HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE DIARY OF WILSON HOWELL CARPENTER: An Account of the 1877 Railroad Riots

Edited by

DOUGLAS L. MAHRER

While all businesses were hard hit following the panic of 1873, the railroads were in particularly difficult financial straits. There was no regulation of rates, competition was vigorous, and in 1873 most railroads had capacities far in excess of that required to transport the existing traffic. Further, the traditional rivalry among the east coast seaboard cities still existed. To illustrate these points, consider that during a portion of 1875, the westbound freight rates from Boston to Chicago were 50 percent lower than those from New York. Similarly, in 1876 pressure on passenger rates caused the fare between Boston and Chicago to fall from $25.85 to $14.00. Agricultural products eastbound from Chicago to New York slipped from $.50 per hundredweight to $.18 per hundredweight. The situation deteriorated to the point where the four roads with westbound routes from New York agreed to divide the business as follows: The New York Central and Erie, 33 percent each; the Pennsylvania, 25 percent; the Baltimore and Ohio, 9 percent. The average revenue on the Pennsylvania derived from hauling one ton of freight one mile (a ton-mile) was $.01443 in 1873 prior to the depression, declined to $.00927 in 1876, and did not bottom out until 1879, when it reached $.00824. In addition, the Pennsylvania was engaged in a life-and-death economic struggle against the Erie and the New York Central over oil rates. Finally, the PRR was backing the Empire Transportation Company, which owned all of the oil tank cars and was also purchasing refineries in direct competition with Standard Oil. At the time, Standard accounted for over half of the Pennsylvania's oil traffic.1 In the spring of 1877 both sides stiffened, resulting in Standard withdrawing all its business from the PRR.

This article has been prepared to mark the centennial of the railroad strikes and riots of 1877. Mr. Mahrer is a buyer for Alcoa and volunteer at the Society. He acknowledges the assistance of the Society's staff in aiding the research of this article.—Editor

When revenues fell, management began to search for ways to lower costs. On June 1, 1877, the Pennsylvania reduced the wages of all of its employees by 10 percent, the second such cut since the panic. This resulted in the formation of the Trainmen’s Union in Allegheny, a secret society the immediate goal of which was to bring about a general railroad strike. Robert H. “Boss” Ammon, a young brakeman on the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad, became the general organizer, and the union decided to call the strike for noon, Wednesday, June 27. However, dissension arose in the ranks of the organization, and railroad officials, alerted to the plans through informers, took counteractive measures. The strike was called off.

The next step was taken by the management of the Pennsylvania, who issued an order early in July stating that effective July 19, all eastbound freight trains were to doublehead to Derry, forty-five rail miles east of Pittsburgh. A typical freight train of the period consisted of a PRR class H1 consolidation type (2-8-0) locomotive and seventeen cars. The crew was comprised of two enginemans, a conductor, two brakemen, and a flagman. Therefore, under the method of operation to be instituted July 19, a train would consist of two locomotives and thirty-four cars. While both engine crews would be required, only one-half the normal complement of trainmen would be utilized and payroll costs reduced accordingly. (East of Derry a single engine could haul the train the balance of the distance to Philadelphia, helper locomotives picked up as necessary for short distances, such as Johnstown to Gallitzin.) While it was common practice to doublehead coal trains, there had never been a general order to doublehead all freight trains (with a corresponding crew reduction). The trainmen to be furloughed were those with the least amount of service as well as the unmarried men.

Depression and hostility best summarize the climate among the trainmen of the Pittsburgh Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad on the morning of July 19. Wages had been cut 19 percent in four years. The general strike planned for previously had been thwarted. One-half of the trainmen were about to be laid off in a depressed economy. This, coupled with the general feeling among the residents of Pittsburgh that the Pennsylvania Railroad had created economic hardship through unreasonably high freight rates, makes it easily understood why the order to doublehead evoked hostile reactions. Although the

2 Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Railroad Riots in July, 1877 (Harrisburg, 1878), 3.
3 Ibid., 4.
early morning eastbound freight trains did not leave as doubleheaders on the nineteenth, the trainmen on the 8:40 A.M. train struck.

Most illuminating is the description of the strike in Pittsburgh taken from the heretofore unpublished journal of Wilson Howell Carpenter in the archives of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. Carpenter was the youngest son of James Jackson Carpenter, a bookbinder, and Eliza (McKee) Carpenter. He grew up on Rebecca Street in old Allegheny. Carpenter was first employed, and later became a partner in the Epping Carpenter Company, a firm that manufactured steam pumps. His journal began in 1867, when he was twenty-one years old, and continued, with few omissions, until his death. In it he described the simple entertainments of the era, the dancing and dramatic societies, the debating classes, poetry forums that young persons engaged in, along with horseback riding, visiting, and archery. And, he recorded the momentous occurrences of his times, including the 1877 strike and riots.

During the week . . . an insignificant strike had broken out on some of the western railroads, by Wednesday it had spread to the Pennsylvania Railroad on account of the officers having increased the work of brakemen without added compensation. On Thursday the trainmen refused to let any trains pass Twenty-eighth Street and the strike spread to the other railroads. An excited crowd gathered at Twenty-eighth Street, but further than refusing to let the freight trains pass, nothing riotous occurred. The Governor's proclamation was treated with contempt and the police and the sheriff's posse derided. On Friday the soldiers appeared and one home regiment was stationed at the stockyards while another encamped at Twenty-eighth Street, their white tents gleaming on the hillside. The sympathy of the people and the troops were entirely with the strikers, many of the soldiers openly declared they would not fire on them and turned out with the greatest reluctance. Saturday a Philadelphia [regiment] reached the scene and on account of the defection of our troops was stationed on either side of the tracks at Twenty-eighth Street. On account of the blockade long lines of freight cars stretched from Lawrenceville to Union Depot, filling every available track. Many of these cars were filled with fresh meat and other perishables. Two tracks were filled with loaded oil cars and presented a great temptation for revengeful incendiaries.

4 July 19, 1877.
On Saturday night just as I had left the office for my usual train, excited individuals rushing pale and breathless down the street proclaimed that the soldiers had just fired on the crowd, killing scores. Quick as my legs could carry me I rushed up, and an excited scene presented itself. Those who had been under fire were seeking, in thoughtless terror, a place of safety, while spectators rushing to the spot were trying to get as near as possible, yet loth to emerge from under cover. Bleeding bodies were being borne past, causing muttered execrations from the spectators. Now and then still burdens were carried by, whose covered faces and quiet limbs proclaimed too well their cruel fate. Deep groans and wails of anguish marked their progress. Making my way as quickly as possible through the frantic crowd I reached the railroad. The train was stopped in the yard, so I walked up toward Lawrenceville. Many soldiers without their coats or arms were making streaks up the road, they said they had enough of such scenes, that that was not what they had enlisted for, and so throwing away their guns and coats, for fear of vengeance, they were seeking safe quarters.

It appears that the idle crowd, among whom were many strikers and a few bad characters, had repeatedly crowded upon the troops who as often forced them back. Unfortunately some missiles were thrown and a soldiers gun wrested from him when the command to fire was given, by whom it was never clearly proven. The soldiers fired up the hill and dreadful execution was done, chiefly among the idle and fool-hardy spectators. It was the Philadelphia troops who fired, our home troops all threw down their arms and fled. A furious shout of indignation and a horrible cry for vengeance arose.

After supper the city became a perfect pandemonium and a mob of howling demons filled the streets. Every gun store in the city was broken into and the arms seized. The police were powerless, the mayor inert and the soldiers overawed or disaffected. The Philadelphia troops were now withdrawn to the lower roundhouse and were soon besieged by an infuriated mob who fired on them from every available shelter and the surrounding houses were riddled by the answering volleys. Two old cannon were brought up, but incautiously planted too near and were covered by the guns of the besieged, rendering them useless.

Despairing of dislodging them by a fusilade of bullets, the rioters

5 Located at Twenty-eighth Street. The upper roundhouse was at Twenty-sixth Street. Both were full circles.
bethought themselves of the oil cars, quickly setting fire to these, they were rolled by someone familiar with the switches, against the besieged building. The flames were blown towards the hill and soon the whole line of cars, tracks deep, between Lawrenceville and Twenty-sixth Street were in flames. As they consisted mostly of oil, lumber, coal and coke they burned with a furious intensity, the smoke and flames rolling up the hill and away from the buildings.

All night long the conflict raged, lit up by the grand conflagration and the poor soldiers stifled with heat, raging with thirst and hunger, were penned up in a doomed building by a remorseless mob more cruel than the flames themselves. Towards morning the despairing troops marched out of their fire-girt citadel and charged down Twenty-sixth Street and in solid array filed up Penn Avenue. The mob immediately followed them and from every street corner fired on the retreating column. One man “Pat the Avenger” made himself notorious by his demoniac pursuit, bringing down a man at every crack of his rifle. Woe betide the poor fellow who dropped from the ranks, he was kicked and buffeted into a shapeless mass. With tongues protruding and despairing faces the soldiers proceeded out the avenue, and though having a Gatling Gun, forbore using it on the crowd. At the Arsenal they were denied admission and were formed to drag themselves till they came to Claremont, eight miles distant. Some thirty or forty citizens and half a dozen soldiers were killed.

I had gone home as usual that evening, glad to escape from the excitement, it being beside, decidedly dangerous for spectators. Sunday morning I looked towards town and a long line of smoke rose high into the heavens. Saddling Kitty, I galloped madly in. The stock had all been turned out of the yards for fear of a conflagration and were quietly grazing along the road sides, hurrying crowds were wending their way towards the city, from whence dense clouds of smoke arose. I forced Kitty up the hill overlooking the round house and what a scene met my view. From Lawrenceville Station to Twenty-third Street, about a mile, was one long line of smoking ruins. Of over two thousand cars nothing was left but the wheels, strung dismally along the twisted rails. Over a hundred engines in the round houses were blasted and shrunken wrecks. The machine shops were shapeless masses and there the fire had crossed the street and burned a planing Mill and some lumber piles. I hurried down to the scene. Penn Street

6 North of the Allegheny River, midway between Aspinwall and present-day Blawnox.
was filled with household goods with their owners disconsolately keeping guard over them. And men, women and children were scudding across the street with arms filled with stolen goods. At Twenty-third Street the transfer buildings were still burning and some cars were in flames. Men with axes were breaking open the cars next to the burning ones and distributing their contents among the crowd. Little children were lugging away buggy bodies, women sewing machines, while clouds of bandana handkerchiefs and boxes of cigars filled the air. The moral relaxation was so supreme that the most respectable people caught the contagion and scrupled not to scramble for the spoils. I myself felt mightily like "hooking" a box of cigars, being only prevented by the difficulty of hiding it. Now and then, the reports that a car of powder was on fire would create a panic and Kitty would fly with the multitude. Perceiving a gap between the lines of cars, I thought the havoc would cease, so I went over to Allegheny for dinner, and about two o'clock prepared to start home to Edgewood. As I reached the bridge I saw a fresh column of smoke arising and my heart grew sick for I knew the Union Depot had been fired. Pale and dismayed, multitudes were hastening to the scene and the world seemed coming to an end. Though I was a passive member of the "mob". My share consisted in observing the flames. I was stationed at Washington St. Bridge and had a magnificent view of the conflagration. I saw no incendiariism, except some boys setting fire to some spilled whiskey. I yelled at one who was about to apply the brand to a barrel of alcohol and he slunk away. There was a spirit of suspicion abroad and every one held his mouth for fear his neighbor was one of the "mob". It was my impression then that one revolver resolutely used would have stopped the whole thing, but other observers nearer the front saw more of the riotous element that overawed any disorganized, weak opposition that was offered. The soldiers were scattered and demoralized, the police were thoroughly cowed, the mayor without a head and the citizens panic stricken, though in the afternoon a citizen corps of our best men was organized and marched to the scene, where, though roughly treated, they prevented some burning cars from being run down to Duquesne Depot. 8 Had this not been hin-

7 In 1877, present-day Washington Place (then Washington Street) extended north to Grant Street, crossing the tracks of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and St. Louis Railway (commonly known as the Panhandle) via a bridge. After an easterly jog on Liberty Street, it continued north towards the Allegheny River on what is now Eleventh Street.

8 A freight depot reached by traversing trackage laid in Liberty Street (Avenue); so named because it stood near the site of Fort Duquesne.
dered, the whole city would have been in ashes. Heretofore, the wind had blown steadily from the east towards the hill, where there was nothing to feed the flames. . . . While I stood on the bridge, watching a crowd of wretched creatures sack a car load of hams, a roar of flames and smoke broke out behind me, and the Pan Handle and Express Depots were fresh victims. By this time the Elevator had caught and the immense volumes of flames rolled up Washington Street and licked up any private houses on it and Fountain Street, as far as Seventh Avenue. The intense heat now threatened the building on the opposite side of Liberty Street and the firemen, who had worked incessantly following the fire from Twenty-eighth Street down, drenching all the exposed private property, now turned their attention to confining the fire within the square formed by Liberty, Seventh and Bedford, which they succeeded in doing. The mayhem elements of the mob were too drunk to plan further mischief and slunk away, one by one.

I had always wished to be a spectator, should the Elevator ever burn down, and now I was gratified. It was a magnificent sight and my appetite for conflagrations was thoroughly satiated.

The next day, the troops were re-assembled, volunteers called out and several regiments of State Troops and Regulars ordered to the scene. Although the worst was over, there was a terrible feeling of apprehension abroad. Nerves were strung up to the highest tension and we all felt as if walking over a powder magazine that was expected to explode. Cannon were planted at the ends of the Allegheny Bridges; the Fort Wayne strikers allowed their cars to be scattered to places of safety. Bob Ammon, one of them, usurped the whole management of the road, and ran the machine to suit. Passenger trains were discontinued, or run very irregularly. Every railroad official had

9 Structures located in an area bounded by Grant, Washington, Fountain (next street parallel to and south from Grant), and Seventh streets.

10 A large ten-story grain elevator, located at the southeast corner of Washington and Liberty and approximately 180 feet in front of Union Depot.

11 This was the same Robert Ammon who organized the Trainmen's Union in early June. He agreed with the management of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway that he and his men would "protect" the railroad property until after the disturbance. This group dispersed the freight cars to sidings outside the city and returned them in due course. Mayor Ormsby Phillips of Allegheny took a strong hand in the situation, closing saloons, adding patrols, and fortifying the bridges to Pittsburgh to prevent the mob from crossing. As a result, while railroad traffic in the city was disrupted, neither life nor property was destroyed. For a brief description of Ammon's role, see Norman J. Ware, The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895: A Study in Democracy (New York, 1929), 46.
fled for his life, fearing assassination. General Pearson, the commander of the militia was a fugitive, and General Negley took charge. Governor Hartranft rushed home from California.

From every quarter the tramps were rushing in to share the spoils, and there was great alarm in the suburbs from that cause. The citizens gathered up all their old arms and stood guard. At Edgewood the young men agreed to stand guard . . . with the married men. We got all the old muskets and assembled at the station. . . . We waited long and patiently for the first tramp, but we waited in vain, till it began to rain, when, finding their berths under the trees uncomfortable, they began to trudge along. The first one, caused considerable trepidation in our ranks, till, being the oldest, I stepped forward and timidly shouted "Halt". The others then reinforced me and the fellow halted. Hereupon we became very gruff and tyrannical and cruelly forced him into the Station House. He, no doubt, suffered his imprisonment very much, as it was raining very hard; and perhaps duly appreciated our feelings, as we marched about in the rain. But what's the odds so long as we had delivered Pittsburgh from destruction. Before morning we had safely housed three; some of the guards' boots had grown too tight and going home to change them, they had not returned. As daylight appeared, we grew careless of the world's welfare and recalling some of our old Sunday School lectures, we repeated them to the tramps, and turning their faces toward the east, we bid them God-speed.

The next night the married men turned out. . . . I determined to have some fun, . . . we put on some ragged clothes, threw a bundle over our shoulder . . . and started from the corner. . . . We took over the fields, and sitting down to rest, we presently, much to our alarm, observed a man moving silently towards us with pointed rifle. . . . He reasoned with us and said just over the country they were badly in need of harvest hands, and gave us much good advice. . . . We might have burned the whole village down, had we been so minded. Those two nights cooled our military ardor, but in other places they patrolled for a week. . . .

In course of a week or so, the trains began running again and things went on about as usual. Some sixteen hundred cars, one hundred and twenty-five locomotives, all the machine shops and round houses of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Transfer Depot, Union Depot, Pan Handle Depot, and Machine Shop, Adams Express Depot, Elevator, all the houses and stables on Fountain Street and several on Washington were burned. . . .
The law, the various levels of government, and the morals of the times sided with the corporations, even if public opinion did not. Through the efforts of Governor Hartranft, many of the ringleaders were arrested and the trains began moving again on the morning of July 29.\textsuperscript{12} The disturbances on the Pennsylvania and its affiliated lines affected workers in other Pittsburgh-area industries, as well as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Baltimore and Ohio management was forced to halt service after a mob forced an engine crew to give up their posts on a freight train entering Pittsburgh during the night of July 21. However, the Baltimore and Ohio in Pittsburgh escaped any damage, which was unusual, since the first violence in the railroad riots had occurred at the railroad's Martinsburg, West Virginia, shops on Tuesday, July 17. Labor unrest spilled over into area industries. Workers in some of the mills struck for higher wages, and at Castle Shannon miners peacefully struck to raise their rate from two and a half cents to four cents a bushel.\textsuperscript{13}

The railroad strike and riots in Pittsburgh began as a clash between big business and emergent unionism and ended as a revolt by the community against the Pennsylvania Railroad. The holocaust crippled the trade union movement and generated an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility within the city that took decades to dissipate.


\textsuperscript{13} R. V. Bruce, \textit{1877: Year of Violence} (Indianapolis, 1959), 182.
A PENNSYLVANIA MAP POWDER HORN

LAURENCE A. COOLEY

In November 1975, the author acquired at public auction an extremely rare Pennsylvania map powder horn depicting the Forbes Road and a portion of the British great seal. Identification and recording of another General Forbes horn with comment on T. Kenneth Wood's records of similar ones is of use to students of early Pennsylvania history. The results of a forensic investigation and some deductive historical interpretation about the original makers of such horns should also be interesting.

Many people view powder horns as either cheap pieces of litter or dubious curiosities. This doubt is well grounded because of widespread faking and incorrect association with famous people. Nevertheless, powder horns merit study. Some of them are works of art and bear an appealing relationship to the nation's past if not, indeed, to one's own artistic sense.

Powder horns are divided into three groups: plain horns; cannon priming horns of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and engraved horns. Plain horns are common and vary in cost from less than $10.00 to three-figure sums, depending on condition and type. Cannon primers, distinguished by their brass or iron spout mechanisms, are relatively scarce. Lying between these two groups, in total numbers, are engraved horns. These are divided into those inscribed with figures or carvings and those bearing maps.

Map horns are less common than ordinary engraved ones. Those intended for use in the colonies before the Revolution generally bear the British coat of arms. This figure is omitted on horns engraved during and after the Revolution. New York and Great Lakes map horns are the most common; those of Pennsylvania are extremely rare. The author considers extant only six to ten of the Forbes type.

The defeat of Major General Edward Braddock, on July 9, 1755, by the French and Indians (Figure 1) was one of the most famous

The author is a long-time resident of the Washington area and a metallurgical engineer for the Navy Department. He is interested in local military history and is working on a definitive method for characterizing colonial powder horns.—Editor


engagements of the French and Indian War. This battle’s importance, with respect to Forbes powder horns, lay in the prolonged French rule which led to yet another expedition to subjugate Western Pennsylvania. The second campaign, under Brigadier General John Forbes, resulted in building a new road through Pennsylvania. Constructed west from Carlisle, it roughly paralleled a prehistoric Indian path and in places retraced portions of earlier military roads.\(^3\) Today, map powder horns showing this road are correctly known as: “Powder Horn, Pennsylvania Map, General Forbes Style,” or, more simply, General Forbes horns. This article describes the author’s horn and compares it with two other examples of Pennsylvania map powder horns.

**Description of the Horn**

Figure 2 shows the overall view of the horn; Table 1 shows its pertinent dimensions.

| TABLE 1 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Dimensions of General Forbes Map Horn** |
| **Straight Length In.** | **Longest Curve In.** | **Circumference of Wide End In.** | **Circumference 1-In. from Wide End In.** | **Diameter of Wide End In.** | **Side Worn** |
| 8\(\frac{5}{8}\) | 9\(\frac{3}{4}\) | 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) | 7\(\frac{1}{8}\) | 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) major | Right |
| or | 2 minor | Left |

The engraving on the horn shows the Forbes Road, Fort Pitt, and the British coat of arms. Longitudinal scraping and hand rubbing with pumice and oil prepared the horn for the engraver’s tools.\(^4\) The lines, now extremely worn, contain a reddish substance that may be vermilion. Other cuts, like the X’s on the unicorn’s collar, are blackened and appear to have been made with a heated tool.

The horn’s overall color is brownish yellow, except the tip which is black. The recessed pouring spout is yellowish green. Dents next to the lion indicate that the powder horn was worn principally on the right hip by a right-handed man. A left-handed man would have worn

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\(^4\) The author doubts his horn was carved with a burin, which is an engraver’s tool distinguished by a lozenge-shaped point. The most likely tool(s) used were a race knife, awl, and a set of engineer’s divider points.
the horn below the left breast. Size suggests that this horn came from a bullock or heifer.

While not readily apparent from Figure 2, the stopper in the pouring spout is a modern replacement. It appears to be pine from the southwest and has been stained red. The base plug is brown-stained pine. This plug is carved in the shape of an eight-lobed crown in the base of which are twenty-three ornamental brass escutcheon pins.

**Forensic Characterization**

The author purchased the horn in Austin, Texas. Because nothing is known about its pre-1950 ownership, the possibility of art fraud necessitated a careful examination.

The horn has been cut off at the base approximately in the center of the seal. Carpet beetle larvae damage is the most likely reason for this repair. By combining a knowledge of the British coat of arms with the relative position of the Forbes Road stations, I determined, with drafting dividers, that the horn was shortened only about 1 3/4 inches. When shortened, the base plug was attached by four magnetic nails. At the same time, someone coated the horn with clear lacquer or shellac, because the nail heads have not rusted. The escutcheon pins, used in leather craft and jewelry box manufacture, are old, but they are not contemporary with the horn. Called "French Nails" after the wire-nail process developed in France in 1850, they could not have been produced in this country before 1851. The amount of corrosion and wear on these pins suggest a likely manufacturing date between 1875 and 1925.

A drawn wire eyebolt (picture hanging screw) attached a replacement leather carrying-strap to the base plug. Metallographic examination of this screw shows it to be made from commercially pure open-hearth iron — a material not available in this country until after 1907. The eyebolt probably dates between 1910 and 1930.

Although the horn and engraving are original, the escutcheon pins and eyebolt suggest repair occurred between 1910 and 1925, and that the original base plug served as the pattern for the present one.

**Iconography**

An iconograph best portrays the entire surface of an engraved powder horn. Iconography is similar to map drawing and translates

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5 The first American wire-nail machine was used by Thomas Morton in 1851. See "The Manufacture of Steel Wire and Steel Wire Products," *The Making, Shaping and Treating of Steel* (Pittsburgh, 1957), 674-75.
lines appearing on irregularly shaped surfaces to a plane. As in map drawing, some distortion results. Figure 3 is an iconograph of the subject horn — the only such representation known for a General Forbes horn.

Earlier representations of Pennsylvania map horns, such as those of Wood, while not strictly iconographs, were the only readily available transcriptions of these horns and were immensely helpful in historical art characterization. Figures 4 and 5 are two of Wood's horn drawings. Comparison of these drawings with the iconograph of the subject horn is both useful and interesting. For example: (1) The flag flies from the same bastion of Fort Pitt in each horn; (2) Two horns (the subject horn, Figure 3, and Wood's horn, Figure 4) are approximately dated by the cipher G II R which refers to George II, who died October 25, 1760; (3) Although provincially engraved powder horns rarely show correctly the coat of arms (e.g., omission of the Irish harp from the center of the garter in both of Wood's horns and its incorrect placement in the subject horn), similarities in the treatment of this subject are evident.

For those readers unfamiliar with the British coat of arms, a short explanation is in order. The British lion stands in the rampant guardant position. The Scottish unicorn is rampant. On properly executed seals, the unicorn is chained from his collar to the lower riband which bears the French motto: “Dieu Et Mon Droit,” meaning God and My Right. Within the garter is the ancient French motto: “Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense,” which means Dishonor to Him Who Thinks Ill of It. The garter symbolizes the oldest English order of knighthood presided over today by Queen Elizabeth II. The four quarters within the garter (upper right, upper left, lower right, and lower left) are referred to as Sinister Chief, Dexter Chief, Sinister Base, and Dexter Base. The harp shown on the subject horn (Figure 3) is in the Dexter Chief whereas it should be placed in the Dexter Base.

The iconograph of Figure 3 depicts five of the eight fortifications between Shippensburg and Pittsburgh. The first on the horn is Fort

7 Scholars are unable to account for either the motto's exact meaning or the founding reasons for the order. The popular rendition quoted by the British Embassy in Washington is: Evil Be to He Who Evil Thinks. The French Embassy says the language is ancient French dating between William the Conqueror and the end of the seventeenth century. The embassy's translation is: Shamed Be He Who Thinks Evil of This. An unprintable version relates to a lady's thigh. Edward III created The Most Noble Order of the Garter in 1348. Whether he did it at a party as widely supposed or at a jousting tournament remains a moot question. See Charles Boutell, English Heraldry (London, 1908), 278.
Lyttleton (Litelton), named in 1756 by Governor Morris for his friend, George Lyttleton. Next is a stockade, known simply as "Crossings," guarding the Raystown Branch of the Juniata River. Fort Bedford, constructed in 1758, was named for John Russell, the Duke of Bedford. Stony (Stone) Creek lay along the road near Stoyestown in present Somerset County. Next came Fort Ligonier, named after Lord John Ligonier in 1758. The last is Fort Pitt, referred to as Pittsburgh within days of Fort Duquesne's capture.

Discussion

In 1755, Colonel James Burd had constructed a road as far as Raystown and beyond. Thus, in 1758, there was no real road west to the Ohio beyond Raystown. The Forbes Road, when it was laid out in 1758, did not exactly retrace the Burd Road, and from Fort Loudon west to Pittsburgh was almost entirely of new construction.

Note the engraving on Wood's horn (Figure 4), reminiscing Bouquet's 1760 expedition to Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presque Isle. The horn was probably engraved by a Pennsylvania provincial or a Royal American who accompanied Bouquet on the expedition. The cipher GR II indicates that the engraver probably had not yet heard of the death of George II. Allowing for the slow travel of news in the colonies it is likely this horn was carved late in 1760 or early in 1761.

The author considers a member of the British Forty-second Royal Highland Regiment, or the "Black Watch," carved Wood's second horn (Figure 5). Notice the stylized Highlander and the Indian symbolizing the Battle of Bushy Run. Prior to being sent to relieve Fort Pitt in the summer of 1763, the Black Watch served in New York State, hence the engraving at the bottom of the horn. By now everyone knew that George II was dead, and thus his cipher was omitted. The author dates this horn to early 1764.

The author's horn can also be dated with some precision. The plan of Fort Pitt on the horn (also on Wood's two horns) is very close to that proposed by the British engineers in 1759 (Figure 6). Combining this information with the G II R cipher gives a probable date of 1760-1761 for the manufacture of the horn.

While the identity of the carver of our horn can only be conjectured, some intriguing speculations are possible. In the spring of 1760, after the departure of General Stanwix, the garrison consisted of 150 Virginians, 150 Pennsylvanians, and 400 Royal Americans, all
under the command of Major John Tulleken. The Royal Americans were recruited from among the German and Swiss immigrants of southeastern Pennsylvania and western Maryland. These men were artistic; they developed the Pennsylvania-Kentucky Rifle and made the powder horns that went with it. The engraving on the author’s horn is similar to Pennsylvania-German carving some forty years later. The engraving revealed by the iconograph (Figure 3) indicates the Forbes Road entering through the ravelin and leading directly to an enlisted men’s quarters (see Figure 6). This suggests, therefore, that the horn was prepared by a German or Swiss resident of the Shippensburg area, and that this man served as an enlisted man in the Royal American Regiment during the period 1759-1761. The horn is much shorter than Wood’s and probably showed the road starting at Shippensburg rather than Philadelphia.

The author has been asked on several occasions why men engraved these horns. Several possible answers arise. The engraving served first as a crude provincial map that enabled the traveler to place himself in relationship to the wilderness through which he traveled. Secondly, the work was a vehicle for expressing an inner need to demonstrate one’s own talent for artistic embellishment. Finally, an engraved horn provided comfort to its owner during moments of insecurity such as encountered when traveling along a ten-foot-wide road through the “Shades of Death” on a bleak and windy day.

General Forbes horns are ugly ducklings. They show a scratch through the wilderness with Fort Pitt at the end. New York and Havana map horns, while epitomizing the artistry exhibited during this period, are essentially commemorative. Only the Forbes horns, of all those of the French colonial wars, combine the practical features of map with those of friend and comforter.

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8 T. J. Chapman, The French in the Allegheny Valley (Cleveland, 1887), 106.
JOSEPH GRANGE SMITH, 1911-1977

The following letter concerning the Joseph G. Smith Memorial Fund has been mailed to Society members. A full tribute to Joe will appear in the October magazine.

TO OUR MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

I am writing to inform you that the Society on June 9 created The Joseph G. Smith Memorial Fund, and to invite you to make a contribution.

We have created this Fund as a mark of respect and affection for the man who served the Society so capably and devotedly from 1966 until his death on Monday, May 30, 1977.

Joseph Smith became a Trustee of the Society in the fall of 1966. After taking early retirement from his position as a Vice-President of Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Company, he joined the staff of the Society in January 1972 as Director of Community Services. He became Director of the Society in October 1972. One of his deepest interests and most effective contributions in these five and a half years was our work with the school children of Western Pennsylvania.

It is not widely known that Joseph Smith after December 1973 turned his salary back to the Society as his contribution to the services we provide the community.

One-half of the contributions made in Mr. Smith’s memory will be added to the Society’s Endowment Fund, the income of which helps to pay our operating expenses. The other half will go toward the cost of greatly enlarging and improving our library facilities — an undertaking he conceived and supervised. If you wish to make a contribution, please send your check to The Joseph G. Smith Memorial Fund at the Historical Society.

For the Executive Committee

C. V. Starrett, President

Robert C. Alberts  Carlton G. Ketchum
Niles Anderson  Charles M. Stotz
John W. R. Creighton  Eugene B. Strassburger, Jr.

Mrs. William J. Titzel
ADDITIONS TO COLLECTIONS
APRIL 1, 1977-JULY 1, 1977

ARCHIVES

Armstrong, Miss Barbara—Madison, Wisconsin
  Book of poetry, written by Mrs. Susan Cochran of Beaver

Baillie, Mr. and Mrs. James L.—Delmont
  Westinghouse souvenir picnic packet; parts of the following newspapers bearing news that World War II was over: Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Independent; Pittsburgh Press, Apr. 2, 1961

Baum, Estate of Helen Kohler (Mrs. Paul)—Pittsburgh
  Papers of the Baum, Winebiddle, and Roup families; photographs and other memorabilia; Leaves of Life, by Margaret Bird Steinmetz, 1916

Carver, Frank—Beaver
  Photographic copies of Reading Howell's map of Pennsylvania, including an enlarged section of Western Pennsylvania

Denny, Mr. and Mrs. James O'Hara III—Pittsburgh
  Program, opening of Heinz Hall for the Performing Arts and Inaugural Concert by the Pittsburgh Symphony; two ticket stubs; copy of tear sheet from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Sept. 9, 1971

Gruener, LeRoy J.—Pittsburgh

Harriss, Mrs. W. E., and Eden Harriss, in memory of W. E. Harriss—Pittsburgh
  Paper, System Board Meeting of the Pennsylvania Railroad System Board of Adjustment (Minutes), Aug. 4, 1954; University of Pittsburgh, Engineering, Science and Management Training Courses, 1942; paper, Statistical Analysis of Metallurgical Inspection Problems; University of Pittsburgh, Engineering Defense Training Courses, 1941; lecture by Irving A. Brinkman, Oct. 15, 1941; Steel Plant Design, by Carnegie Illinois Steel Company, 1944

Johnston, John M.—Wayne
  Manuscript describing the three rivers and Indian wars, written by donor's great-grandfather, John Johnston

Jones, Robert J.—Lewistown
  Article on Squirrel Hill

Karas, Stanley—Pittsburgh
  Clippings; Exxon visitors guides; program for the Miracle Worker; aerial view of Pittsburgh; prints by David Lee

Linder, Richard L.—Pittsburgh
  Three postcards; article by Eric M. Sirko, "Over the Mon Stadium"

Lipsman, Mrs. Mary Ann Allen—Pittsburgh
  Centennial stamp for first day of issue envelope

Lovejoy, Ronald—Pittsburgh
  Pittsburgh Dispatch, Nov. 1917

McKay, M. K.—Pittsburgh
  Early documents and newspapers of the city of Pittsburgh

McMahan, Calvin A.—Austintown, Ohio
  Facsimile of the Centinel of the Northwestern Territory, Nov. 9, 1973

Mahler, Al—Pittsburgh
  Three-dimensional pictures of the Monongahela Bridge, Liberty Avenue, the Point, and the old railroad bridge

Mayer, Stanley D.—Pittsburgh
  Pamphlets from Pennsylvania College for Women, University of Pittsburgh, and Darlington Library; programs, clippings, advertisements, and trade bill

Merz, Donald—Pittsburgh
  Civil War letters by Union soldiers
Miller, Miss Elizabeth C.—Glenshaw
  *Godey's Lady's Book*, May 1864, Nov. 1870; *Harpers*, Aug. 1874; *Literary Digest*, June 25, 1927; Lincoln's birthday address, delivered, 1909 by donor's father
Owensley, David T.—Pittsburgh
  *Science & Health*, by Mary Baker Eddy, 1906; holograph notebook of recipes compiled by Mrs. Charles Arbuthnot; holograph notebook of trips taken by the Arbuthnoots, including wedding trip in 1933; framed photograph of Elizabeth Arbuthnot as a young girl; two photograph albums; folder of newspaper and magazine clippings
Reeble, Mrs. Sylvia—Pittsburgh
  Card with names and addresses of ministers who served as chaplains in World War II
Reed, Samuel C., Jr.—Pittsburgh
  Two court dockets, 1893, 1912, the latter owned by W. B. Rodgers, Esq.
Starrett, C. V.—Pittsburgh
  *Generation upon Generation: A History of Magee-Women's Hospital*, 1976
Tacey, Mrs. William S.—Pittsburgh
  Two marksmen medals from the Crow Foot Rod and Gun Club, 1949, 1952
Wagner, John H.—Bradford Woods
  Views of Titusville, Oil City, Petroleum Center, Cherry Run, Rouseville, Franklin, and the Allegheny River, from artists' etchings published in 1865
Western Pennsylvania Conservancy—Pittsburgh
  *Iron from the Forest: The Early Iron Industry of the Valley of the Slippery Rock*, by Harold E. White
Yewell, Mrs. Paul—La Jolla, California
  Original notes for a talk to the Women's Club of Pittsburgh; autographed photograph of Frances Folsom Cleveland
Zeigler, Miss Elizabeth C.—Pittsburgh
  Souvenir of Phipps Conservatory, Schenley Park; 27th Triennial Conclave of Knights Templar, 1898
Zirikzak, Mrs. Alice G.—Pittsburgh
  Manuscript music book written by Robert Gray, 1790

**Genealogy**

Donovan, Mrs. William G.—Kailua, Hawaii
  Copies of papers of James S. Chambers of Washington County, including his pension papers, Bible records, and part of a letter written by James Chambers; Andrew J. Chambers Bible records
Hoffstot, Henry Phipps—Pittsburgh
  *Concerning the Hoffstot Family*, comp. by Henry P. Hoffstot, 1927
McMahan, Calvin A.—Austintown, Ohio
  Family lineage charts for the McMahan and Eckman-Wilson families

**Library**

Bailie, Mr. and Mrs. James L.—Delmont
  *Westinghouse, East Pittsburgh; Westinghouse, East Pittsburgh Division's 75th Anniversary; George Westinghouse, 1846-1914*, by the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, 1946
Baum, Estate of Helen Kohler (Mrs. Paul)—Pittsburgh

Bethel United Presbyterian Church, the Reverend Michael F. Fonfera, Pastor—Monroeville

175th Anniversary of the Bethel United Presbyterian Church, 1977

Butler County Historical Society—Slippery Rock Beautiful, Bountiful Butler County, 1870-1970, 1976


Dennler, R. H.—Pittsburgh

The First Century of an Institution: Reed Smith Shaw and McClay, by

the donor


Geist, Miss L. Esther—Pittsburgh

The Harmony Society in Pennsylvania, by the Federal Writers' Project, 1937, autographed by J. S. Duss; publications of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; newspaper clippings

Gruener, LeRoy J.—Pittsburgh


Guttendorf, Mrs. and Mrs. Charles M.—Pittsburgh

Four boxes of 3 x 5 cards for use in the library

Harriss, Mrs. W. E., and Eden Harriss, in memory of W. E. Harriss—Pittsburgh

Graduate Work in Industry, by the University of Pittsburgh, 1944; Metallurgical Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 1, 1939; Metallurgical Inspection Engineering Defense Training, University of Pittsburgh, 1939; Proceedings, Ninth Annual Water Conference, 1948, by the Engineers Society of Western Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania Grocer, May 1940; clipping
Hartman, Mrs. John C.—Pittsburgh
Records of the Women's Work of the First Presbyterian Church of Wilkinsburg, Pa., by the donor

Jackman, Mrs. David E.—Pittsburgh

Jones, Mrs. Miles—Pittsburgh
Souvenir of Pittsburgh Post Office, 1891, ed. by Albert J. Edwards

Karas, Stanley—Pittsburgh
School Laws of Pennsylvania, 1931; Pennsylvania Motor Vehicle Code, 1969; newspapers; bicentennial road maps; PAT transit schedules

Kummer, Gerald C.—Pittsburgh
Pennsylvania: Heritage, vol. 3, no. 2

Logan, Charles—Pittsburgh

McKee, George A.—Pittsburgh
History of the Pittsburgh Washington Infantry, 1931

Mayer, Stanley D.—Pittsburgh

Munson, John G., Jr.—Pittsburgh
Cook, by John Fulton, 1905

Owsley, David T.—Pittsburgh

Robinson, Mrs. Roger—Zelienople

Shaw, Mrs. Barbara S.—Pittsburgh

Starrett, C. V.—Pittsburgh
New Dimensions of Learning in a Free Society, Inaugural Address of Edward Harold Litchfield, University of Pittsburgh, May 9, 10, 11, 1957; Allegheny County, a Sesquicentennial Review, ed. by George E. Kelly, 1958; Selections from Ovid, Kelsey and Scudder, 1949; Stephen Foster, by John Tasker Howard, 1934; Life and Reminiscences of William G. Johnston, 1901; Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands, by Allen H. Eaton, 1937

Starrett, Mrs. C. V.—Pittsburgh

Tacey, Dr. William S.—Pittsburgh
Notebook containing Dodge Reports; two International Time Recording Company price lists; Life of Washington, by Leonard Henley; Woman's Work in the Civil War, by L. P. Brockett and Mary C. Vaughan, 1867

Walton, D. L.—Monaca
Center, 200 years — America & Center, by the Center Township (Beaver Co.) Bicentennial Commission, 1976; I Remember Monaca!, by the Great Arrow Historical Association of Center Township and Monaca, 1976
Warne, Charles C., Jr.—Pittsburgh
   *Alcoa, An American Enterprise,* by Charles C. Carr; *The American Revo-
   lution; Twelve Hats of a Company President,* by Willard F. Rockwell, Jr.;
   *Earthbound Astronauts,* by Veirne Lay, Jr.; *The Rebellious Colonel*
   *Speaks, Selected Papers of Willard F. Rockwell*

Weaver, William C.—Pittsburgh
   *East Liberty Presbyterian Church,* by Georgina Negley

Yewell, Mrs. Paul R.—La Jolla, California
   *The English Version of the Polyglot Bible with Marginal Readings . . . ,*
   1847, inscribed to Elizabeth Wilkinson, 1849

Zeigler, Miss Elizabeth C.—Pittsburgh
   *"Pleasant View, the History of a Typical Plantation in Cumberland Coun-
   ty, Begun 1745,* by Charles Gilbert Beetem; *The Heart of Shakespeare,*
   by Dr. Solomon B. Freehof

MUSEUM

Baum, Estate of Helen Kohler (Mrs. Paul)—Pittsburgh
   Framed portraits of Jonas Roup, John Roup, Catherine Winebiddle Roup,
   and Philip Winebiddle; print of the Great Conflagration of Pittsburgh,
   1845; color prints in gilt frame: Boyd's Hill, Pittsburgh and Allegheny
   from Coal Hill; framed photograph, autographed by General James S.
   Negley; framed photographs of William Penn Baum and Andrew W.
   Mellon

Friedman, Dr. and Mrs. H. W.—Pittsburgh
   Two plates, one flow blue Staffordshire, "Souvenir of Pittsburgh," one
   beige with brown transfer print, Pittsburgh Bicentennial, 1758-1958

Hudson, Mrs. Ruth—Pittsburgh
   Dress worn by donor's mother, Mrs. Graham Gongaware of Greensburg

Owsley, David T.—Pittsburgh
   Four plastic garment bags; woman's bonnet, ca. 1850; lady's dressing
   gown, blue velvet; two human hair wiglets

Wasserman, Mrs. Edith Rosenblat—Pittsburgh
   Framed picture of donor's grandmother; set of baby clothes, 1888; a pina-
   fore and hospital cap, belonging to her grandmother, Rae Weinstein