

# WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## FORT PITT

By

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(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-

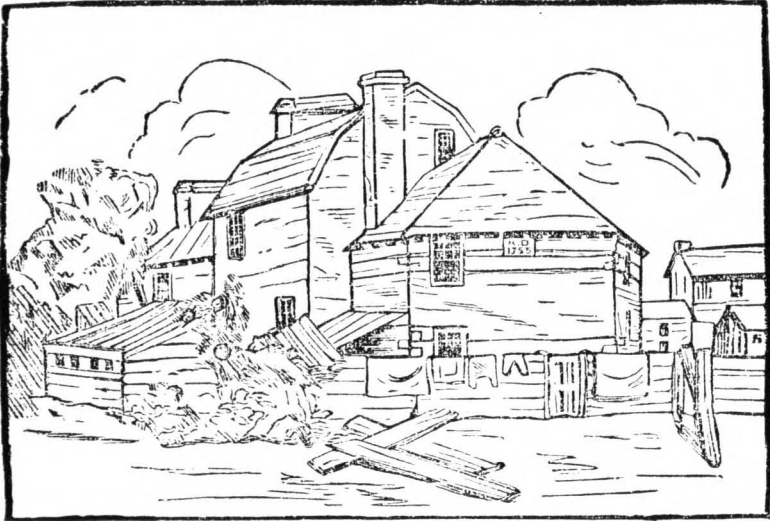
burgh on September 6, 1783, and remained seven days. Speaking of their reception, Dr. Schoepf relates: "Not we, but our vehicle, had the honor of being the first object of their curiosity, for we had come the whole way in a two-wheeled chaise." The place, he said, "numbers at this time perhaps sixty 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

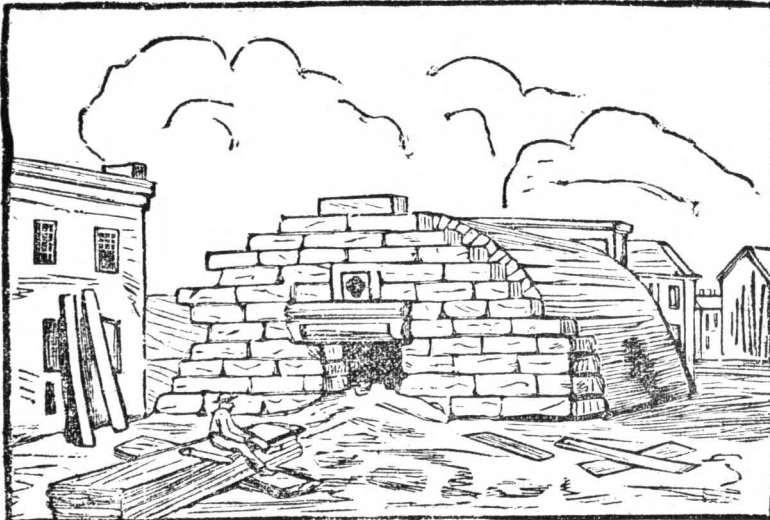


## TWO RELICS OF FORT PITT.

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 witicism 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 proprietaries 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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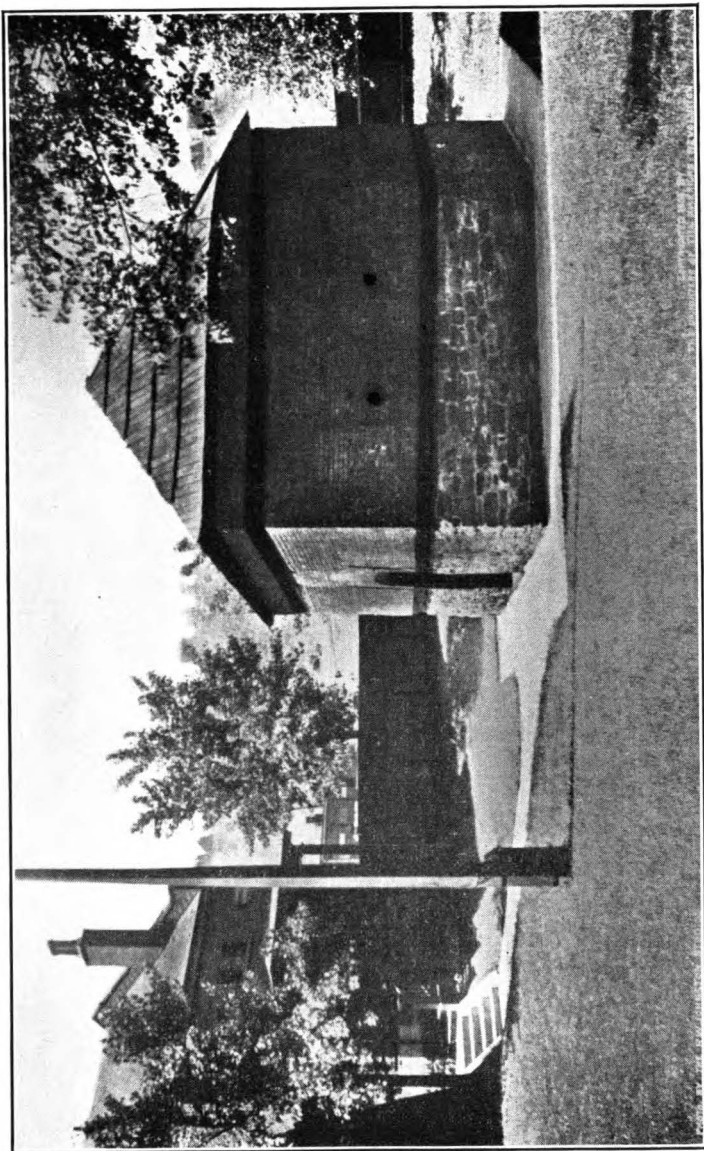
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The Old Redoubt as it Appears Today.



## 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 Luckett. 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, Luckett, 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 Luckett, 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 Luckett 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 Hufnagle, 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 Hufnagle 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 Luckett 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 attainted of treason during the Revolution, and it made preparations to sell them. Major Hufnagle, 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 Hufnagle, 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 Hufnagle, 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

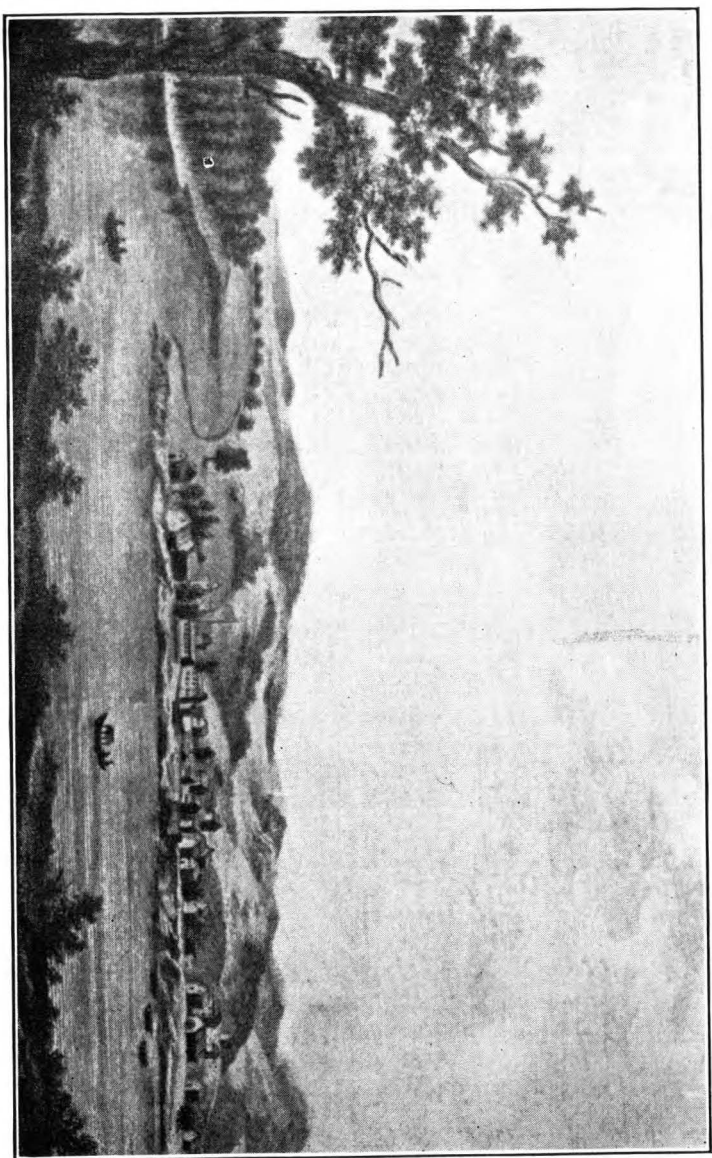
times as much as Hulings charged, and added, "Such is the odds between the counties of Westmoreland and Washington.

"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 of 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)

#### REFERENCES.

##### CHAPTER VI.

1. Neville B. Craig, *Sketch of the Life and Services of Isaac Craig*, Pittsburgh, 1854, pp. 50-51.
  2. *Ibid*, pp. 51-52.
  3. *Colonial Records*, Vol. 14, p. 521.
  4. Richard Henry Lee. *Life of Arthur Lee*, LL. D., Boston, 1829, Vol. II, p. 387.
  5. Neville B. Craig. *The History of Pittsburgh*, Pittsburgh, 1851, p. 182.
  6. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. 10, p. 464-467.
  7. *Ibid*, pp. 464-467.
- Archibald Loudon, *Indian Narratives*, Carlisle, 1808, pp. 38-50.

8. *Colonial Records*, Vol. 14, p. 585.  
Archibald Loudon, *Supra*, p. 50.
9. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. X, p. 468.
10. *Colonial Records*, Vol. 13, p. 774.
11. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. X, p. 462.
12. *Ibid*, pp. 477-478.
13. *Ibid*, p. 483.
14. *Colonial Records*, Vol. 14, p. 498.
15. *Pennsylvania Archives*, *Supra*, p. 497.
16. *Colonial Records*, Vol. 14, p. 549.  
*Pennsylvania Archives*, *Supra*, pp. 462-464.
17. *Pennsylvania Archives*, *Supra*, p. 498.
18. *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny*, Philadelphia, 1859,  
p. 152.
19. *Journal and Letters of Col. John May, of Boston*, Cincinnati,  
1873, pp. 33-49.
20. John Pope. *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States*, Richmond, MDCCXCII, pp. 14-17.
21. Neville B. Graig. *Sketch of the Life and Services of Isaac Craig*, *Surpa*, p. 54.
22. *Historical Register*. Harrisburg, 1883, Vol. I, pp. 292-304.
23. *Ibid*, 1884, Vol. II, p. 123.

## CHAPTER VII. THE OLD REDOUBT.

### I.

#### Location and Date of Erection.

The only relic of Fort Pitt remaining in Pittsburgh to-day 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 original 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."

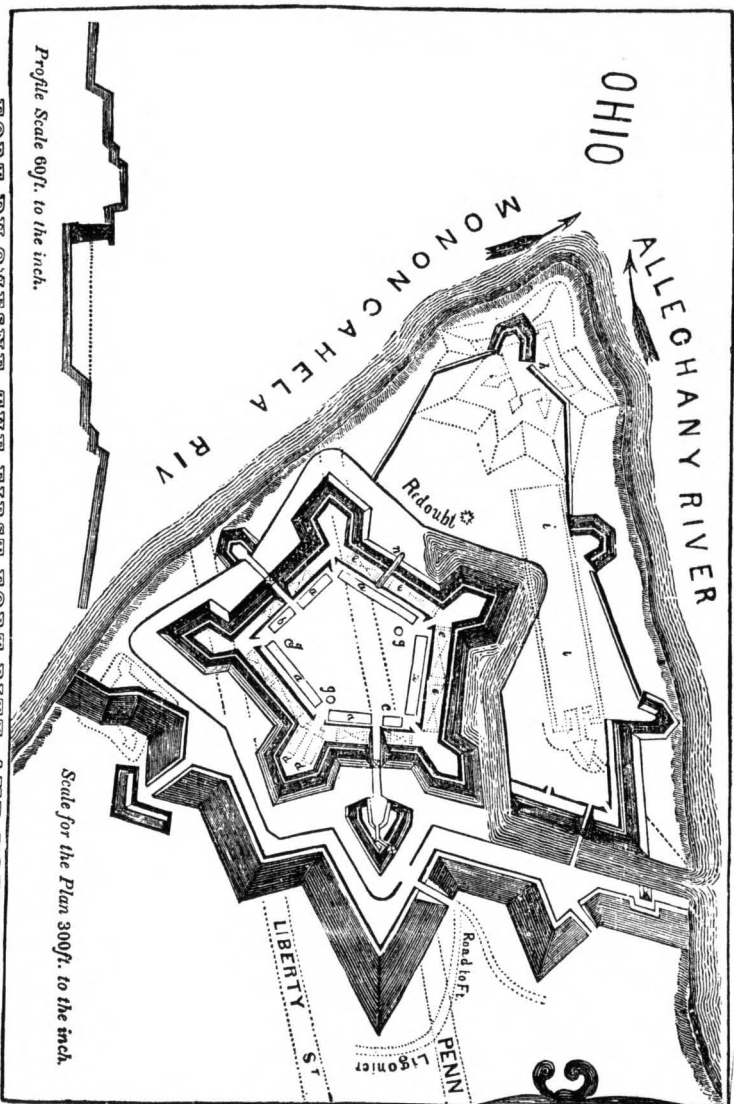
The whole is surmounted by a high sloping roof covered

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 family, 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-







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 Ratz-er'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 sub-ject of the fort and the Redoubt in the *American Pioneer* of June, 1842, a monthly publication emanating from Cin-cinnati. (10) The article written by Isaac Craig was illus-trated with Biddle's copy of Ratzer's plan, and on this sev-eral 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 origi-nal picture of Pittsburgh, instead of having been labori-ously 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 subse-quent 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





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 1907, 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)

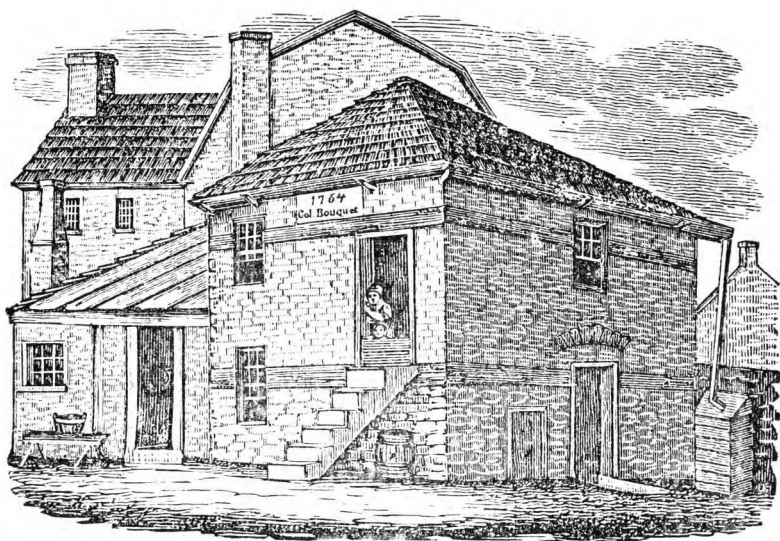
The other view of Pittsburgh is the one appearing in the book of General Henri Victor Collot, a French army officer, who was in Pittsburgh in 1796, having been sent out by the French government at the request of M. Adet, the French Minister to the United States, for the purpose of obtaining minute details 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 abandoned 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.

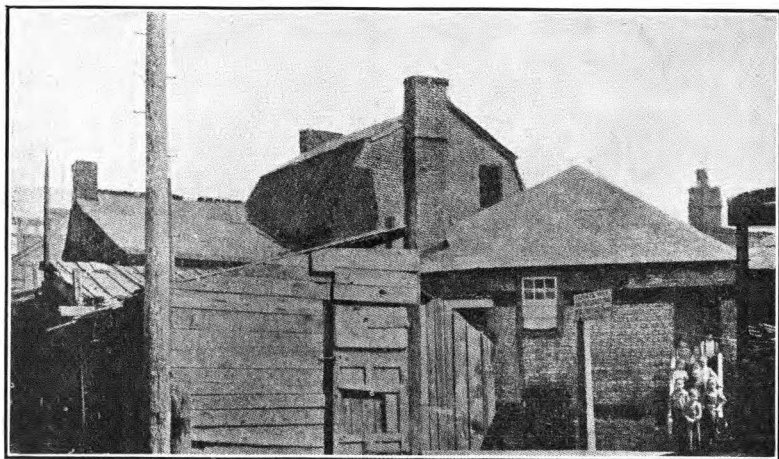
## In Later Days.

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, 'Dare 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. George H. Thurston. *Allegheny County's Hundred Years*, Pittsburgh, 1888, p. 15.
13. *Olden Time*. Pittsburgh, 1846, Vol. I, p. 40.
14. James Ross. *Colonel George Wood's Plan of Pittsburgh*, P. B. Recorder's Office of Allegheny County.
15. *The Navigator*, Pittsburgh, 1808, p. 33.
16. 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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