. November 16, summarizes the resolution omitting names of papers mentioned. The *Times*, one of the papers mentioned, summarizes the resolution, ending in the language, "prohibiting the presence at the Congress of any representative of a paper not controlled by the Knights of Labor".

(55) Page 10.

ed these addresses. (56)

An informal evening meeting, not mentioned in the *Proceedings*, was held on November 15, the first day. (57) Its purpose was "an interchange of ideas on the various problems concerning labor." (58)

President Cline, of the Window Glass Workers Association, was made Chairman. (59) Mr. John Flanagan, iron moulder (60) of Pittsburgh, was the first speaker. (61) He discussed the subject of "Convict Contract Labor". (62) "He spoke forcibly of the injustice of the services of criminals being sold to contractors at prices which enabled them to undersell manufacturers of all classes who employ free labor. The extent of the evil was shown by statistics, and the Congress earnestly exhorted to give the subject their closest attention." (63)

Mr. T. W. Taylor, of Homestead, Penna., who had "acquired a wide reputation as an advocate of principles calculated to advance the best interests of the workingmen" and who was familiarly known as "Old Beeswax" was the

(56) *Ibid*, page 10; *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 16; *Times*, November 16; other papers omit adjournment.

(57) Mentioned in all six papers of date November 16. The best accounts are found in the *Commercial Gazette* and *Freiheits Freund.*

(58) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. similar statements, *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. The remaining three papers make no statement as to the purpose of the evening session.

(59) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Col. Isaac Cline." The *Telegraph*, *Commercial Gazette*, *Freiheits Freund* and *Daily Post* merely say "President Cline". The entire comment on the session by the *Times* is, "The evening session was devoted to speeches by the delegates."

(60) So only in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16.

(61) So in remaining five papers, excluding *Times*.

(62) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. "Convict Labor" is the terminology used by the *Telegraph*, *Commercial Gazette*, *Freiheits Freund*, and *Daily Post*.

(63) Virtually identical language appears in the *Evening Chronicle*, *Commercial Gazette* and *Freiheits Freund*, which may be a case of good reporting, but appears to be one reporter's notes used in triplicate. Comment on the speech is omitted in the *Telegraph* and *Times*.

next speaker. (64) "He contended that if workingmen did not enjoy the rights belonging to them they had no person to blame but themselves as they were not united as a whole, and in their divided efforts to ameliorate their condition, had contented themselves with feebly attempting to lop off a few branches of the forest, which stood in their way, instead of striking at the root of the evil and pulling it up. As workingmen they did not take sufficient interest in politics, and thereby showed that they did not respect their own power. He did not advocate the principles of any party, but predicted that as long as workingmen voted for men, whose sympathies were not with them, they could never expect to advance. Another of the follies of workingmen was intemperance, and as long as they continue to spend $7,000,000 annually for drink, all their efforts at reform would prove futile. In his opinion, the most effective means of bettering their condition was co-operation. Until workingmen joined together in co-operative societies and established mills and manufacturies there would continue to be a conflict between capital and labor. It was by this means alone that their interests would become identical. He spoke at length on this subject, reciting the success of co-operation in England, and backed up his assertions with numerous instances. In conclusion, he urged the delegates and visitors to consider what he had said, and in the future take an active interest in politics, avoid intemperance and establish co-operative societies as rapidly as possible." (65)

Chairman Cline finally "made a few remarks" (66) and the meeting adjourned.

The Congress met for its morning session of November

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(64) Quoting *Commercial Gazette,* November 16. Cf. *Evening Chronicle, Telegraph, Freiheits Freund* and *Daily Post,* all of date November 16.

(65) Quoting *Commercial Gazette,* November 16. Same detail is in *Freiheits Freund,* November 16. The speech is correctly summarized in the *Evening Chronicle* and *Daily Post.* The *Telegraph* has neither summary nor comment.

(66) Identical language in *Telegraph, Commercial Gazette, Freiheits Freund* and *Daily Post,* all of date November 16, another possible case of reportorial copying of one man's statement or notes.

16, at 9:00 o'clock (67) in Turner Hall, with Mr. John Jarrett in the chair. (68) "After several minor corrections the minutes were approved." (69) The next item of the session was a speech by Mr. Gompers, the delegate from the International Cigar-Makers Union. (70) Several papers had heralded Mr. Gompers as socialistic, and had accused him of desiring to secure the presidency and control of the organization for the socialists, (71) a matter which in reading smacks of a Pittsburgh ruse to defeat him for the presidency and capture the office for Jarrett. (72)

The *Proceedings*, p. 10, say, "Mr. Gompers requested the floor, to make a personal explanation, and asked that the following extract from the Pittsburgh *Commercial*

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(67) *Telegraph*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. The *Commercial Gazette* says, "at eight o'clock." *Proceedings*, page 10, says, "Adjourned to meet at eight o'clock next morning". Time of assembly omitted in *Daily Post*.

(68) *Proceedings*, page 10; *Evening Chronicle; Daily Post*, November 17. The matter of Jarrett as chairman is omitted elsewhere.

(69) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. This item is omitted in other papers. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 10.

(70) *Proceedings*, page 10; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. The *Telegraph* and the *Freiheits Freund* omit this item, while the *Commercial Gazette* gets it out of order.

(71) *Commercial Gazette*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 16. The *Commercial Gazette* in referring to Mr. M. Gompers as a candidate for permanent chairman remarks, "The latter is the leader of the Socialistic element which is pretty well represented in the Congress, and one of the smartest men present." The *Daily Post* remarks, "The Socialists are pretty well represented and effort will probably be made to elect one of their leaders" . . . and mentions as candidate, "Mr. Gompers who represents the Socialistic element." Cf. also *Evening Chronicle*, November 15 for remarks on the socialistic representation.

(72) I wrote Mr. Gompers on August 23, 1922, asking him about the validity of my observation in regard to the Socialistic propaganda against him. He wisely avoided a direct answer. His reply, October 19, 1922, was, "As to your deduction regarding the election of Mr. Jarrett. permit me to say that my name was put in nomination but I withdrew because I wanted unity of decision in the election and did not want any contention to arise over the election of the first president of the organization, the formation of which was the subject of the gathering."

Gazette be read:"

The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Mr. Gompers . . . called attention to some remarks in a morning paper, in which he was accused of being a leader of Socialists. This he indignantly denied, saying that he was working only in the Congress for the federation of labor. He felt that the remarks of the paper in question were intended to injure him and warp his efforts." The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, remarks, "Mr. Gompers took occasion to deny the statement that he was a leader of the Socialistic element, and that the committee has been captured for him saying that he had attended the Congress only for the purpose of assisting in the federation of labor organizations." The *Times*, November 17, sarcastically remarks, "Mr. Gompers of New York raised a fuss because one of the morning papers had called him a Socialist. Of course he denied it".

"Mr. M. F. Walsh of Wisconsin, rising to a personal explanation, said that the western delegates had been accused of instigating the publication of the slander referred to, but disclaimed their having any connection with it; their first knowledge of it being that morning, on seeing the newspaper referred to." (73)

"Mr. James Lynch of New York stated that now, as the coming report of the Committee on Permanent Organization had leaked out, he was desirous of placing Mr. Gompers square before the Congress. As a member of that Committee, he had urged the selection of Mr. Gompers as Permanent President without the knowledge or consent of that gentleman and paid a high tribute to his ability and strict unionism." (74)

"The credentials of several delegates were presented and approved." (75)

(73) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 10. This item is omitted in all the papers consulted.

(74) Quoting *Proceedings*, pp. 10-11. This item is omitted in all the papers consulted.

(75) Quoting *Telegraph*, November 16. The *Evening Chronicle* November 16, lists eight names. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 16, lists eight names. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, omits the approval. The *Freiheits Freund* parallels the *Telegraph* statement. The *Daily Post* and *Times*

Mr. Robert Howard of the Committee on Permanent Organization next submitted the following report: "To the temporary officers and delegates of the International Trades Union Congress: Gentlemen—In accordance with the duty imposed on us, your Committee on Permanent Organization met last night. After due deliberation, your Committee agreed to recommend that the permanent officers of the Congress shall consist of a President, Secretary and Assistant Secretary. The delegates recommended for these offices by your Committee are as follows: For President, Samuel Gompers of New York—representing the Cigar-Makers International Union. For Secretary, William Wilson of St. Louis—Typographical Union No. 6. For Assistant Secretary, H. H. Bengough of Local Assembly No. 1630. (76)

"Mr. Street of the Committee, submitted the following minority report: For President, Richard Powers of the Lake Seamen's Union, Chicago. First Vice-President, Robert Howard of the Spinner's Union, Fall River, Mass. Second Vice-President, William Wilson of the Printers Union, St. Louis, Mo. Secretary, R. E. Weber of the Printers Assembly No. 1630; First Assistant Secretary, Robert Burns of Buffalo, N. Y.; Second Assistant Secretary, W. C. Pollner of the Cleveland Trade Assembly." (77)

The majority report was clearly an eastern report and the minority report a western report. This division gave the local representation an opportunity for which they ap-

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omit the matter entirely. There is no mention of this item in *Proceedings*, page 11.

(76) *Proceedings*, page 11, quoted. The accounts here in the *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 16; and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; are identical and in the language of the *Proceedings*. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, summarizes the report accurately. The *Daily Post*, November 17, and the *Times*, November 17, merely give the latter part of the report naming the delegates recommended.

(77) *Proceedings*, page 11; *Telegraph*, November 16, quoted; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16: *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. All six papers are at odds with the *Proceedings* on two names. Where the papers say "Street" the *Proceedings* say "Streat". Where the papers say "Robert Burns" the *Proceedings*, page 11, say "Michael J. Byrne." In addition the *Times*, November 17, says, "Gumpers" for "Gompers."

parently had gotten ready and of which they took immediate advantage. Mr. James Maloy (78) of Pittsburgh said at once, "With all deference to the reports of the committee, I think that we should have a representation of the Amalgamated Association on the ticket." (79) Mr. Powers of Chicago replied, "Our work here is in the interest of the grand cause of labor, and we should not consider what organizations our officers belong to as long as they command the respect of all." (80) Mr. A. C. Rankin added, "That is the view to take; the Pittsburgh delegates have not presented the name of any candidate for President, although I can say we have just as good men as can be found anywhere, and we are just as strong in our labor organizations." (81)

"One of the delegates then nominated Mr. John Jarrett for Permanent Chairman." (82)

Mr. Weber of Pittsburgh then remarked, "I had the honor to represent Pennsylvania on the Committee on Permanent Organization, and most warmly urged the name of Mr. Jarrett for President, but the majority of the Committee decided otherwise. Let us consider this matter carefully and select with our best judgment." (83) Mr. Walsh of Wisconsin followed with the remarks, "In selecting our President, I desire to place before the delegates the name of Richard Powers as a representative of the West. The workingmen of Pennsylvania have a magnificent organization, but we should all remember that there are thousands of

(78) *Proceedings*, page 11; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. The *Daily Post*, November 17, merely says, "Mr. Maloy." Other papers omit the detail. *Proceedings*, page 11. says Maloy nominated Jarrett, an item omitted in all the six papers.

(79) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17.

(80) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Times*, November 17; omitted elsewhere.

(81) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Daily Post*, November 17. Any reference to Rankin's remarks is omitted elsewhere.

(82) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17.

(83) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Daily Post*, November 17. No reference elsewhere, even in the *Proceedings*, page 11.

workingmen in the West who require to be organized, and Richard Powers is the man to do the work." (84)

Quoting the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, "For a long time it looked as if the chairmanship would be hotly contested, but Mr. Gompers poured oil on the troubled waters by stating that he was thoroughly devoted to trade unionism, and in order to facilitate the work of completing the organization, would withdraw his name. Mr. Powers gracefully followed suit." (85)

"On motion the reports of the Committee were both tabled." (86) Mr. Jarrett was then unanimously elected President. (87) Messrs. Powers and Gompers were unanimously elected Vice-Presidents. (88) The "temporary secretaries, Messrs. Crawford of Chicago, Bengough of Pittsburgh, and Pollner of Cleveland were retained." (89)

The election of Mr. Jarrett indicated the control of the Congress by the conservatives and his elevation to the presidency appears to have silenced newspaper statements of the socialistic danger which existed in the convention and might by some device secure control of the organization.

"The resolution creating the Committee on Resolutions

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(84) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 16, merely says, "Mr. Walsh of Wisconsin named Richard Powers, a Western man for the position." The *Times*, November 17, says, "Mr. Welsh." The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, omits any reference.

(85) *Proceedings*, page 11, fails to indicate the sequence of the withdrawal. The "*Telegraph*, November 16, omitting the withdrawal by Mr. Gompers of his name curiously gives that of Mr. Powers. So does the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Evening Chronicle* gives the speeches in sequence. The *Daily Post*, November 17, omits the speeches, but gives as does the *Times*, November 17, the withdrawals in sequence.

(86) *Proceedings*, page 11; *Telegraph*, November 16, quoted; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. This item is omitted elsewhere. The *Proceedings*, page 11, notes further that even after the tabling of the motion Mr. Gompers was re-nominated by Mr. Lynch of New York, a strange fact omitted everywhere else.

(87) So *Proceedings*, page 11, and all six papers.

(88) So *Proceedings*, page 11, and all six papers and in order named.

(89) Quoting *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 11. The remaining five papers mention the fact but omit the names.

and Platform of Principles was, on motion, reconsidered. After striking out the words, 'Resolutions and', the original resolution was adopted." (90)

"The committee called for by the said resolution was then chosen, one member from each state." (91) The names given in the *Proceedings*, p. 11, are found in all the papers except the *Commercial Gazette* and *Times*, though with some errors such as the name of the Massachusetts representative, Sherman Cummin, spelled Cummings in four papers; the name of Leo P. Dwyer of Illinois spelled Dwyre in four papers; George W. Osborn of Ohio called Josh. W. Osborn in four papers; and A. Madera of St. Louis called A. A. Madera in four papers; identical errors in four papers indicating that one reporter jotted down the names by sound as read and handed his notes to three fellow reporters.

At this point according to the minutes, (92) "A delegate announced, from the floor, that a reporter of the *Evening Leader* was present, taking notes. He retired from the hall at the request of the Chair." (93)

Next, "It was ordered that, on a call of the States, the delegates should, in turn, read any papers or resolutions they had prepared or been instructed to introduce, and that the same be referred, without debate, to the Committee on

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(90) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 11. This motion is omitted elsewhere. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, speaks of "the committee to prepare a declaration of principles." The remaining five papers have the form "Committee on Declaration of Principles and Resolutions."

(91) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 11. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17; and *Times*, November 17, all say "appointed." The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, says, "the names were announced."

(92) *Proceedings*, page 11.

(93) *Ibid*, page 11. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and *Daily Post*, November 17, in identical language, say, "At this juncture the reporter of a non-union paper was ejected from the hall and two sergeants at arms appointed to keep out non-union people." The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, gives full information. *The Telegraph*, November 16, says, "A reporter of a non-union evening paper was discovered in the the hall which created quite a stir. He was precipitately bounced." The two remaining papers omit all reference to the matter.

Platform of Principles." (94) This plan of calling the roll of States and permitting suggestions was followed the remainder of the day and proved an excellent device for getting at the wishes of the delegates and the labor organizations represented. According to the minutes, "many of the documents read were afterwards embodied in the Platform." (95) "On the states being called, delegates responded from New York, Illinois, California, and Pennsylvania." (96) A considerable number of suggestions and several formal resolutions resulted from this device, though a complete account of these is impossible since nowhere in the seven records consulted can the names and order of all the speakers, all of the speeches or all of the resolutions be found. (97) Probably the same topics were touched upon by various speakers.

Convict labor was denounced. (98) So also was the truck system. (99) "Mr. Powers read a bill which he desired the Congress to petition the Congress of the United States to enact. Its objects were for the better regulation of the merchant marine service, both in internal waters and interoceanic commerce, and the protection of life and property on board vessels." (100)

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(94) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Only the *Times*, November 17, mentions the very important matter of reference to the committee. The roll call is mentioned, in identical language, in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and *Daily Post*, November 17, and also mentioned in the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 16, and the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, omitting all else take up the resolutions at once.

(95) *Proceedings*, page 12. All such are therefore omitted in the *Proceedings* at this point.

(96) *Proceedings*, page 12. The alphabetical order of states is not followed here nor in the appointment of several committees. Cf. *ibid.* page 7; page 11.

(97) Possibly the best chronological order is found in the *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, which is more detailed than the remaining five papers. By adding information in the *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4, 12, I have tried to arrive at some sequence.

(98) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. A formal resolution on this came up again according to this paper, just before recess. This latter is mentioned in all the papers.

(99) Mentioned at this point only in the *Evening Chronicle*. Incorporated in Platform as article 7, *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4.

(100) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. This item is omitted elsewhere, and the matter was not included in the Platform.

"Mr. Burgman read a method of organization which had received the unanimous approval of the Representative Assembly or the Trades and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast. It recommended the Unions of kindred occupations, in addition to maintaining their separate organizations, to amalgamate under heads, as follows: Iron Trade, Leather Trade, Clothing Trade, and Purveyors. Each amalgamated association to choose delegates to a National Council of Federated Trades, whose duties should be simply executive." (101)

Someone at this point evidently made a speech denouncing Chinese labor. (102)

This was probably followed by the suggestion or resolutions advocating the protection of trades unions by a law providing for their incorporation, (103) an idea which was later embodied in the first article of the platform of principles. (104)

"The following resolution was submitted and received with great applause:

Resolved, that this Congress demand the repeal of the law known as the Conspiracy Act, as far as it relates to labor organizations to regulate their own wages." (105)

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(101) *Proceedings*, page 12, quoted. The *Evening Chronicle* alone mentions this as the "banding together of the different trades." The industrial union idea here is significant. It is the syndicate idea of Sorel, but it was not incorporated in the Platform or Supplementary Resolutions, *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4.

(102) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17. This was probably a part of Burgman's remarks, for after the report of the Committee on Platform of Principles which did not include this item he re-introduced it the fourth day and it was included in the Supplementary Resolutions. Cf. *Proceedings*, page 20 and page 4.

(103) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17.

(104) *Proceedings*, page 3.

(105) Quoting language identical in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16 and *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 16, is identical with the exception that it says, "was received with considerable demonstration." The resolution in German translation is in the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Commercial Gazette* correctly paraphrases and summarizes the resolution incorporated in the Platform as Article 9; *Proceedings*, page 4.

"Mr. McBride of Pennsylvania offered the following resolutions:

Whereas, convict or prison labor, as applied to the Contract System in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other states, is detrimental to the product of honest mechanics, lowers the masses of the people in their honest efforts, and demoralizes the manufacturing interests of the country; (106)

Resolved, That it is hereby declared, the sense of this Congress assembled, that we demand the abolition of the evil system, and that we will not under any circumstances support any person or persons to legislative positions who will not offer their support and earnest efforts to the abolishment of the same.

Resolved, That we urge our people that articles made in prison under the contract are in competition with honest toil and we hereby protest against the purchase and sale of the same, and that we ask their co-operation and efforts, that by just legislation the evil may be crushed." (107)

"Mr. Exler read a paper condemning button-set rivets in boilers as unreliable, and the cause of so-called accidents." (108)

Delegate J. W. Crozier of Pennsylvania presented resolutions of sympathy with the people of Ireland in their

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(106) It is impossible to resist the temptation to note the similarity between this domestically and German reparations internationally.

(107) Quoting language which is identical in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 17; *Times*, November 17; (In German translation) *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, which, however, says "of Philadelphia," an error. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, says, "denouncing convict contract labor, demanding its abolition and pledging themselves not to support candidates for the Legislature who did not pledge themselves to attempt its abolishment." Basis of Article 6 in Platform, *Proceedings*, page 3.

(108) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Four newspapers, *Evening* Chronicle, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, say "Axtell" indicating quadruple use of one reporter's notes based on the sound of the name. All four put the resolution in the afternoon as do also the *Daily Post* and *Times*. At first it seemed the papers must be right about the time of the resolution, but since the *Daily Post* and *Times* had no reporters in the hall and a quadruplicate error exists in the name, it is reasonable to suppose all six reports are erroneous here.

efforts to free themselves from British oppression, and moved that the rules be suspended and the resolutions adopted." (109)

"The hour of adjournment having arrived while the above resolution was pending, (110) the Congress stood adjourned until 1:00 P. M. (111)

The Congress re-convened at 1:00 P. M., with President Jarrett in the chair. (112) "The reading of the minutes of the morning session was, on motion, dispensed with." (113) On the order of items which followed there is much doubt. With the exception that the *Telegraph*, November 16, before going to press stated an Irish resolution came first, a statement which was changed in the *Telegraph*, November 17, the order in all six papers is the same. (114)

According to the *Proceedings*, the next business was as follows: "The re-reading of the resolution with regard to Ireland was ordered." (115) Three papers in identical

(109) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. All the papers put this resolution in the afternoon. As we shall note later it was re-read in the afternoon.

(110) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. This item is omitted in all the papers. Facetiously, the sole reporter taking notes must have started to lunch early.

(111) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. The matter of the recess is, of course, referred to in all the papers.

(112) *Proceedings*. page 12; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. Cf. *Freiheits Freund*, November 17.

(113) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12, an item omitted in all six papers.

(114) In spite of the fact that one reporter may have been responsible for this, it may be that the newspapers are correct and the minutes wrong. The resolutions may have been handed in on separate sheets of paper and gotten out of order, for, after the final adjournment, "the secretary was directed to have the proceedings printed in pamphlet form, and Messrs. Bengough and Pollner, secretaries of the Congress, were employed to assist in completing the minutes for that purpose"; *Proceedings*, page 24.

(115) Page 12. Five papers, excluding the *Times*, with the exception above noted, put prior a motion that a committee of one delegate from each state be appointed on a plan of organization. The mover, Sherman Cummins, has his name spelled Cummings in the four papers which mention the mover, the *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. Since the *Evening Chronicle* alone contains the account printed on November 16, one may credit this probably to the *Evening Chronicle* reporter.

phraseology describe this resolution as "announcing the sympathy of the workingmen for the oppressed people in Ireland, and enunciating the idea that land was common property." (116) Two papers (117) elaborate somewhat the idea as "the idea that the land in Ireland should be owned by the cultivators of the soil, and that no person should be allowed to own more land than he could till." (118) "A lengthy discussion ensued on the motion to suspend the rules." (119)

"Mr. Gompers of New York opposed immediate action on the resolution as he did not admit the land idea as expressed above to be correct, and he did not want to see the Congress commit itself to an idea of that kind." (120) "Several other members spoke in the same strain and the general drift seemed to be that the workingmen had enough to do at home without going abroad for subjects of discussion." (121) "It was finally agreed to refer the resolution to a special committee of five, appointed by the chair, as follows: Messrs. J. W. Crozier, George Dewey, Sherman Cummin, John Kumiar and W. G. McKean." (122) This was good policy. By not attacking "individual rights of

(116) *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; *Daily Post*, November 17.

(117) *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17.

(118) Quoting *Telegraph*, November 17. Cf. *Commercial Gazette*, November 17.

(119) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. By this is meant opposition to immediate action on the resolution in accordance with the motion made earlier. This item is omitted in all the papers.

(120) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, has an exact translation of this. In fact the statement may be made that the *Freiheits Freund* frequently merely copies the account of the papers of the previous afternoon. The *Daily Post*, November 17, erroneously it would seem, says, "Mr. Gompers approved the expression of opinion in regard to common property. This may indicate that "opposed" in long hand was misread by the excluded *Daily Post* reporter as "approved."

(121) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16. The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, has an exact translation. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, and *Times*, November 17, have similar but not identical statements. Omitted elsewhere.

(122) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. Cf. *Evening Chronicle*, November 16 (with names); *Telegraph*, November 17, (without names); *Commercial Gazette*, November 17 (without names); *Times*, November 17 (without names; *Freiheits Freund*, No-

private property", (123) they avoided criticism which might have been heavy. (124)

According to the *Proceedings*, (125) "The regular order being called, the reading of resolutions, by delegates from Pennsylvania, was continued." (126)

"Delegate Daniel Rogers of the Miners' Association introduced resolutions demanding the abolition of the truck system, reduction of the number of working hours, and the enforcement of all laws relating to miners. He asked that the Congress adopt them at once without referring, which was done." (127)

Mr. James Michels, next, it seems, introduced a resolution denouncing the wholesale importation of cheap foreign labor, a resolution which evidently was referred to the committee. (128)

Next probably, Mr. Eli Powell of Pittsburgh introduced

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vember 17 (without names); *Daily Post*, November 17 (with names). The omission of the first name of Kumiar in the *Evening Chronicle*, *Freiheits Freund* and *Daily Post* seems to prove that the two latter simply copied the report of the first.

(123) Quoting *Commercial Gazette*, November 16.

(124) Cf. editorials, *Commercial Gazette*, November 16, 17, 18, 19.

(125) Page 12.

(126) According to the *Commercial Gazette*, the call of States was resumed before the Irish Resolution. The fact that J. W. Crozier of Pennsylvania introduced the resolution, falls in line with the statement just cited from the *Proceedings*.

(127) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 12. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, mentions the three items but says "Mr. John Rogers". It also omits the immediate adoption. The *Telegraph*, November 17, omits the truck system item and the immediate adoption. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, and *Freheits Freund*, November 17, agree identically with the *Telegraph*. The *Daily Post*, November 17, summarizes in the statement, "Resolutions in regard to mining laws." The *Times*, November 17, gives the substance of these resolutions in contiguity without name of mover.

Mr. Rodgers resolutions are probably found in the Platform as articles 5, 7, and Supplementary Resolutions 3 and 4. Cf. *Proceedings*, pp. 3, 4.

(128) Adopted as article 11 of the Platform, *Proceedings*, page 4. There is no discussion of the resolution on page 12. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Mr. John Michaels". The *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, say "James Michaels". The *Daily Post*, November 17, merely says, "Resolutions in regard to—importation of foreign labor." *Times*, November 17, puts this resolution later.

a resolution asking State Legislatures to enact laws requiring stationary engineers to be licensed. (129)

Mr. Gompers of New York next introduced a resolution asking "for the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics," (129a) a resolution which was referred to the Committee. (130)

Mr. Isaac Cline of Pittsburgh spoke next, probably, asking that the United States Congress be requested "to levy a tax on all labor imported for contract purposes." (131)

Mr. Daniel Rodgers (132) of Pittsburgh introduced the following resolution which was adopted at once:

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(129) The language of all the newspapers except the *Daily Post* in stating the content of the resolution is identical, but the *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, says, "Mr. Eli Power," the *Telegraph*, November 17, says "Mr. Powers" as does also the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, evidently following the *Evening Chronicle*, say "Eli Power." There is no mention of the matter in the *Proceedings*, page 12. The *Times* November 17, puts it immediately after the next resolution.

(129a) Quoting *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Telegraph*, November 17, and the *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, say "establishment of a bureau of statistics," omitting the word "labor." The *Daily Post*, November 17, says, "establishment of a bureau of labor statistics;" *Times* November 17. It should be considered in all footnotes after 108 that the printing of the *Telegraph* follows later than morning papers mentioned.

(130) Embodied in article 10 of the Platform, *Proceedings*, page 4, but not mentioned page 12.

(131) Quoting identical language in *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Times* November 17. The *Daily Post*, November 17, merely says, "tax on imported labor." The *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, "to lay a tax on the importation of wares which served contract designs." This whole resolution appears confused. The matter is not mentioned in the *Proceedings*, page 12, but the Platform contains two articles, 11 and 12, either of which may be referred back to Cline's resolutions. Article 11 is, "That we recommend to the Congress of the United States the adoption of such laws as shall give to every American industry full protection from the cheap labor of foreign countries." Article 12 is, "That we demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract."

The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, and the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, say "Isaac Cline."

(132) So in certified list, *Proceedings*, page 9, but spelled page 12,

"Whereas, This Congress learns with great sorrow of the death of Alexander Macdonald, M. P., of Great Britain, and realizes that a heavy loss has befallen the cause of Labor throughout the world by reason of his death; therefore

Resolved, That a letter of condolence be sent to the Miners' National Union of Great Britain signed by the officers of this Congress." (133)

At this point according to the *Proceedings,* (134) "A motion was adopted that the chair appoint a committee of five on Plan of Organization." "Messrs. Gompers, Brant, Howard, Somers, and James Lynch were appointed as such committee." (135)

"On motion, a Committee on Rules was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Powers, D. Rogers, and Betting." (136)

Messrs. Slicker and McClure (137) were appointed Sergeants-at-Arms, in compliance with a motion ordering the appointment of such officers. According to the *Proceedings,* (138) the Committee on Rules next made its report, (139) one not differing much from ordinary con-

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"Rogers." The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, omits his name. The *Telegraph*, November 17, says "Mr. David Rogers" as does the *Commercial Gazette,* November 17. The *Freiheits Freund,* November 17, like the *Evening Chronicle,* omits the name. Item omitted elsewhere.

(133) Quoting *Proceedings,* page 12. Resolution summarized in five papers. Omitted *Times* November 17. Macdonald's name spelled "McDonald" in all papers. Only the *Daily Post,* November 17, varies the statement in the least.

(134) Page 10. It has already been noted, ante p. 223, foot note 115, that five papers place a kindred motion as the first item of the afternoon's business.

(135) Quoting *Proceedings,* page 12. Item omitted in all six papers.

(136) Quoting *Proceedings,* page 12. Note Rodgers name is again misspelled. Item omitted in all papers.

(137) Quoting *Proceedings,* page 12. Note that elsewhere, page 9, the latter's name is spelled McClure. Item omitted in all six papers.

(138) Page 12.

(139) This was quick work. Thirteen rules were formulated; *Proceedings,* pp. 12-13. The report of the Committee on Rules at this point in the afternoon is mentioned, *Telegraph.* November 17; *Commercial Gazette,* November 17; *Freiheits Freund.* November 17. The *Commercial Gazette* and *Freiheits Freund* use the same language. The *Daily Post* calls all this "further routine business." The *Times,* November 17, calls it "business

vention rules.

After the adoption of the rules, "Mr. Wilson of St. Louis called for the report of the transactions of Mark W. Moore, Secretary of the General Committee of the Terre Haute Convention, who failed to put in appearance at the present Congress." (140)

The Secretary read a long report which had been forwarded by Mr. Moore. (141) This report contains much interesting information. According to this report "prominent Trades Unionists throughout the country" *all* were in favor of the undertaking "of a Congress of Labor." Secretary Moore reported, "I have sent out over 2,000 copies of the call (three editions) putting the same before every union in the United States and Canada of which I could obtain any information."

Sixty-nine labor organizations contributed toward the expenses of the Secretary $147.00, an average of $2.52 each. One organization sent $15.00, another $14.00, and a third $10.00. None of the remaining sixty-six sent more than $5.00. Fifty-five sent $4.00 or less, fifty-three $3.00 or less, fifty $2,00 or less, and thirty-one $1.00, statistics which throw some light on the prosperity of labor unions at this period.

In some remarks at the end of his report the Secretary said, "Let the word go forth the world over that the American workingman is not a slave, and that *our* Labor Congress is the champion of right, justice and equality." He admonished, "Let your action be cool, deliberate, and not too over-reformatory. Grasp one idea, viz., less hours and better pay, and carry it into all your work as the first principle." Nine labor journals are specifically mentioned as having published the call. Any special labor newspaper "organ" at that time was discountenanced.

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of an uninteresting nature." Only the *Proceedings* give the rules. Elsewhere there is no reference even to content.

(140) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 13.

(141) *Ibid*, page 13. The *Evening Chronicle*, November 16, omits all reference to this. The *Telegraph*, November 17, says the report was read but consideration of its contents postponed until the following day. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, contains the information in the *Telegraph* as does the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The *Daily Post* styles this "further routine business." Nowhere in the papers is the content of the report given or discussed.

"The Committee on Resolutions were, after some discussion, authorized to have their report printed. During the discussion of the motion the character of the organization to be formed was alluded to. Mr. Jarrett was of the opinion that the work of this Congress could only be preliminary, as he, for one, could not act until he had obtained consent of his organization. Other delegates differ in opinion, but the majority thought with Mr. Jarrett, that the only thing to be done was to agree upon a plan or organization, make a declaration of principles, and submit the same to the various trades. Then if it were deemed advisable, a permanent federation of trades could be formed." (142)

"Mr. Weber of Pittsburgh announced that it would be impossible to obtain Turner Hall for the remaining sessions of the Congress, as it had been previously secured by other parties. The Local Committee had secured Schiller Hall for all further sessions." (143)

"The Congress then adjourned, the hour fixed by rule having arrived." (144)

"There was no evening session because it was desired that the various committees should get through their work so that they could report to the Congress this morning." (145)

Newspaper comment on the convention at this point is worth noting. The *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, summed up matters as follows: "The principal business to be considered is the report of the committee to which was

(142) Quoting *Commercial Gazette*, November 17, *Freiheits Freund*, November 17. The account in the *Telegraph* summarizes the item. It is omitted in *Proceedings*, page 15; *Evening Chronicle*, November 16; *Daily Post*, November 17; and *Times*, November 17.

(143) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 15. The use of Schiller Hall is mentioned in *Telegraph*, November 17; *Commercial Gazette*, November 17; *Freiheits Freund*, November 17; and *Daily Post*, November 17. which adds "at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Liberty Street." The reason for the change is omitted in all six papers.

(144) Quoting *Proceedings*, page 15. Adjournment at this point is noted in all the papers.

(145) Quoting *Daily Post*, November 17. Item not found elsewhere.

referred the Irish resolution; the plan of organization, and the declaration of principles. The discussion of the first and last subjects will likely be animated, and the reference to the rights of land owners will be expunged if the resolution is adopted as the majority of the delegates, while sympathizing with the Irish people, do not think it comes within their province to dictate how many acres of land shall be owned by any person. Unless some new questions are sprung upon the Congress it will likely finish its work today." (146) In an editorial on the same day, this paper surveys the general situation. It remarks, among other things, "Their organization is not political. . . .Such an organization is susceptible of accomplishing much good, but the danger is that it will be used by ambitious demagogues or designing agitators to further their own personal ends." "It is to be hoped that all those baneful influences which strike at good order, social stability and the rights of property will be promptly frowned down." . . ."There is much to be accomplished within the bounds of practicability.". . . "The public will watch the proceedings of the Congress with no small degree of interest, as under wholesome direction it can be made a powerful agency for good."

A long editorial in the *Telegraph,* November 17, is worthy of full quotation. It says, "From the list of resolutions already presented at the International Labor Congress, in session in this city, it is clear that the subjects to be considered are neither few nor unimportant. The Chinese cheap labor problem, the prison contract system, store order payments, which in some respects may be considered as sectional, find place with questions of broader scope, as the reform of laws concerning conspiracy and trade organizations, the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics, etc. In several forms resolutions have been presented having in view the protection of American industry from unworthy foreign competition, and if practical measures can be agreed upon by these eminently practical men to secure that much desired result it must have an important effect in moulding future legislation to conform to their views." After reciting resolutions already referred to, the *Telegraph* continues, "The members of this Congress are

(146) The statement in the *Freiheits Freund*, November 17, is identical indicating dual use of one reporter's notes.

nearly all known to be men who have devoted years to the study of industrial reforms and in the agitation of practical measures for the elevation of industrial classes upon various theories, and their meeting, which is thus far conducted in the most deliberate and orderly manner, can not well fail to produce much good fruit."

While excluded from the hall of the convention the reporter of the *Daily Post* did able work on the evening of November 16. The information in the *Daily Post,* November 17, on the affairs of this evening, amounts to a small "Scoop." The information is significant and will be cited in full.

"The Committee on Platform assembled in the afternoon at the rooms of the Amalgamated Association and discussed the matters which were to come within its scope. In the evening the same subject was further discussed at the St. Clair Hotel, and Mr. Leffingwell took charge of the drawing up of the formal enunciation of the principles of the Congress. The promulgation will contain the following, which was obtained from the committee last night." (147)

"The Committee on Permanent Organization of the Congress with a view to perpetuating its existence and having it assemble annually, also met last night at the St. Clair Hotel. The idea is to make the Congress a body similar to the English Trades Congress, which has potent influence in national affairs in that country. It does not affiliate with either political party and does not go into details affecting any particular trade. Its object is to watch carefully all public measures which have a bearing on labor generally, assist such measures as may be beneficial to labor and show to workmen the evils which will arise from other measures not tending to aid their cause."

ALFRED P. JAMES.

(Continued in January Issue)

(147) The reporter got only eleven out of the seventeen items in the Platform and Supplementary Resolutions and these not in the sequence found in *Proceedings*, pp. 3-4. If it was guess work, at least he included nothing not found. Since every item mentioned is so found, omission is possible here. It is apparent that the *Freiheits Freund,* November 17, got the same information as the *Daily Post* for it contains the same items, enumerated. It omits, however, reference to the evening meetings.

ETHNIC ELEMENTS OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA AND THE POPULATION OF TO-DAY.

No state of the American Union has a more interesting and more progressive history than Pennsylvania. Its favorable geographical situation, its valuable natural resources, its ideals of religion and government, its varied racial elements have all contributed to the state's greatness.

The ethnic groups that left their mark upon the state's early history are four in number: the Quakers who first settled in and about the city of Philadelphia; the Germans at Germantown at first, but later scattering over the lower Susquehanna Valley; the Scotch-Irish, best remembered because of their pioneer work in settlements west of the Alleghenies; and the Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming Valley. Other groups were the Welsh, a small but very influential group in the early settlement, Dutch, Swedes, and Irish.

Geiser divides the immigration history of Pennsylvania colony into the following periods:

1862-1708, Welsh, English, Dutch, Germans. Of these the Welsh were the largest and most influential class.

1708-1728, Germans from the Palatinate, mostly of the lower class.

1728-1804, Germans from the middle and upper classes.

1725 and years following, the Scotch-Irish. (1)

The general trend of the settlement of the state is rather definitely marked in the organization of the sixty-seven counties which now comprise the state. The counties organized originally in 1682 are Chester, Philadelphia, and Bucks. From Philadelphia sprang Montgomery, Berks, and Schuylkill, the first two being of large Pennsylvania Dutch population. Bucks became the mother of a line of counties in the Delaware Valley, and Chester gave off Lancaster, from which in turn were organized the counties in the Susquehanna and Cumberland Valleys. In these two general directions the Quakers and the Germans pushed their settlements. In the early settlements the various ethnic groups intermingled little and thus the types remained distinctive. But the migrations across the mountains produced a change.

The frontier settlers, mostly Scotch-Irish and Germans, spread rapidly over the rich and fertile valleys of the Susquehanna and down into Virginia. "The consequence was that while the tidewater regions of the colonies kept each distinctive character, born of distinct old-world sources and diverse environments, the backwoods population of the Mountains from the Wyoming Valley to the Yadkin showed a wide mingling of ethnic elements—Dutch, German, Huguenot French, Scotch-Irish and English—which obliterated the distinctive types of the coast, while the prevailing similarity of their geographic environment operated to produce the new type of the backwoods." (2)

The second great population movement as noted by the organization of counties is that west of the Alleghenies, beginning with Westmoreland organized in 1773. From it sprang all of the counties of western Pennsylvania. Semple has traced the three routes over which the migration took place: viz, first over the west branch of the Susquehanna and via Toby Creek to the Allegheny River at Kittanning; second, up the Juniata River or via Carlisle, Shippensburg, Bedford, Fort Ligonier to Pittsburgh; third up the Potomac River, across the divide via Cumberland, down the Youghiogeny River to Pittsburgh. (3)

The third group of counties are those which originated from the Connecticut settlements in the Wyoming Valley, beginning with Luzerne County in 1786. This group includes all the counties of the north central part of the state, twenty-one in number. As the trail of the Scotch-Irish into western Pennsylvania was marked by the churches which they started, so the region settled by the people from Connecticut were filled with school-houses which they built.

As to the proportion of the various elements in the colonial population estimates only are available. The Germans and Scotch-Irish predominated, forming approximately two-thirds of the entire population. The Census of 1790 reported a population of 433,611, of whom 423,373 were white and 10,238 colored. (4) Of the white population at least 110,000 were Germans and 100,000 Scotch-Irish. Estimates of 1750 gave the state a population of 230,000, of whom one-half were German, (5) Governor Thomas,

in a letter dated 1747, says that the Germans constituted three-fifths of the population. (6) This estimate is doubtless too high and is probably due to a fear prevalent at that time that the Germans would overrun the colony.

While the Quaker, German and Scotch-Irish elements predominated in colonial Pennsylvania, it must not be forgotten that the state had its beginning with settlements by the Dutch and Swedes. As early as 1623 the Dutch came to the banks of the Delaware, followed fifteen years later by Swedes, until by the time Penn came to claim his grant he found settlements containing 2,000 persons, mostly Dutch and Swedes but including also some English, Welsh, and Swiss. They gave the colony an early impetus toward progress, although, as Fisher points out, their peculiar laws and customs soon became obsolete, their descendants were absorbed in the rest of the population, and no institution in the state can be traced to their influence. (7)

During the first few years of Pennsylvania, as stated above, the Welsh were an influential class. Most of them were Quakers. Settled on their forty-thousand acre tract, just outside the city of Philadelphia, and known as the Welsh Barony, they struggled stubbornly to maintain their national customs and habits. For a few years they succeeded, but when they refused to pay Penn quit-rents on the land they occupied, the tract was opened to other immigrants and the unity of the Welshmen was broken. Their migration soon ceased and by 1700 their influence was of little importance.

The controlling force in the colony's governmental affairs for a hundred years, according to Fisher, were the Quakers. The men who founded Pennsylvania, like those who founded most of the other colonies, were intensely religious,—and religion was the determining force in all civic and social affairs. Religious liberty was the law of the land in Pennsylvania at a time when in Massachusetts and several other colonies there were statutes punishing heresy with death. Prison reform, hospitals, and charitable institutions were flourishing in Pennsylvania long before they were regarded as desirable in the other colonies. (8)

The open-door policy of Penn was a welcome haven of refuge to both the Germans in the oppressed Palatinate and

the Scotch-Irish of Ulster, and a striking contrast to the intolerance of Puritan New England. The first to respond to Penn's invitations were the Germans. The order of their immigration was first the sects, Mennonites, Tunkers, Schwenkfelders, and others; then the Reformed and Lutheran church members, that is after 1725. The first had among them some well-educated men, but as a whole they were of a ruder type than the other colonists. They wore wooden shoes, rougher clothes, carried weapons, a simple rural peasantry decidedly in contrast with the English yeoman and Scotch-Irish weavers and mechanics. (9) But the church people were of a higher type. They belonged mostly to the middle and upper classes. They readily abandoned their peculiarities of language and customs, except their religious beliefs. As time went on they proved themselves a thrifty and contented people, as attested to-day in the many fine farms of the Pennsylvania Dutch counties, Lancaster and Lebanon.

Writing in 1796 from York, Pa., Weld notes that the Germans settle down and rarely rove about. He says, "The American, on the contrary is of a roving disposition, and wholly regardless of the ties of consanguinity he takes his wife with him, goes to a different part of the country and buries himself in the woods, hundreds of miles distant from the rest of the family, never perhaps to see them again." (10) Low says of the Germans, "Then as now these German settlers were distinguished by their industry, sobriety, love of order, thrift; and next to the Puritans the Germans have contributed more to the making of the American character than any other race or strain." (11)

The large influx of the Germans during the first part of the eighteenth century aroused the suspicions and the fears of the native Americans. Until 1731 the state legislature controlled by the Quakers succeeded in depriving the Germans of the right of suffrage. But in that year the residents of Montgomery County petitioned the Assembly "to be permitted to enjoy the rights and privileges of English subjects." (12) According to Geiser more than half of the population of Montgomery County was German. In 1734 the total number of landlorders was 760, of whom

395 were German. Franklin in a letter dated May 9, 1753 said, "They import many books from Germany and of the six printing houses in the province two are entirely German, two are half German and half English, and but two are entirely English. The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages and some places only in German. They begin of late to make their bonds and other legal documents in their own language... In short, unless the stream of importations can be turned from this to other colonies they will so outnumber us, that all the advantages we have, will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious." (13)

Other writers of that day warned against the immigrations of the Germans. (14) The center of conflict between the Scotch-Irish and the Germans was the Cumberland Valley. As in Adams County so in Cumberland County the first settlers were Scotch-Irish (15) Rupp in his history of the Cumberland Valley counties, written in 1846, says, "Within the last forty-five years those (the settlers) from Ireland and Scotland have been supplanted by Germans. The German language is now commonly spoken in many parts of the County." (16) On account of frequent disturbances between the Governor and the Irish settlers the proprietaries gave orders in 1750 to their agents to "sell no land in York or Lancaster to the Irish, and also to make advantageous offers to encourage the Irish settlers to move to Cumberland County, which afterwards became their chief place of settlement." (17)

In Lancaster and Lebanon Counties the German element has up to the present time been a powerful influence. Low records the suspension of the last surviving newspaper in Lancaster which had an existence of nearly one hundred and two years. He quotes the *New York Sun*, of March 11, 1910, as follows: "For more than one hundred years, Lancaster has had her German newspaper actively competing with the English. For a number of years the community ably supported a German daily. It is a significant fact that there are not now sufficient readers of German to support even a weekly. Pennsylvania Dutch is still spoken in the northern parts of Lancaster county, but comparatively few of the population can read German; and while they

may converse in the German dialect, they have been educated in the public schools and they read English newspapers. Journalism in English has now completely crowded out the German here." (18)

Next to the Quakers and the Germans a determining factor in the affairs of Colonial Pennsylvania were the Scotch-Irish. They brought with them the religious fervor of John Calvin and made Pennsylvania the foremost Presbyterian state of the Union. Between 1730 and 1770 five hundred thousand are said to have come to America. In 1770, according to Douglass, they formed a third of the population of the state. (19) And at the time of the Revolution they constituted a sixth of the population of all the colonies. (20)

In contrast to the Quakers, Fisher gives the following description of the Scotch-Irish; "The eagle and the dove, the lamb and the lion, suggest themselves at once as proper similes. But, curiously enough, in this instance the dove was in power, and all through the colonial period kept the eagle in control. The dove was not inclined to be at all tyrannical to her enemy, but at the same time her love of peace was very exasperating to the men who were passionately fond of war." (21)

This picture is not entirely correct. The Scotch-Irish were, it is true, a frontier people. They seemed to glory in the hardship of the forests, for the independence of thought and action the hardships secured for them. It gave them opportunity to build churches and schools where they might promote their religion unhampered and unhindered by association with other creeds. Scores of strong Presbyterian churches and many colleges and schools of western Pennsylvania of to-day bear testimony to the domineering pioneer spirit of the Scotch-Irish immigrants who broke through the settled regions of eastern Pennsylvania, blazed the trails across the Alleghenies and carried civilization by means of the church and the church school into the back country.

Fisher summarizes the relative locations of the leading ethnic groups in colonial Pennsylvania. "The Scotch-Irish got as far away from the others as possible. The Connect-

icut people, in the fastness of their valley, held aloof from all association and intercourse with the rest of the province. The Germans congregated by themselves in the fertile valleys of the Schuylkill and the Lehigh, and the Welsh were at first isolated on their barony. Only two elements were brought in close contact,—the Quakers and the Episcopalians who occupied Philadelphia; and the bitterness of their quarrels shows what might have been the result if there had been less room for the others." (22)

The Present-Day Population.

The population of the state in 1920 was 8,720,017. The white population constituted 96.7 per cent, the black 3.3 per cent, Indian, Chinese, Japanese and all others less than one-tenth of 1 per cent. 80.8 per cent of the total population are native whites, 15.9 per cent are foreign-born whites. Eighteen counties of the state have a foreign-born population of from 15 to 25 per cent; 10 have from 10 to 15 per cent; twenty-one have from 5 to 10 per cent; eighteen have less than 5 per cent. Of the native white population 54.5 per cent is of native parentage, 6.5 per cent is mixed. Thus approximately three-eighths of the present population is not more than one generation removed from the Old World.

A comparison of the census figures of 1910 and 1920 shows the following changes; total population shows an increase of 13.8 per cent, native white population an increase of 16.8 per cent, foreign born white a decrease of 3.5 per cent. The negro population increased from 193,919 in 1910 to 284,568 in 1920, an increase of 46.7 per cent.

The drift to the cities that has been occurring all over the country during the past twenty years has likewise been going on in Pennsylvania. But the drift has been greater among the native population than among the foreign-born. The ratio of urban (towns of more than 2,500) to rural was in 1920, urban 64.3 per cent, rural 35.7 per cent; in 1910, urban 60.4 per cent, rural 39.6 per cent. In 1900, the urban was 54.7 per cent and the rural 45.3 per cent.

The following table shows that the foreign-born farm owners have actually increased; the increase in spite of the fact that the incoming of foreigners had decreased:

	1910	1920
All farmers	219,295	202,250
Native	204,917	187,277
Foreign-born	14,378	14,973

Following these general statistics of the state's population let us consider the racial elements found in the foreign population. The total number of foreigners in the state are 1,387,850. The five leading nationalities are: Italy 222,764, Poland 177,770, Russia 161,124, Austria 122,755, Ireland 121,601. Next in order are Germany, England, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, and Scotland. Wales, Sweden, Denmark, the Scandinavian countries, and Canada are all represented, but none of them by more than 2 per cent of the entire foreign population. Consequently, their influence is negligible, and the only countries whose ethnic influence need be considered are the first five, which in 1920 had furnished more than half of the foreign-born population.

In 1910 of the total foreign population the distribution according to country of birth was as follows: Austria 17.5 per cent, Germany 13.6 per cent, Italy 13.6 per cent, Russia 16.7 per cent and Ireland 11.5 per cent. These five nations thus furnished 72.9 per cent of the state's foreign born population. By 1920 a change in these nationalities had taken place. Among the 1,387,850 foreign born persons then in the state, Italy led furnishing 16.1 per cent, Poland was second with 12.8 per cent, next Russia 11.6 per cent, Austria (first in 1910) 8.8 per cent, Ireland 8.8 per cent, Germany 8.7 per cent, England 6.5 per cent, Hungary 5.1, total 78.4 per cent. Among the remaining 21.6 per cent practically all countries of Europe are represented.

To see the locations of the many races a study of the leading cities of the state will suffice. Philadelphia presents the following racial elements among her foreign born: Russia, 24.1 per cent, Ireland 16.2 per cent, Italy 16. per cent, Germany 10 per cent, Poland 7.8 per cent, England 7.8 per cent. Pittsburgh in the same year: Germany 13.3 per cent, Poland 12.9 per cent, Italy 12.8, Ireland 11.6 per cent, Russia 11.5 per cent, Austria 8.4 per cent, England 6.1 per cent. Of the total population of Philadelphia, 1,823,779, 397,927, or

more than 21 per cent is foreign born. Pittsburgh has a population of 588,343, of whom 120,266 are foreign-born—21 per cent. Two other cities of the state have more than one-fifth of their population foreign-born. They are Scranton and Wilkesbarre. Poles lead in Chester, Reading and Wilkesbarre and are second in Erie. Russians are first in Scranton and Harrisburg and second, a low second, in Lancaster. Italians lead in Altoona and are tied for first with the Russians in Scranton. They occupy second place in Harrisburg, Johnstown and Reading. Austrians stand first in Johnstown and second in Allentown and Bethlehem. In these two cities the Hungarians occupy first place. The Welsh are nearest to predominance in numbers among the foreign born in Wilkesbarre, where they hold second place. The Irish are no higher than third which is in Scranton, the English no higher than fourth, that is in Harrisburg.

To understand fully the change that took place in the racial elements of the state it is necessary to review the immigration history of the nation during the nineteenth century. They are summarized by Hall as follows: (23)

1841-1860, large Irish and German immigration due to hard times in Ireland and political agitation in Germany.

1841-1850, nearly half of immigration was Irish and one-fourth was German.

1851-1860, of total immigration into the United States, one-third was Irish and one-third was German.

But in the last quarter of the century a change in our immigration took place and what is called the New Immigration began. Before 1880 more than three-fourths of our immigration came from northern Europe and less than one-fourth from Eastern and southern Europe. By 1900 the situation was reversed. Only one-fifth of our foreign population came from the northern European countries and the other four-fifths from eastern and southern European countries. Between the years 1890 and 1900 immigrants from the Slavic countries increased 130 per cent, and from Italy 165 per cent, while the Scandinavian countries increased their quota only 14 per cent, Germany decreased hers 4 per cent, and the United Kingdom hers more than 10 per cent.

How did this change in our immigration effect the state of Pennsylvania? The demand for labor in the mines has brought to Pennsylvania an increasing number of Russians, Austrians, Italians, and Poles. Taking the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Illinois, we find in 1890 they contained fifty-four per cent of all the Russians in the country, and in 1900 71.8 per cent of them. Of the Italians in the country these same six states had in 1890 two-thirds of them, in 1900 three-fourths. Pennsylvania alone in 1890 had 17.1 per cent of all Poles, which percentage increased by 1900 to 19.9 per cent; Italians, 13.5 per cent in 1890 and 13.8 per cent in 1900; Russians 9.5 per cent in 1890 and 12. per cent in 1900.

With the New Immigration came also a larger Jewish population. It is estimated that to-day there are more than 250,000 Jews in the state. (24) In 1900 there were but 100,000. Russian Jews predominate.

In a consideration of the social, political and religious influences of the present ethnic elements of the state it is impossible to measure the processes of amalgamation and assimilation of the foreigner. Yet these are the unsolved questions that exist. Commons defines the term "amalgamation" as "that mixture of blood which unites races in a common stock." Assimilation he defines as "that union of minds and wills which enables them to think and act together." The over-worked term, "Americanization" he defines in the words of Lincoln, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." (25)

Jenks has summarized the forces that favor and those that oppose the process of Americanization. (26) Those favoring are:

1. Employment of immigrants in American industries.

2. Employment of immigrant women as servants in American households.

3. Residence to some extent of immigrants among natives and the association resulting therefrom.

4. Attendance of immigrant children in American public schools and the teaching of the English and American branches in the immigrant parochial schools.

5. The influence of immigrant priests and pastors in

bringing about permanency of residence thru the stimulation of property-owning and home-making.

The forces that oppose Americanization are:

1. Isolation from the natives of a large part of the immigration population.
2. Indifference and to some extent prejudice on the part of the natives towards immigrants.
3. Illiteracy of a large proportion of immigrants.
4. Ignorance, resulting from the peasant origin of nearly all of the southern European immigrants and their unpreparedness for so decided changes in environment.
5. The influence of immigrant churches and parochial schools in emphasizing and maintaining racial and denominational distinctions.
6. Inability to speak English.

In view of these forces that promote or retard the progress of the foreigner, it is of great importance to determine the percentage of aliens and of illiterates among our foreign born, particularly those over the age of twenty-one years. The totals for the state are 727,190 foreign born (above 21 years of age), of whom 302,437 are naturalized, 98,734 have their first papers, 30,520 are unknown, and 295,499 are known aliens. Practically all of these aliens are illiterates, the number of alien illiterates in the state being 248,796. An analysis of the illiteracy statistics shows that our largest group of illiterates is in the 30 to 40-age group. The total number of illiterates in the state over the age of 16 years are classified as follows: (27)

Age	Number
16 and under 20	5,632
20 ,, ,, 30	79,604
30 ,, ,, 40	128,405
40 ,, ,, 50	94,053
50 ,, over	1,185
Unknown	5
Total	308,884

The nationality of the illiterates are, Italian 88,074, Polish 73,499, English 67,658, Slovak 50,206, and others in decreasing numbers. But the problem of the foreigner in our midst is localized. Let us turn therefore to a com-

parison of conditions as to the aliens and illiterates in three different sections of the state; viz, the Susquehanna Valley, the Anthracite counties, and the bituminous region of western Pennsylvania.

District	County	Total Pop. in Thous.	Per Cent F-Born White	No. over 21 F-Born White	No. over 21 Aliens	Per Cent Illiterate 10 years and above Tot. Pop.
I.	Lancaster	174	2.5	2,267	590	1.4
	York	145	1.4	1,080	257	1.6
	Cumberland	59	1.1	394	73	1.4
	Lebanon	63	4.2	1,404	825	2.5
	Dauphin	153	6.8	5,681	2,570	3.3
	Total	594	(aver.) 3.2	10,826	4,315-39.7%	2.04
II.	Luzerne	391	22.5	46,392	16,541	9.5
	Schuylkill	218	15.9	19,972	7,717	7.9
	Lackawanna	286	22.6	33,436	12,337	8.6
	Northumberland	122	10.8	7,290	1,734	4.7
	Carbon	63	17.6	6,389	3,939	8.3
		1,080	17.9	113,479	41,258-36.3%	7.8
III.	Allegheny	1186	21.	132,389	50,747	4.8
	*Beaver	112	21.4	14,680	8,913	6.2
	Fayette	188	20.3	22,326	13,841	8.2
	Westmoreland	274	20.7	32,112	16,889	7.6
	Washington	189	22.	23,155	12,025	7.3
		1949	21.2	224,662	102.415-45.5%	6.8

(* Not coal mining.)

It will be noted in this table that while District No. III has the largest percentage of foreign-born and also the highest percentage of aliens among the foreign born, the district that has the highest percentage of illiteracy is District No. II. The county that leads the state in foreign-born population is Lackawanna with 22.6 per cent. The county that ranks first in illiteracy is Luzerne with 9.5 per cent. It is also interesting to note where District I stands as compared to the other two. For instance, District III has nearly seven times the foreign-born percentage as District I, yet the percentage of aliens in the latter is nearly equal to that of the former, and the ratio of illiteracy as 1 is to 3. Excluding Dauphin County the compar-

ison is even more to the discredit of District I. These counties evidently have a relatively high illiteracy among the native population. The county that has the highest percentage of aliens among its foreign-born is Lebanon.

In conclusion, what will be the results of this large foreign element upon our ideals and institutions? For the present the question is indeterminable. We are not yet far enough removed from even the beginning of the New Immigration. We started a century and more ago with immigrants from the best stocks of Europe; our New Immigration has been from the worst. Low says the immigrant has stimulated liberty and asserted freedom; the immigrant has lessened the danger of sectionalism; "the immigrant has been the diastatic ferment in the American character." (28) As to the conflict between the native stock and the immigrant he says, "The effect of immigration is either to submerge or to stimulate the native stock: either the native stock will be absorbed and lose its identity in that of the alien, or conversely the immigrant will become incorporated into the native stock." (29) To quote him further, "Nothing has done so much to bring about that high level of mental and material prosperity in the United States as these continuous accessions of an unintellectual and poverty-stricken foreign element." (30) In reply to some writers' fears for the purity of the American type in view of the large influx of immigrants he says, "I have been unable to find any proof to support the theory that a dominant race, or a race superior in the scale of civilization is in danger from a race of less vitality or of a lower order." (31)

Some other students of the question are not so optimistic. Hall points out that the government, the state, society, industry, the political party, social and political ideals, —all are concepts and conventions created by individual men; and when individuals change, those change with them". (32) Likewise Eliot Norton writes, "Religion, rules, laws, and customs are only the national character in the forms of standards of conduct... The repeated introduction into a body of men of other men of other type or types cannot but tend to prevent its formation. Thus the nine-

teen millions of immigrants that have landed have tended to break up the type which was forming and to make the formation of any other type difficult. Every million more will only intensify this result, and the absence of a national character is a loss to every man, woman and child. It will show itself in our religion, rules of conduct, in our laws and in our customs." (33)

The experience of the United States in the coal strikes of the last two decades tends to prove this theory. It is among the alien and the illiterate that the agitator easily sows the seed of discontent. Smith in reference to conditions in coal-mining regions says, "As a class, the Pennsylvania miners are a socialistic and aggressive element, having precipitated more strikes and industrial troubles than any other workmen in the country. The foreign element is more apparent among the miners than in any other industry, and by reason of their occupation amalgamation is difficult." (34) This coincides with the position of such a recognized authority as Commons who says, "When once moved by the spirit of unionism the immigrants from low-standard countries are the most dangerous unionists, for they have no obligations, little property, and but meagre necessities that compel them to yield." (35)

For good or for evil the immigrant is here. He is here largely because of the better economic and social conditions in the United States as compared with his home-land. In him lie many unsolved problems on the one hand, but on the other there is new strength in the body politic, a wide field and opportunity for the promotion of international good-will, and by proper selection and guidance a boon to America's economic and social progress.

A. F. Southwick.

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7. Fisher, *The Making of Pennsylvania*, p. 32.
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9. Smith, *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, p. 35.

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11. Low, *The American People*, I, 404.
12. Bean, *History of Montgomery County*, p. 135.
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14. Cf. Douglass. *A Summary of the British Settlements*, II, 326.
15. Cumberland County was named after a maritime county of England located on border of Scotland.
16. Rupp, *History of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin Counties*, p. 542.
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THE SMITHFIELD STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PITTSBURGH, PENNA.

The first introduction of Methodism into Western Pennsylvania, of which we have any knowledge, was in 1772. Reason Pumphreys, a convert of Robert Strawbridge, came across the mountains from Anne Arundel County, Maryland, and settled at the head of Chartiers Creek, near the Indian village of Catfish, and where Washington now stands, he had a grant of thousand acres, which he called "Reason's Choice." He was a man of means, and with him were his wife, eight sons, seven servants, and four slaves. A number of his Maryland neighbors accompanied him, among them Eli Schle, a young man, another convert of Strawbridge. Whether he had authority from the church to do so we know not, but when the travellers halted on their journey he would preach to them and to any settlers that might be near their camping places. Settling in the new place he continued to preach to the settlers, going up the Monongahela valley, across to the home of Thomas Lackey on Ten Mile Creek, and very possibly coming down to the village called Pittsburgh, at the forks of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. He returned to Maryland in 1776 and shortly afterward died. Sometime between 1778 and 1780, Robert Wooster, an Englishman by birth and an itinerant minister, settled near Uniontown, by the advice of Bishop Asbury, and preached in various parts of western Pennsylvania. In 1784, the year of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Redstone Circuit appears among the appointments of the Church, with John Cooper and Samuel Breeze as preachers.

At the Conference held in Uniontown in 1788, the Pittsburgh Circuit was formed, with Charles Conoway as preacher in charge. The territory entering into it was taken from the Ohio Circuit in the west and Redstone Circuit in the south. Pittsburgh then was a small place, having in 1786, according to Judge Brackenridge, about one hundred houses. The religious work could not have been very great, as

Arthur Lee, one of the Virginia Lees, writing in 1784, said, "There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, church, or chapel." This must have been an exaggerated statement, as the German Evangelical Church, located at the corner of Smithfield Street and Sixth Avenue, was organized in 1782, and the records of the Redstone Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church show a Rev. Mr. Smith being sent to preach in Pittsburgh on the fourth Sunday in August, 1784. Rev. Wilson Lee, of the Redstone Circuit, preached in a tavern on Water Street, near Ferry, in 1785. On September 29, 1787, the legislature incorporated the "Presbyterian Congregation of the town of Pittsburgh." When Mr. Conoway came to Pittsburgh this congregation had a "church of square timbers and moderate dimensions," located on or near the site of the present First Presbyterian Church, and a pastor, the Rev. Samuel Barr. There was no Methodist society organized at this time, possibly no Methodist in the town, even in name. Where Mr. Conoway preached we have no record, nor at the end of the year were any members reported to Conference. During this first year of Mr. Conoway's pastorate, Bishop Asbury for the first time visited Pittsburgh, coming on Saturday, July 19th, 1789. He records, "I preached in the evening to a serious audience. This is the day of small things. What can we hope? Yet what can we fear!" Though no members were reported, the outlook must have been more hopeful, and Mr. Conoway was returned for another year, with Pemberton Smith as assistant, or, in Methodist parlance, junior preacher. At the end of this year ninety-seven members were reported. The next year, 1790, Mr. Conoway was made presiding elder, or, as now designated, district superintendent of a district, but the following year was again in charge of the circuit, and in the succeeding year was placed again on the district. Different preachers were appointed in following years, among them Daniel Hitt and Valentine Cook, who afterwards were very prominent in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The real force of Methodism as an organized body began in 1796, for in that year, John Wrenshall came to

Pittsburgh to engage in the mercantile business, and became one of the most prominent business men of the town, his store being located at what now is the corner of Market Street and Fourth Avenue. He was an Englishman by birth, a man of culture and piety, and held a license as a local preacher. Subsequently he was ordained by Bishop Asbury, across the border line of Ohio, the first Methodist ordination to take place in that state. One of his daughters married Judge Dent and was the mother of Julia Dent, the wife of Gen. U. S. Grant. It seems at this time there were no regular religious services in the town, and the Presbyterians were without a pastor, or supplies from 1795 to 1799. Dr. F. S. DeHass writes, "Soon after his (Wrenshall's) arrival as there was no minister or preaching of any kind in the place, he commenced holding services in an old deserted log church belonging to the Presbyterians, which stood on Wood Street, near Sixth Avenue, where Dr. Herron's church was afterward erected. His first sermon was from the text, "Worship God," and appeared to be greatly enjoyed by all in attendance, many of whom were officers and soldiers from the garrison. The congregations continued to increase, but after a few Sabbaths a padlock was placed upon the door, and a notice served upon Mr. Wrenshall that he could not have use of the building any longer. In this emergency, Mr. Peter Shiras who lived at the Point and owned the site of Fort Pitt, kindly offered a room in the barracks of the old fort, which was gladly accepted. Thus Fort Pitt which cost Great Britain over $250,000 became the first regular place for Methodist preaching in Pittsburgh. The society consisting at first of John Wrenshall, wife and daughter, Peter Shiras and wife, Robert McElhaney and wife, Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Chess, and James Kerr, continued their meetings here for seven years, when Mr. Shiras in 1802 sold the Fort to Gen. James O'-Hara and returned to his former home in New Jersey. The removal of Mr. Shiras, their class leader, was a great loss to the church in the wilderness, but shortly after, in the summer of 1803, Thomas Cooper, Sr., and his family, all Methodists, settled in Pittsburgh, and proved a great acquisition to the little flock now without a fold."

Mr. Cooper took the place of Mr. Shiras as class leader, and the reorganized band began to increase. Services were held in a one story frame building or kitchen back of Mr. Wrenshall's store on Fourth and Market Streets. But it was too inconvenient and contracted. Other places were tried but with the same results, and in 1806 Sabbath preaching was changed from Pittsburgh to McKeesport. In October 1807, Nathaniel Holmes and Edward Heazelton came from Ireland and located in Pittsburgh, and united with the little band. They were men of ability and piety and had much to do with the subsequent growth of the church. Mr. Holmes was the founder of the N. Holmes banking house, and Mr. Heazelton became prominent in business affairs.

Thomas Cooper, Jr., lived in a large stone dwelling on Smithfield and Water Streets, opposite to where the Monongahela House is now located. He offered a room in his house for services and, in 1808, Sabbath preaching was resumed in Pittsburgh, half the time by the regular ministers, and half the time by local preachers. Bishop Asbury visiting the town in 1803, writes under date of August 27, "In the Court House I spoke on Sabbath day to about four-hundred people. I would have preached again but the Episcopalians occupied the house. It is time we have had a house of our own." It was seven years after the Bishop wrote before a house was possessed. In 1810 a lot was purchased from Thomas Cooper on Front Street, now First Avenue at a cost of $300. It was opposite the lower end of the present Monongahela House, and had a frontage of 30 feet on Front Street, and ran back 80, parallel with Smithfield Street. The deed is dated June 21, 1810, and conveys the property to John Wrenshall, Robert McElhenney, Edward Hazelton, John Phillips, R. McElhenny, Jr., Nathaniel Holmes and Thomas Cooper, Jr., Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh. On this lot was erected a plain brick building, 30 by 40 feet. The building must have been commenced upon the obtaining of the ground, as Bishop Asbury records in his journal of August 26, 1810, "Preached on the foundation of the new chapel to about five hundred souls. I spoke again at five o'clock to about twice as many. The society here is lively and increasing in

numbers." The preachers then were William Knox and Joseph Lanston. Mr. Knox was the grand father of the late Senator Philander C. Knox. At this time the Pittsburgh Circuit reported 524 members, how many of whom were located in Pittsburgh proper we cannot say. The circuit was divided in 1811, and as newly constituted had 167 members. When this building was abandoned it was used for a time by the colored people. The congregation grew and in 1817 the membership had reached 280, and the church records show fifteen different classes. The need of a more commodious building was felt. At the Conference session in 1817, Andrew Hemphill was appointed to the pastorate, and immediate steps were taken to supply the need. Three lots on the corner of Smithfield and Seventh Streets were purchased from George Wiltenberger. The deed bears date of May 30, 1817, and the trustees were the same mentioned in the deed for the Front Street property. It was in the nature of a land lease, the trustees paying Mr. Miltenberger $300 annually, he agreeing to give them a deed in fee simple when they pay him $5,000. This was done seven years later, and the deed for the property is dated September 28, 1824, and is conveyed to Charles Avery, Nathaniel Holmes, John Phillips, Charles Craig, Samuel K. Page and James Verner as trustees. The building was commenced in 1817 and completed in 1818. It was a brick structure, large for that time, and had a gallery running around the rear and two sides of the building. The society increased in numbers, and under the pastorate of the Rev. Samuel Davis an extensive revival prevailed, bringing the membership to 597. Thomas Kennedy was appointed to the circuit in 1820, and this was the last time that Pittsburgh was associated with other churches in a circuit, henceforward it was a station. In 1821 John Baer was appointed pastor having associated with him Thomas J. Dorsey. Mr. Baer preached the first sermon in the new church, and in 1848, when the building was abandoned to make way for the present structure, he was sent for and preached the last sermon in the building.

When Conference boundaries were formed Pittsburgh was within the bounds of the Baltimore Conference, until

the formation of the Pittsburgh Conference, the first session of which was held in the new church, September 15-21, 1825. In the troubles that took place in the Methodist Episcopal Church, that led to the formation of the Methodist Protestant Church Pittsburgh was one of the centers of the strife. It was a revolt against the economy of the Church, particularly in regard to episcopal government, and the absence of lay representation. The Church was incorporated March 5, 1828. The corporate name was "The Methodist Church of Pittsburgh." The Rev. George Brown, who was one of the leaders in the new movement, claimed that "Episcopal" was left out because of the reform feeling prevalent in the congregation. Rev. Robert Hopkins, who presided at the congregational meeting at which the charter was adopted, said that serious objection was made to the omission of the word "Episcopal," but Charles Avery claimed that the legislature would not grant a charter with the word Episcopal in it as it was sectarian, and that several churches that had been incorporated had omitted the word for that reason. This statement was afterward found to be incorrect. It was made the basis of a charge against Mr. Avery by Nathaniel Holmes, but, upon the presentation of the charges, Mr. Avery notified the pastor that he was no longer a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The feeling grew very bitter and the Rev. George Brown was called to be the pastor of the "Reformers." For a time both elements occupied the Smithfield Street Church, holding services at different hours, but the new element desired full possession, and took possession and debarred the other pastors from the pulpit at the time allotted to them. The pastors then were the Revs. Z. H. Coston and Homer J. Clarke, they withdrew and, followed by those who were loyal to the church, marched down to the building on Front Street where Mr. Clarke preached. It was carried into the courts, and finally to the Supreme Court, and a new trial was ordered, but with the hope it would be amicably settled. This was followed, and in August 1833 a division was made, the Smithfield property being returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the burying ground located where the Pennsylvania Station now stands, and $2,000 were given to the Methodist Protest-

ants. Other church organizations were being formed in Alleghenytown, Birmingham, on Liberty Street, and Bayardstown, and for several years they constituted a circuit, being served by all the preachers. In 1835 they were separated and the appointments for that year were, Smithfield Street, Charles Cooke, Liberty Street, Matthew Simpson, Birmingham, Gideon D. Kinnear.

In the passing years the growth of the Smithfield Street congregation demanded a larger and better building. During the pastorate of Dr. William Cox, one morning in a sermon he made mention of the need. The next evening at a meeting of the Official Board, Mr. William Birmingham, said he felt they needed a new church building, and that he would give $1,000 toward it. It is said that up to that date that was the largest subscription ever made in Pittsburgh, by an individual toward the building of a church. With this as an incentive the project was carried forward. As already stated the last sermon in the old building was preached by the Rev. John Baer, which occurred on the last Sabbath in May, 1848. On Christmas Day, 1848, the new building was dedicated, the sermon being preached by Bishop L. L. Hamline. Two incidents connected with the coming into the new church show the difference of views then and now. Up to that time there had been no instrumental music used in any church in the bounds of the Pittsburgh Conference. The chorister, Mr. Samuel McKinley, proposed to use in connection with the music on the day of dedication, a bass viol and, possibly, another instrument. It created such a contention that it was abandoned. In all Methodist churches, outside of New England, the men and women sat apart in time of worship. The trustees recommended family sittings, which created a great stir, even the Bishop desiring the action be rescinded, but the pastor favored it and the proposition was carried out.

Now after three quarters of a century of use, and the great changes in the down town section of Pittsburgh, it is felt that a new church building, equipped to meet present conditions should be built, and under the leadership of Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, Superintendent of the Pittsburgh Church Union, and pastor of the church, the plans have been pre-

pared and arrangements are being made for the building. It is not definitely decided as to size, but most likely it will be a twenty story structure. The basement will be used for a thoroughly equipped gymnasium. The first floor will be rented for business purposes, the Methodist Book Concern occupying a portion of it. The second floor, and the equivalent of the floor above it will be used for the church auditorium. Dr. Marsh has a scheme to make it a memorial room by placing in a bronze frieze, the names suggested by any one contributing twenty-five dollars toward the building. The next floor above the auditorium will be used for the educational and recreational work of the church. The next floor will be used for the headquarters of various Methodist agencies and organizations, including the offices of the Bishop, the Centenary work, the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate* and the Church Union, and the chapel to be used for the Preachers' Meetings. The other floors will be rented producing an income for the maintenance of the building. The growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this section from the humble beginnings herein narrated is seen in the current reports of the Pittsburgh District of the Pittsburgh Conference. In it there are 45 congregations with a membership of 25,891, and a Sunday School enrollment of 25,209, and a church property valued at $3,585,496, and paying for ministerial support $171,344, while in the Conference there are appointments with a membership of 116,606 and a church property valued at $10,919,606.

In the long list of ministers that filled the pulpit of the Smithfield Street Church, first as the only congregation in the city, then as the Smithfield Street organization, there have been some of the most distinguished ministers of the Church. In the early days the authorities changed the pastors every year, then the limit was made two years, then later it was extended to three, and again to five, and in 1900 the limit was entirely removed. Among them were seven who became Bishops, Robert R. Roberts; Henry B. Bascom, who was the first president of Madison College, Uniontown, the third collegiate institution under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a man of great eloquence, who served as chaplain to Congress, who, in the division on the

slavery question in 1844, went with the southern section and was elected bishop; Matthew Simpson, the friend of Abraham Lincoln, whose lecture on "Our Country" and addresses in this country and abroad during the time of the Civil War, did much to maintain the cause of the Union; Charles W. Smith, for twenty-four years editor of the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*, who then was elected Bishop, serving six years, until his death; Naptali Luccock, whose Episcopal life was brief, dying three years after he was consecrated to that office; Charles Bayard Mitchell, at the head of the St. Paul area, now making a tour around the world; Charles Edward Locke in charge of the work in the Phillipine Islands. Others are, Martin Ruter, the first Methodist minister in this country to receive the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and the first president of Allegheny College, Meadville; Asa Shinn, a profound thinker, author of several theological works, and one of the founders of the Methodist Protestant Church; Charles Elliott, at various times editor of the *Pittsburgh*, the *Western* and the *Central Christian Advocates*; William Hunter, editor, professor, poet; and numerous others which space will not permit to enumerate. In two instances father and son have both served as pastors, George S. Holmes in 1833, and Charles A. Holmes 1864-66, Wesley Smith in 1836, and his son Charles W. Smith, 1876-1878. Today Dr. Marsh and his associate, the Rev. W. L. Hogg, are measuring up to the high standard of their predecessors.

GRAFTON E. REYNOLDS.

Notes and Queries

A GENERAL REGISTER OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH MARCH 3rd, 1818*

ANDREW HEMPHILL

Names	Years
Samuel Davis Thomas Kinerly	1819 & 1820
John Bear Thomas Dorsey	1825
Richard Tydings	1822 & 1823
Asa Shinn	1824 & 1825
William Stephens	1826
Charles Cooke	1827
John Waterman Robert Hopkins—2 mos. in 1829	1828
William Lambdin Jacob Flake	1829
Z. H. Coston Homer I. Clarke	1830
Wesley Browning	1831

NAMES OF THE OFFICIAL MEMBERS OF THE M. E. CHURCH IN PITTSBURGH IN THE YEAR 1818

Local Preachers

Name	Office
Charles Avery	Local Deacon
Launcelot Becom	Licensed Deacon
James Munden	Licensed Deacon

Stewards

Thomas Cooper
Nathaniel Holmes
John Phillips

Class Leaders

Name	Classes
Charles Avery	One Class
Thomas Cooper	Three Classes
Launcelot Beacom	One Class
Thomas Tackeberry	Two Classes
Adam Baker	Two Classes
Charles Craig	One Class
Jesse Burbage	One Class
John Horn	One Class
John Thornhill	One Class
Robert McElhenny	One Class
Edward Moore	One Class

*Material furnished by O. S. Decker who secured and copied the records.

MARRIAGES CELEBRATED BY REV. L. R. FECHTIG IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY CO., PA.

1818

June 4th—James Black to Miss Margaretta Hull
June 2nd—John Winright to Miss Rosanna Porter
July 2nd—Philip Kingsland to Miss Rachel Ward
July 14th—Copernicus Walters to Miss Margaretta McRoberts
July 22nd—Rev. Lemuel Lane to Miss Elizabeth Bates
Oct. 14th—David Earle to Miss Mary Cunningham
Oct. 22nd—George Thorpe to Ann Stevenson
Oct. 29th—Oliver Cunningham to Miss Eliza Carter
Nov. 26th—John Chess to Mary Middleswart
Dec. 3rd—James Varner to Elizabeth McNickel
Dec. 17th—James Stewart to Nancy Gordon

1819

Jan. 7th—James Lansdown to Jane Fulyard
Jan. 14th—Thomas Park to Miss Sarah McGibbins

MARRIAGES BY L. DAVIS

1819

April 20th—Richard Taylor to Miss Martha Blackburn
April 20th—William P. Hughes to Miss Emily Earle

1820

Thompson Church to Miss Harriet Walters
June 29th—William Ganey to Miss Sarah Church
July 4th—David Green to Miss Emily McCord
Nov. 22nd—Dr. Thomas Fowler to Miss Mary Ann Burrell

MARRIAGES BY JOHN BEAR

1821

April 17th—Andrew Wilson to Miss Elizabeth Schoby
April 19th—Peter Moor to Miss Martha W. Boggs
Sept. 12th—William Holdship to Miss Elizabeth Ray
Oct. 23rd—Thomas Agnew to Miss Elizabeth Davis
Nov. 8th—John Magill to Miss Polly Dumars
Nov. 8th—James Shidle to Miss Almire Crosby
Nov. 12th—John Jones of Washington, Pa., to Mary Robinson of Pittsburgh
Nov. 13th—George Wallace to Miss Rosannah Gestner
Dec. 24th—John Rutledge to Miss Mariah Harrison

1822

Jan. 17th—Samuel Hazlett to Miss Sarah Johns.
Done in Washington, Pa.
Feb. 7th—Samuel Irvin to Miss Catherine Kaufman
Mar. 14th—John Howkins to Miss Juliana Hoffman

MARRIAGES BY THOMAS I. DORSEY

1821

May 3rd—Tierner Blasford to Miss Eliza Sutton
June 9th—Robert Elder to Miss Francis Davis

MARRIAGES BY CHARLES ELLIOTT

1831

Oct. 27th—James Wood to Miss Margaret Chestnut
Nov. 22nd—John Sellers to Miss Mary Anderson

1832

Mar. 22—Robert Evans to Miss Jane Park
Mar. 22nd— ——— ——— to Miss ——— Hill
July 15th—Nicholas Millar to Miss Sarah Speers
July 29th—Barton Gray to Lydia Adams

THIS CLASS MEETS IN THE OLD MEETING HOUSE, SUNDAY, 9 A. M. JOHN THORNHILL, LEADER

1818

James Walker
John Greere
James Munden
David Greer
John Martin
John Town
Samuel Schofield
John Galleher
Edward Hastings
David Hastings
James Black
Thomas Parks
Jacob Pratt
Samuel Phillips
Launcelot Beacom
Thomas Tackeberry
John Phillips
Frederick Horn
Nicholas Menor
Joseph Wright
Patrick Peppard
James Howley
George Eckert
William Nelson
John Griffith
James Walker
John Anderson
John Stewart
David Frouser
Elias Shiner
Charles Gregill
Edward McGibbins
James Varner
Isaac White
Thos. Salters
Jas. Borbridge
Thomas Owens
Douglas McCorkle
Thos. Robinson
Standish Peppard
Wm. Kaely
——— Boarland

THIS CLASS MEETS AT DUMARS SCHOOL ROOM, SUNDAY A. M. EDWARD MOORE, LEADER

1818

Adam Baker
Joshua Crosby
Joseph Allender
James Knox
Samuel Shannon
Jacob Tucker
James Tucker
Thomas Arthurs
Philip Kingsland
Robert Franklin
John Beacom
Joseph Reddy
Charles L. Armstrong
Jacob Rollins
James Dumars
William Roseman
Joseph Jewell
William Harning
Joshua Way
John B. Grey
John Lindsay
Isaac Heather
Robert Holmes
William Leanord
John Ward
James Leanord
William Scannell
Patrick Leanord
George Hurst
George Gardner
Oliver English
Amos Olivers
James Martin
Thomas Hall
George Cill
Copernicus Walters
John Anderson
Samuel Miller
John Cooper
David Scannell
Joseph Alender
James Irwin
John Flecher
David Horseman
John Henderson
Peter Brown
Augustus Waters
Richard Taylor
Robert Griffin
Jas. Thompson
Edward Hazlet
Robt. Gibbins
Jas. Willis
Stephen Sharp
Jas. Jackson
George Hurst
Jas. Beard

THIS CLASS MEETS AT NATHANIEL HOLMES, SUNDAY, 9 A. M.

THOMAS COOPER, LEADER

1818

John Ward
Isaih Scott
Henry Holdship
William Graham
Samuel Page
James Clark
Jonathan Hamnet
George Scott
Harrison Scholey
John Fielding
John Thornhill
John Wainwright
John McGill
William Fitzsimmond
Jethro Crosby
Christopher Graham
John Sheldon
George Glasford
Andrew Cassady
John Marshall
James Scoley, Sr.
James Knox
William Adams
Thompson Church
John Parsons
Robt. Wilson
John Lee
——— Douthit
Edward Hastings
John Wrenshall

THIS CLASS MEETS AT JAMES WALKER'S, MONDAY 3 P. M.

LAUNCELOT BEACOM, LEADER

1818

Mary Walker
Mary Beacom
Jane Wright
Sidney Beacom
Lucinda Johnson
Catherine Walker, Sr.
Catherine Scott
Catherine Walker, Jr.
Elizabeth Henderson
Sarah Black
Margrett Scott
Ann Hicks
Betsy Freeman
Elizabeth Graham
Ellva Baker
Margaret Hicks
Lydia English
Margrett Fitzsimmons
Elizabeth Crozer
Elizabeth Varner
Ann Irwin
Mary Robinson
Elizabeth Phearson
Elizabeth Sherad
Rebecca Knox
Betsy Baker

THIS CLASS MEETS AT JOHN HORN'S, MONDAY, 3 P. M.

CHARLES CRAIG, LEADER

1818

Nancy McCoy
Sarah Horn
Elizabeth Holmes
Hetty Burbage
Maria Kenear
Margrett Holmes
Catherine Beacom
Sarah Kingsland
Sarah Kingsland
Jane May
Elizabeth Irvin
Susanah Menear
Margaret Hull
Susanah Horn
Margaret Johnston
Elizabeth Hutchinson
Agnes Waters
Sarah Yoe
Elliner Holmes
Elizabeth Arthurs
Elizabeth Carr
Eliza Patterson
Prisilla Holmes
Nancy Bowman
Mary McCormick
Ann Munden
Elizabeth Tackaberry
Edith Groves
Mary Robinson
Cath. Silhart
Mary Ann Phillips

THIS CLASS MEETS IN THE OLD MEETING HOUSE,

MONDAY, 2 P. M.

CHARLES AVERY, LEADER

1818

Prudence Lamden	Elizabeth Cooper	Unity Donald
Calista Trothe	Mary Gibson	Mary Adams
Martha Black	Mary Callow	Sarah McCord
Mary Cooper	Nancy McCandless	Harriett Peters
Susan McCord	Mary Holmes	Jane Holmes
Jane Sloan	Margrett Holmes	Jane Findly
Elizabeth Moreland	Fanny Wrenshall	Ann Town
Catherine Holdship	Sarah Wrenshall	Jane Salters
Martha Avery	Rachel Pratt	Margt. Berry
Nancy Lindell	Nancy Ward	Emily Page
Catherine Stilman	Maud Smith	Rosanna Einright
Nancy Eckert	Elizabeth Dalles	Mary Bosbridge
Mary Chess	Sarah Black	Martha W. Boggs
Nesse McElhinney	Elizabeth Keyes	Lucinda Sewell
Elizabeth Thompson	Elizabeth McDonneld	Lucy Knox
Mary Roseman	Ann Rice	Mary Dillon
Catherine Fitzsimmonds	Margaret Greere	Isabella McCouch

(To be continued in January issue).

Department of Old Newspaper Clippings

The Pittsburgh Gazette
August 17, 1973.

* *
* * This publication commences the eighth year fince the firft eftablishment of the Pittsburgh Gazette. The Printer returns his moft grateful acknowledgments to the public for the fupport he has received, and folicits a continuance of their patronage. The expence he is at in procuring paper, &c. for carrying on his bufinefs, being very confiderable, he flatters himfelf he will be excufed in AGAIN calling on thofe who are in arrears to make payment, and as an inducement for them to comply with this requeft, he will receive wheat, rye, or whifkey, if delivered by the firft of November next, at Col. Canon's mill on Chartiers creek; Captain Rankin's mill, Racoon; and Doctor Wilkin's mill, Peters creek; and flour or whifkey, if delivered to John Henderfon, Efq., Mingo Bottom; Capt. John Connell, Mouth of Buffaloe; Mr. Henry Smith, Whelen, and at the Printing Office. He hopes attention will be paid to this, as it will be out of his power to give any further indulgence, and all outftanding debts of the year 1792, not paid by the time before mentioned, will, without fail, be put into proper hands for recovery.

John Scull.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
July 4, 1793.

I HEREBY authorife Ifaac Pearce, poftrider, on the route to Morgan Town, and David Donelly, poftrider, on the route to Whelen, to receive any money on my account from thofe who may be in arrears for the Pittfburgh Gazette, and receipt for the fame.

Thofe indebted will take notice and pay the faid poftriders, which will particularly oblige. John Scull.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
February 1, 1794.

ISAAC PEARCE poftrider, on the route to Morgantown, takes the liberty of requefting thofe who have not paid agreeable to the terms of his fubfcription paper, that they will immediately do it; and as he propofes continuing to ride until January 1795, (and longer if he receives encouragement) he folicits a continuance of the public favor; in the mean time informs fuch as chufe to decline employing him, that they are at liberty at any time on paying what may be due to the printer, and to himfelf.

April 1, 1794.

GENTLEMEN

My fincere thanks are due to thofe who have been regular in their payments for the Pittfburgh Gazette, and poftage; I would alfo be thankful to thofe who intend to pay to do it fhortly, that I may know who will, and who will not pay, as I am determined not to be put off much longer.

ISAAC PEARCE, Poftrider.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
August 16, 1794.

WAS LOFT ON THE 12th OR 13th inftant, on the road between Brownfville and Morgan Town, a Three Dollar Bank Note, number date unknown. Any perfon finding faid note, and returning it to me fhall receive one dollar reward.

ISAAC PEARCE, Poftrider.

January 6th, 1795.

* * The time being expired for * which Ifaac Pearce engaged to carry the Pittsfburgh Gazette, on the route to Morgan Town, the fubfcriber has employed another perfon to take his place, under the same regulations.

The Printer regrets, that, owing to the ficknefs of Mr. Pearce, the papers have not for thefe few weeks been

conveyed fo regularly as heretofore, he however hopes that now this difficulty will be removed. Thofe in arrears will pay Mr. Pearce, as he propofes calling on them in the courfe of ten days or two weeks he expects they will generally difcharge their balances.

The printer returns his thanks to all his cuftomers for the encouragment and fupport he has received, and, as he expects an affortment of Printing Type by the firft fpring veffels that may arrive in Philadelphia, he hopes to render the Pittfburgh Gazette ftill more worthy of the public favor. John Scull.

Pittsburgh Gazette

NOTICE.

All perfons indebted to the eftate of James M'Farlane, deceafed, are requefted to make immediate payment, and all perfons having any juft demands thereon, are requested to render their accounts properly authenticated, to the fubfcribers.

Andrew M'Farlane,
Francis M'Farlane,
"Adminftrs."

Allegheny County,
August 17, 1795.

N. B. A large Farn to be rented by the subscribers.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
August 7, 1794.

LOST, on the 12th of July laft, two Obligations belonging to or payable to the fubfcriber, living in Robinfon townfhip, Wafhington county, one of them a note of hand for eighty pounds, dated October 19th, 1792, and payable three months after the date thereof; the other, a judgment bond for one hundred and twenty pounds, dated 29th October, 1793, and payable May 1st 1794, on the back of faid judgment bond there is credit given for ninety pounds eighteen fhillings and nine pence, dated May 21, 1794. They were loft on the road between Noble's mill on Robinfon's run and Fort Pitt, or in Fort Pitt; as I have given the gentleman by whom thofe obligations were given, notice thereof, I request the finder to return them to me, or leave them with the printer hereof, and they fhall be paid any reafonable charge for their trouble. I difcharge all perfons from taking an affignment on them.

JOHN M'DONALD.

N. B. The reafon I did not attend at Braddock's Field, was the firft orders being countermanded, and my wife and child lying fick in a dangerous condition.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
August 12, 1794.

WHEREAS fome evil minded and ill difpofed perfons, with a view, no doubt, to injure me, both in my character and property, have cilculated two false reports againft me and my family; one is, that when I was laft in Philadelphia I informed upon the diftillers on this side of the mountain, who had not entered their ftills with the excife man, and had received three hundred pounds for the fame, and that I came up with the federal fheriff to Fayette county—the other is, that Mrs. M'Kee fhould have faid, that, if Tom the Tinker burnt all we had, the ftates would make it good.

Now, I do hereby folemnly declare the above reports to be false & groundlefs; that I do not know Clymer or Miller the excife men, nor Lenox the federal fheriff, nor ever fpoke a word to one of them in my life, and of this I am willing to make oath if called upon. And I do hereby call upon the malicious and falfe propagators to come forward and fubftantiate the charges, and do hereby put the world of mankind to defiance to prove or fupport the fame.

John M'Kee.

Mouth of Yough, Auguft 12, 1794.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
August 9, 1794.

We, the underfigned, on behalf of ourfelves and the great body of the column that marched from Braddock's Field on the 3rd inftant, think it neceffary to exprefs our difapprobation of the diforderly proceedings of thofe of the troops who were concerned in fetting fire to the barn of Abraham Kirkpatrick on the hill oppofite the town of Pittfburgh; alfo of the attempt made by others of burning his houfe in town; as thefe acts was not within the fentence of the committee of volunteers on Braddock's Field, and therefore there could be no authority for carrying them into effect.

We confider it as a blemifh on the good order of the march of the column through the town of Pittfburgh, and their cantonment in the neighborhood of it. It has been endeavored to be removed as much as poffible by repairing the tenant of Kirkpatrick his damages.

Edward Cook,
Thomas Stokely,
David Hamilton,
Abfalom Baird,
James Marfhel,
John Hughs,
Hamilton Hufton,
Francis M'Farlane
Thomas Sedgwick,
John Hamilton,
James Perry,
William Nailor,
Dixon Hufton,
William Meetkerke,
William M'Clure.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
July 20, 1794.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

In my houfe at Bower Hill, on Chartiers creek, which was attacked, plundered & burnt by the rioters on Thursday evening laft, were Four Thoufand Sixty Cents, funded debt of the United States, in my own name, in two certificates, viz. No. 775 for 3631 dollars 21 cents, 6 per cents, and No. 603 for 980 dollars 43 cents, 3 per cents. This is to caution the public leaft they may be offered for fale with forged powers or conveyance; intereft is ftopped at the bank, and every legal meafure taken to prevent impofition. If they are fallen into the hands of an honeft man, he can return them to Col. Prefley Nevill, in Pittfburgh. I alfo caution the public not to receive affignments on any bonds or notes to me, as they are in the fame fituation.

July 20, 1794. John Nevill.

The Pittsburgh Gazette
March 15, 1795.

* * A fpecial meeting of the Pittf-
* burgh Fire Company is requefted at the houfe of Andrew Watfon, this evening at fix o'clock.

March 15, 1794.

—The Librarian.

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

249—Painting

"Jack," the famous dog of the One Hundred and Second regiment of Pennslyvania volunteers.

Twice wounded, three times taken prisoner, and having fought in a score of battles during the Civil War, was a part of the interesting career of "Jack," a bull-dog, which accompanied members of the old Niagara fire company (of Pittsburgh, Pa.) when they enlisted and became a part of the One Hundred and Second regiment.

Jack accompanied the regiment through the following battles: Yorktown, the battle of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Savage Station, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Mary's Heights, Salem Heights, Mine Run, the Seven Days' battle, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Petersburg, the defense of Washington, July 11, 1864; Winchester, Flint Hill, Fisher's Hill and Middletown. At the battle of Malvern Hill he was shot through the shoulder and back, for many days he hovered between life and death, his sufferings brought many tears to the eyes of his sorrowing comrades. Finally he recovered, and took to the field, amid the hearty cheers of his regiment. The dog was intelligent beyond the average; he thoroughly understood the call of the bugle, and responded to its notes with alacrity. To the wounded he brought succor, and picked out members of his own regiment from among the dead; many a famished, wounded soldier, suffering from hunger and parched with thirst, lying on the field of battle, owes his delivery to the almost human intelligence of Jack. He wandered over the battlefield in quest of his beloved comrades, and many a poor fellow lying wounded on the field of the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania and Winchester, was aroused from his unconsciousness by the timely arrival of the regimental dog.

At Salem Heights he was captured, held a prisoner at Belle Isle, where for six long weary months he cheered the Union prisoners of war, many a prisoner within the dismal fortification of that famous prison will ever remember with grateful recognition the presence of the faithful animal. At the end of six months he was exchanged for a Confederate soldier. During the engagement at Savage Station he was again taken prisoner, but only detained six hours. During the entire war he followed the regiment, and when the army assembled in Washington for the grand review, Jack was one of the conspicuous features of the parade. Years after, when any of the old comrades visited his master, he was the first one to greet them with manifestations of the greatest joy. Six years after the close of the war, and having shared the honors of the veteran, Jack died. A small but beautiful monument marks his last resting place, inscribed with the inscription: "Here Lies a Comrade. Courageous in Battle and Faithful to the End." Painted by N. Garland, Scenic Artist, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1864.

Presented by Charles Shults.

250—Painting

"Old Allegheny City Hall." Painted by N. D. McCandless.
Presented by Hon. James M. Magee.

251—Photograph

"Old State Penitentiary of Western Pennsylvania."
Presented by Miss Margaret Agnew.

252—Drawing, 72x96

"The Old Foster Homestead." Birthplace of Stephen Collins Foster, July 4, 1826. Drawn by K. Ackermann.
Presented by W. W. Griffen.

253—Photograph, 32½x52

"Carnegie Museum, Library and Music Hall."
Presented by Mrs. Simon Johnston.

254—Photograph, 32x44

Hon. James Veech, author of "The Monongahela of Old."
Presented by Miss Rebecca Veech.

255—Sword

An English Officer's Sword, plowed up on Braddock's battlefield in 1855, one hundred years after the battle. Immediately thereafter it came into the possession of Colonel William L. Miller, and has since remained in his family. Colonel Miller, whose father, Noah Miller, was a soldier of the American Revolution, was born in 1792. Early in the following century he came to Fayette County, Penn'a., and remained there until 1855, when he purchased and settled upon land at the mouth of Turtle Creek opposite the scene of Braddock's disastrous defeat. At that time and for some years thereafter the ruins of Frazer's cabin was one of the local landmarks. Colonel Miller laid out and largely built up the town of Port Perry, which has now almost disappeared to make room for the extensive railroad improvements and yards that serve the Edgar-Thomson steel plant.

It was the original site of lock and dam No. 2 of the Monongahela Navigation Company. The water-power developed by this dam was utilized by Col. Miller's son, George T. Miller, for the operation of a large sawmill in connection with the construction of boats and barges for the river coal trade in which he was engaged. He also built and for many years operated a water-power grist mill located on Turtle Creek not far below the stone-arch bridge of the Pennsylvania Railroad at East Pittsburgh.

Presented by John F. Miller, son of George T. Miller, and grandson of Col. William L. Miller.

256—Minnie-Balls

Used during the Civil War. Belonging to James Cook Hough, Company E, One Hundred and Fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania. Enlisted August 25, 1861.
Presented by Alexander S. Guffey.

257—Frame

Containing two pens, one used by the Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, Governor of Pennsylvania, when fighting the "Cook Bill" for a "Greater Pittsburgh," at Harrisburg, Wednesday, February 7th, 1906.

Pen No. 2 used by the Honorable Henry F. Walton, Speaker of the House of Representatives, when signing the "Cook Bill" for a "Greater Pittsburgh," at Harrisburg, Wednesday, February 7th, 1906. Presented to Colonel Charles Alexander Rook, Editor, The Pittsburgh Dispatch, by Governor Pennypacker and Speaker Walton.

Presented by Colonel Chas. A. Rook.

258—Frame

Containing the following petition:

To the honorable Select and Common Councils of the City of Pittsburgh.

The petition of the subscribers inhabitants of the said City Respectfully Showeth.

That fraud and imposition are frequently practised upon the Citizens of Pittsburgh by venders of Whiskey and other ardent spirits, when purchased in large lots by reason of the manufacturers or venders exhibiting samples taken from a few casks containing liquor of a good quality, and representing the entire lot to be of the same quality, when upon a full examination the greater part of the barrels or casks contain liquor of a very inferior quality which often creates difficulties between the seller and the buyer. Therefore, to obviate the evil thus complained of, your petitioners pray your honorable body to pafs an Ordinance authorizing and requiring the City Gauger to inspect the quality and proof of the liquor contained in each and every cask by him gauged, and mark the same upon the head of each cask respectively.

And they will pray, &c.

May 16th, 1828.

Samuel Frew
Geo. Brud
David Greer
Benj. Darlington
Wm. Holmes
D. Fitzsimons
Thos. Fairman
Wm. D. Harris & Co.
Wm. Fitzsimons
John McCormick
Isaac Haven
Hugh Davis
James Gormly, Jr.
John Whitten
James Verner
Wm. Mullen
O. Wm. Barr
Nathan Carlisle
Hugh Robertson
John M'Allister
Thomas M'Fadden
Joseph Caskey
John D. Davis
Andrew Leech
John Grier
Wm. Porter
James Brown

Presented by Hon. James M. Magee.

259—Volume

"The Holy Experiment," a Message to the World from Pennsylvania.

A series of Mural Paintings in the Governors Reception Room and in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Painted and Illustrated by Violet Oakley.

Presented by Mrs. William Thaw.

The Librarian.

THE SOCIETY IS GREATLY INDEBTED TO THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS

Presented by Col. Charles A. Rook:
Forty-two engravings and photographs
Large album of photographs
Large album of views.
Two small albums of views
Four large maps
One small table

Presented by Omar S. Decker:
Forty-three volumes
Thirty-five pamphlets
Old manuscripts, programs and announcement cards
Old almanacs, three large maps, old city directories

Presented by Burd S. Patterson:
Thirty-five volumes,
Twenty pamphlets, large American flag

Presented by General Albert J. Logan:
Volume. The Twenty-Eighth Division, Pennsylvania Guard. In the World War. Forewords by Commanding Generals. The History of the Keystone or Iron Division in the World War. Also the History and Traditions of the Pennsylvania National Guard and its Predecessor, the Pennsylvania Militia.

Presented by Mrs. E. M. Davis:
Old volumes, pamphlets, newspaper clippings and pictures.

Presented by George Bryan Logan:
Volume. George Bryan and The Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1731-1791, by Burton Alva Konkle.

Presented by Francis Armstrong, Jr.:
Volume. The True Story of the American Flag, by John H. Fow.

Presented by Wm. H. Stevenson:
Volume. Pittsburgh's Tribute to Her Gifted Son, Stephen Collins Foster. The Dedication of "The Old Kentucky Home," Bardstown, Kentucky, July 4, 1923.

Presented by Dr. George P. Donehoo:
History 23rd Penna. Volunteers, History 48th Penna. Volunteers, History 61st Penna. Volunteers, History 77th Penna. Volunteers, History 78th Penna. Volunteers, History 87th Penna. Volunteers, History 101st Penna. Volunteers, History 103rd Penna. Volunteers, History 106th Penna. Volunteers, History 111th Penna. Volunteers, History 116th Penna. Volunteers, History 118th Penna. Volunteers, History 121st Penna. Volunteers, History 124th Penna. Volunteers, History 125th Penna. Volunteers, History 132nd Penna. Volunteers. History 148th Penna. Volunteers, History 150th Penna. Volunteers, History 153rd Penna. Volunteers, History 187th Penna. Volunteers, History 3rd Penna. Cavalry, History 7th Penna. Cavalry, History 15th Penna. Cavalry, History 17th Penna. Cavalry, History 18th Penna. Cavalry, History 22nd Penna. Cavalry, History Durells Battery, History Hampton Battery, History 2nd Penna. Heavy Artillery, History Bucktails, History Philadelphia in Civil War, Seventh Series, Archives, Vols. 1-5. Appendix, 3rd Series, Archives.

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