

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

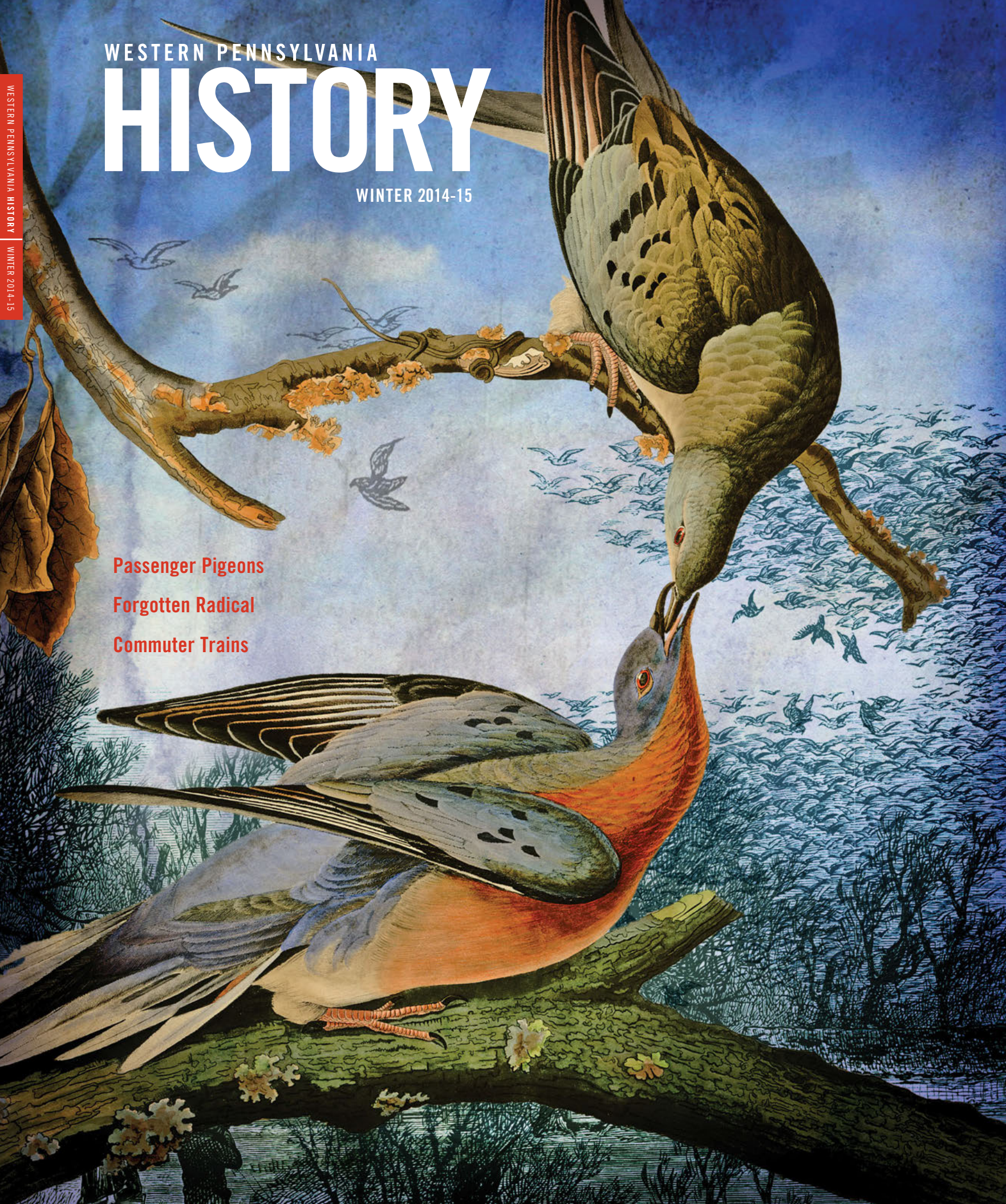
HISTORY

WINTER 2014-15

Passenger Pigeons

Forgotten Radical

Commuter Trains





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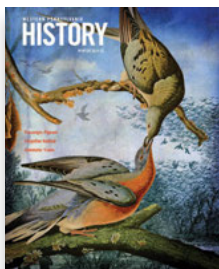
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A composite of the courtship ritual of "billing" between a female (above) and male Passenger Pigeon (watercolor by John James Audubon while in Pittsburgh, 1824), and background details of an 1875 sketch by Smith Bennett.

University of Pittsburgh Library System, Special Collections, The Birds of America, Volumes I-IV; LoC US262-69248.



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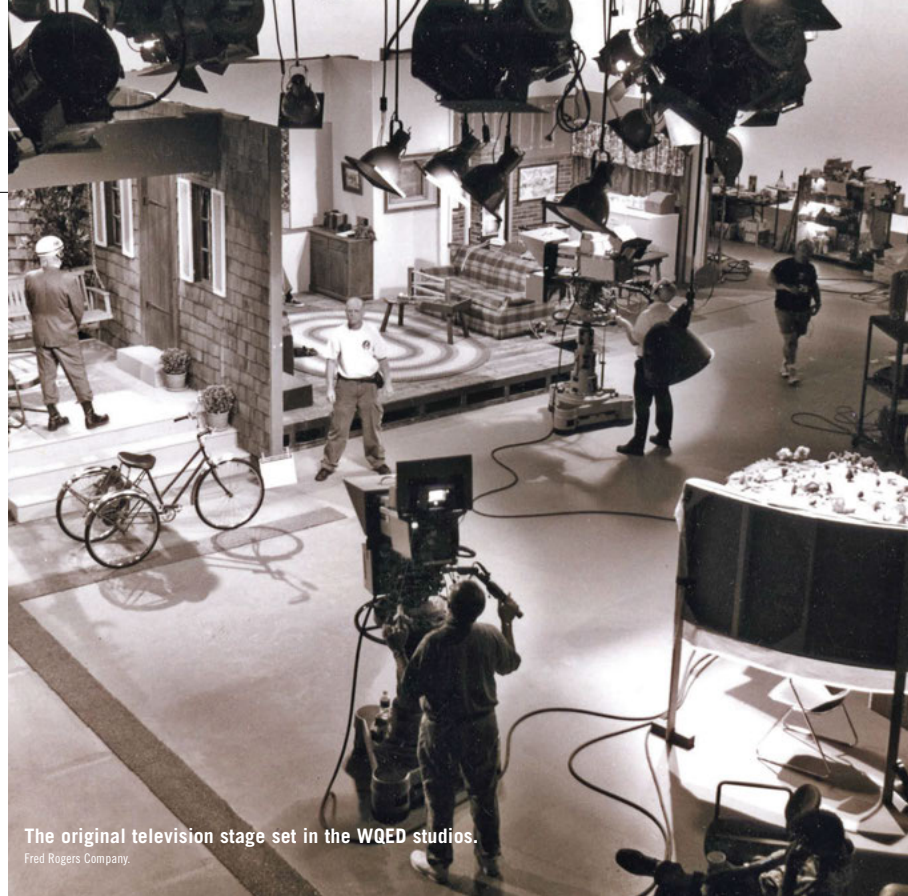
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Mister Rogers' Neighborhood Special Collections Falk Collections Center Now open

Pittsburgh's most famous neighborhood is now part of the History Center. In February 1968, *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* made its national television debut, winning two Emmys for outstanding programming. Fred Rogers wrote every episode and song for the show, relying on his background in child development and the help of experts to craft his message. The stage set became a home away from home for legions of young fans. With the donation to the History Center of the living room, X the Owl's tree, and King Friday's castle by the Fred Rogers Company, visitors can see the set in person and connect to fond memories.



The original television stage set in the WQED studios.
Fred Rogers Company.

Winter 2014-15 — Ongoing Exhibits



Excavating the Arabia was a massive undertaking.
Arabia Steamboat Museum.

Pittsburgh's Lost Steamboat: Treasures of the Arabia Through January 11, 2015

The Hawley family worked through the bitter cold of winter 1988 to raise the treasures of the Steamboat Arabia from the frozen ground where they had been buried. Visit the exhibit to see what they found before everything returns to Kansas City in January.

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Photographers: Best of 2013 Through January 2015

From Slavery to Freedom Explore 250 years of African American history in Pennsylvania

Western Pennsylvania Sports Museum

Pittsburgh: A Tradition of Innovation

Heinz

Thornton Oakley's Pittsburgh Through January 4, 2015

Special Collections Gallery Treasures that celebrate our ethnicity, industry, innovation, and lifestyle.

Glass: Shattering Notions

Rediscovering Lewis & Clark: A Journey with the Rooney Family

Prine Collection of Woodworking Planes

Wrought Metal Treasures from the Blum Collection

Clash of Empires: The British, French & Indian War, 1754-1763

At Meadowcroft Rockshelter and Historic Village: *From Trails to Trains* Reopens to the public Spring 2015

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

by Andrew E. Masich
President & CEO

Pickles of Pittsburgh



When people around the world hear about Pittsburgh, they often think of steel or ketchup or sports or pickles.

Wait, pickles? Yes, pickles.

In honor of everyone's favorite fermented cucumbers, the History Center is throwing a pickle party of historic proportions through the end of this year. Visitors will find a jar of perfectly-preserved, 160-year-old pickles—still green in their original glass jar—from the massive cargo of the steamboat *Arabia*. The pickles are one of nearly 2,000 objects featured in the History Center's *Pittsburgh's Lost Steamboat: Treasures of the Arabia* exhibition, on view through Jan. 11, 2015.

The story begins in 1856 when the locally-built vessel carrying more than a million objects hit a snag and sank in the Missouri River near Kansas City. A group of modern-day treasure hunters discovered the *Arabia* buried 45 feet below a cornfield a half-mile from the river. Remarkably, the anaerobic (oxygen-free) environment preserved most of the boat's cargo in excellent condition, including fine dishware, clothing and yes, even the still-edible (one of the diggers actually ate one!) bottled pickles. Packaged by Wells, Provost & Co. of New York, the "sweet pickles" were bottled 13 years before H.J. Heinz founded his famous company in Sharpsburg.

Speaking of Heinz, young H.J. began his career by selling produce from his mother's garden at age eight and packaged his first product—horseradish—around 1861 and his first jar of pickled cucumbers 10 years later.

At the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, H.J. Heinz needed a way to draw visitors to his booth, which was located on the second floor of the exhibition hall, away from major attractions.

His idea involved pickles, or more accurately, pickle charms. An intuitive marketer, Heinz hired young boys to sprinkle the showroom floor with shimmery cards offering a free souvenir to visitors at his booth.

Show attendees climbed the stairs and stormed the Heinz booth by the hundreds, by the thousands, by the hundreds of thousands to redeem their prize – a small green Heinz pickle charm. Needless to say, Heinz quickly became the hit of the World's Fair.

Visitors to the History Center's new *Heinz* exhibition will enjoy seeing the first pickle pin from the 1893 World's Fair, along with a variety of innovative displays on the history of Heinz, a life-like figure of young H.J. Heinz, and hundreds of rare artifacts from the History Center's Heinz collection, the largest of its kind in the world.

Nearly 125 years after H.J.'s invention, the Heinz pickle pin remains one of the most iconic reminders of any brand in the world. Now that's something we can all relish.



This illustration shows the early process of filling bottles with products in the Heinz factory.

HHC Detre L&A

(Below)
Salesmen used this pickle sizer to illustrate the variety of Heinz pickles that a grocer could purchase.

HHC Collections, 93.240.2750.



Learn More Online

Local company takes pickles seriously.



The Hawley family recovered this 160-year-old bottle of pickles from the cargo of the *Arabia*.

Arabia Steamboat Museum.
Photo by Paula Andras.



FORT PITT

By Alan D. Gutchess

From Fort Pitt to the Ohio Country: The 1764 Bouquet Expedition

The Fort Pitt Museum recently closed its exhibit *Unconquered: History Meets Hollywood at Fort Pitt*, which examined both Hollywood's version of the siege of Fort Pitt in 1763 during the war commonly known as "Pontiac's Rebellion," and the actual historical events of that year. Forces under the command of Henry Bouquet effectively broke the siege with their victory over the American Indian combatants at the Battle of Bushy Run in early August, yet the war with the Indians was far from over. Sporadic attacks not only continued on soldiers stationed at Fort Pitt in the fall of 1763, but also on settlers over large areas of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland.

The continued frontier unrest did not go unnoticed by British military officials, and plans for a two-pronged offensive were put into play. An army under General Bradstreet would press the Natives of the Great Lakes region, while a second under the command of Henry Bouquet would launch against those of the Ohio Country. Their goal was the complete capitulation of the rebelling Indians at whatever terms the British offered. Bradstreet would act first in August of 1764, though he exceeded his orders and began negotiating unauthorized peace treaties, even agreeing to cancel Bouquet's expedition in return

for promises made by the tribes to return their captives and leave British frontier forts in peace. His commanding officer, General Gage, rejected his treaties, feeling Bradstreet had been fooled into delaying military action against the Indians.

That deployment was merely delayed. In October, Bouquet left Fort Pitt with an army of well over 1,000 men and headed down the Ohio River for the Muskingum River, an artery that would lead them to several prominent Delaware villages. This action forced the Delaware, Shawnee, and Mingo in the region to meet with Bouquet. Among the terms they reluctantly agreed to was the return of white captives they on hand, and to gather and return those who were not present as quickly as possible. As a guarantee of their compliance, they were also required to send Native hostages back with the army to be held at Fort Pitt.

Bouquet's force stayed in the Ohio Country, poised to strike the Indians if they

failed to comply with the arrangement. By the 9th of November, over 200 white men, women, and children had been brought to the English camp, with promises for dozens more to be delivered that spring to Fort Pitt. From the European perspective, this was the return of prisoners of war to their countrymen, but to the Natives, there was a completely different mindset in play. They had taken these captives not as mere prisoners, but with the intention of assimilating them into Native societies. The deep affection they held toward their adoptees no doubt surprised many of the soldiers. The first full account of the expedition published just a year later recounted:

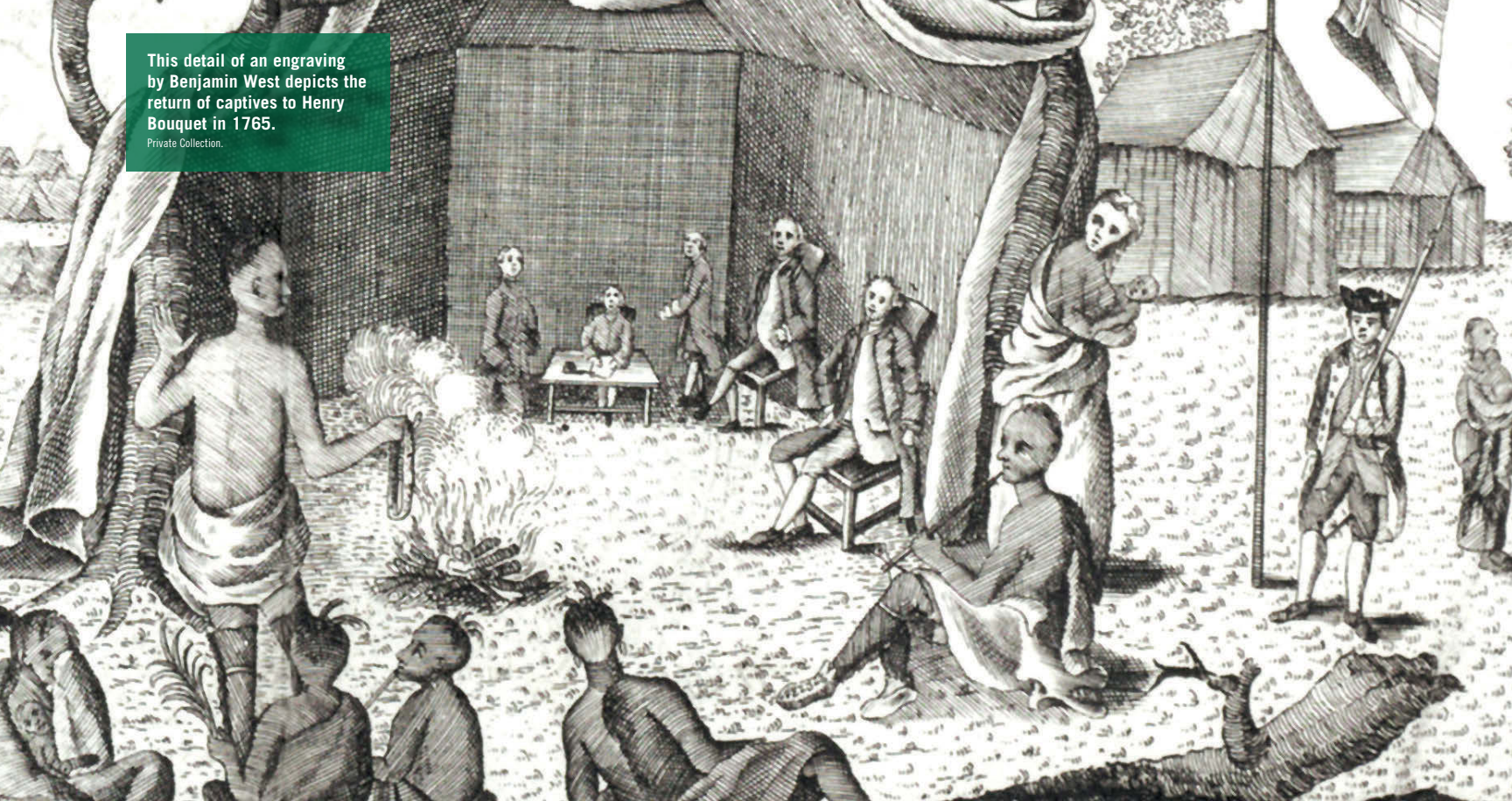
The Indians too, as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this most affecting scene. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance; shed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard to them continued all



Henry Bouquet negotiates with the Ohio Indians, as seen in a 1765 engraving.
Private Collection.

This detail of an engraving by Benjamin West depicts the return of captives to Henry Bouquet in 1765.

Private Collection.



the time they remained in camp. They visited them from day to day; and brought them what corn, skins, horses and other matters, they had bestowed on them while in their families; accompanied with other presents, and all the marks of the most sincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not stop here, but when the army marched, some of the Indians solicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all



Ottawa Indians, much like this warrior portrayed in an 18th-century engraving, participated in Pontiac's Rebellion.

Private Collection.

the way to Fort Pitt, and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the road.

Pontiac's Rebellion continued to linger, especially in areas where British forces had little presence. It would take another two years of negotiations with tribes living as far away as modern-day Illinois before the conflict was officially settled. The primary problem facing life on the frontier would remain however, as white settlers, in defiance of prior treaties, continued to spill into Indian lands, making a lasting peace impossible.



Alan D. Gutches is Director of the Fort Pitt Museum.

Recommended Reading:

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground* (New York, Cambridge University Press 1991).

McConnell, Michael. *A Country Between* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

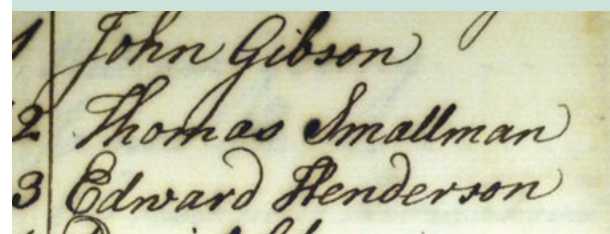
Smith, William. *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition Against The Ohio Indians In 1764* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1868).

Thomas Smallman

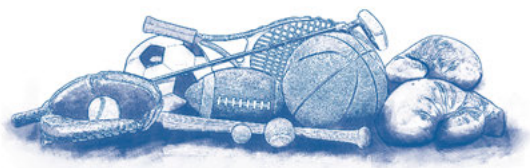
One captive returned to Fort Pitt in 1764 was Thomas Smallman, who had served both as a trader among the Indians and as a military officer during the French and Indian War. Shawnee Indians took him captive the previous year, deep in the Ohio Country. Thomas remained active in Pittsburgh's civilian and military affairs, attaining the rank of Major during the American Revolution. Smallman Street in Pittsburgh's Strip District, where the Heinz History Center is located, is named for him.

A list of returned prisoners compiled in 1764 includes Thomas Smallman.

State Museum of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Fort Pitt Museum, L2010.20.1716.



UP FRONT



WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA SPORTS MUSEUM

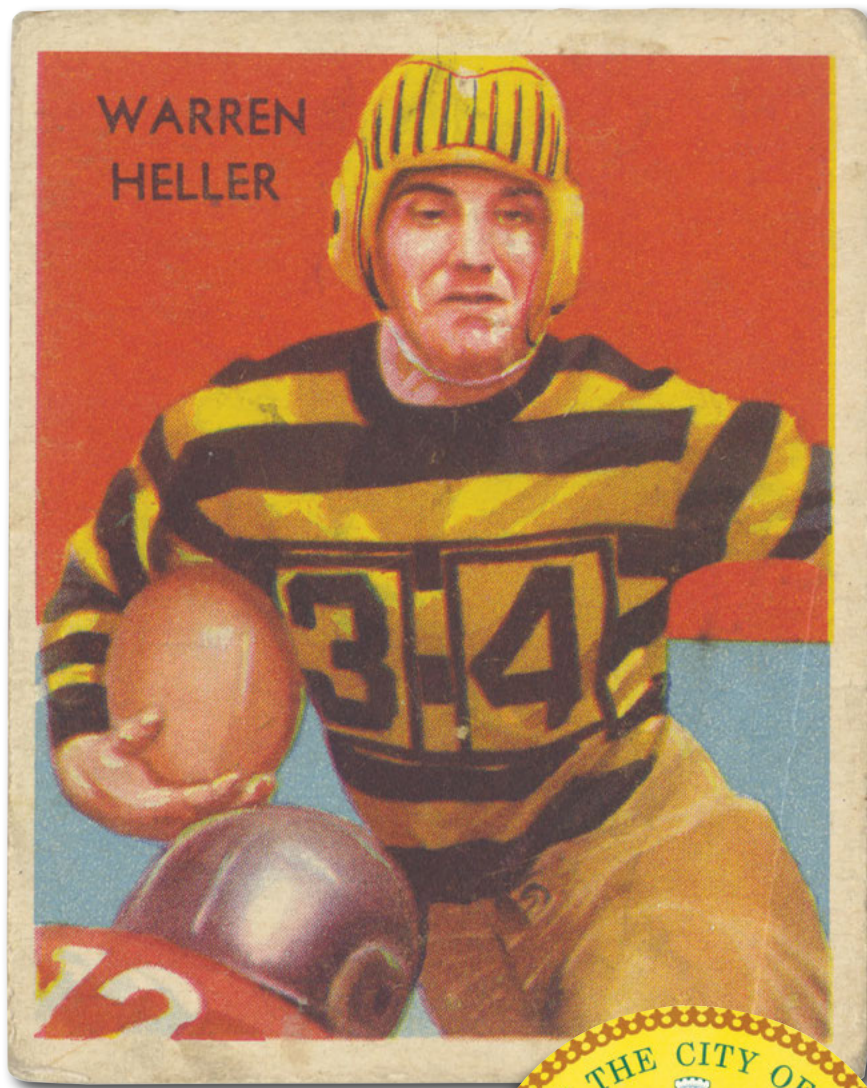
By Anne Madarasz, Director, Museum Division and
Western Pennsylvania Sports Museum

The Wearing of the Black and Gold

It's said that Pittsburghers bleed black and gold and, at least metaphorically, it seems true. We adorn our homes, our cars, and ourselves in all manner of the chosen colors. A dozen of us can't get together without bringing black and gold—we wear it, we wave it, it's everywhere. But why?

The answer seems simple—we wear our city, and in a sense, our identity, on our sleeves. It all goes back to a fateful day in November 1758 when British Brigadier General John Forbes, who had assembled more than 5,000 men to march west and face the French army and their native allies, arrived at the Forks of the Ohio. There on November 25, he found Fort Duquesne in ruins, burned to the ground by the French as they fled. Forbes claimed the spot now known as the Point for England and named it for the British Secretary of State, William Pitt the Elder. In a letter he penned to Pitt two days later he predicted, "These dreary deserts will soon be the richest and most fertile of any possessed by the British in North America."

So how did we get from Forbes to a Steelers nation garbed in black and gold? In 1816, when Pittsburgh became officially chartered as a city, council commissioned silversmith George Harris to design a



Pittsburgh Pirates football card, 1935.
HHC Collections, 2008.43.14.

city seal. His design drew upon the colors and the symbolism of the Pitt family coat of arms. A theatrical performer and artist mentioned only as Mr. Jones may also have had some input on the design by adding a castellated wall to the crest. Records of the seal's creation were lost in the Great Fire of 1845, so when city leaders decided to create an official flag for Pittsburgh in 1898, they commissioned a



Seal of the City
of Pittsburgh.
HHC Detre L&A, vertical files.

committee to design it and report on the official colors of the city. That committee also used the colors found in the Pitt coat of arms: black, gold, silver or white, and blue. The flag has remained the same since 1899.

Those colors were “pirated” by a series of teams, beginning in 1925. The National Hockey League’s Pittsburgh Pirates became the first major team to wear them when they took to the ice at Duquesne Gardens in 1925 sporting bright yellow sweaters with a black “P” on the front. The hockey playing Pirates kept that color scheme until their fifth and final season when they switched to black and orange. Art Rooney’s NFL Pirates-turned-Steelers have used a black and gold color scheme since their inception in 1933, and even briefly used the city seal in the team logo. In 1948, baseball’s Pirates set aside their traditional All-American white uniforms with red and/or blue accents and adopted black and gold as the key colors of the team. Adoption of the city standard is the common reason given for the change; it may also be tied to the relatively new ownership team who purchased the Pirates from the Dreyfuss/Benswanger family in 1946.

Black and gold could again be found on ice from 1951-53 when the AHL Pittsburgh Hornets made the switch from red and white jerseys. But it took a Super Bowl victory and a World Series win in the “City of Champions” year to convince the Penguins to make the switch from blue and white to black and gold on January 30, 1980. Since that time, the color choice has reigned supreme for all three of Pittsburgh’s major league teams and is now worn throughout the region by devoted fans. ❄️



Pennant commemorating the Pirates winning the 1960 World Series.

HHC, Kay Dick for the Al Dick Family, 2010.9.1.

Willie Marshall's black and gold Pittsburgh Hornets sweater.

HHC, gift of Glen Barton, 2006.112.1.





THOMAS & KATHERINE DETRE LIBRARY & ARCHIVES TREASURES

Theresa E. Rea, Acquisitions Archivist

The Sky Isn't the Limit: Helen MacCloskey, Pioneer Aviatrix

The popularity of civil aviation took off between the first and second World Wars. Thousands of spectators flocked to watch the races and stunts of skilled pilots. In a predominately male sport, Western Pennsylvania boasts of several pioneer aviatrixes. One native star of the sky was Helen MacCloskey.

Helen was born in Pittsburgh to James and Helen MacCloskey in 1909. She attended Schenley High School and earned a B.A. in English Literature from Wellesley College in 1929. While continuing her studies at Columbia University, Helen took her first flying lesson with instructor Jack Morris. By 1931, Helen owned her own plane and worked for Morris as a flying instructor and charter pilot. By the age of 22 she had her private license, a transport license, and a limited commercial license.

For the next several years, Helen participated in air races throughout the United States, including the Miami Air Races, Treasure Hunts, aerobatic, bomb dropping, precision flying, landing contests, and aerial tag derbies—many of which she won, placed, or held a world record. In the 1932 National Air Races, Helen flew a two-seat airplane christened “Miss Teaberry” for the Cord Cup. The plane was named for the chewing gum manufactured by Pittsburgh’s D.L. Clark



Helen's Civil Aeronautics Administration Identification Card, 1942.

All: HHC Detre L&A, MacCloskey Family Papers and Photographs, 1843-1974, 2014.0086.

Candy Company. A press release announced, “A powerful Monocoupe plane, ‘Miss Teaberry’ has been entered by the Clark Chewing Gum Company in the seven-day Cord Cup Race scheduled for Aug. 21-27.” According to *The Pittsburgh Press*, which followed many of her races, she finished fifth in the Eastern Division. As for the thrill and experience of racing, Helen wrote:

The starters flag up—throttles wide open and your ship straining as you press your heels in the brakes. Down it flashes & you concentrate every thought on a clean takeoff—get the weight off the ground—now—and with both eyes straight ahead you are still watching how the other job got away. The first turn—down goes your left wing, and in inches below it another drops behind. Easy now, out of your turn without losing speed, and on thru the endless laps—heart rending seconds when you gain on the ship in front of you, grudgingly edge outside him as you approach another turn. The last mad dash across the finish line, with the sweat pouring into your eyes, straining pulses pounding down—wrist bent on a throttle ... it's over. You zoom gayly into the

wide sky, dangerous but fun, sheer animal excitement....

Prior to radio navigation, many pilots of small aircraft often used landmarks for navigation. In 1936, Helen was handpicked (along with prominent pilots Louise Thaden and Nancy Harkness, and later Blanche Noyes and Helen Richey), as representatives for the air marking program by Phoebe Omile, an official of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. The task of the air-marking pilots was to paint the name of a local airport, its direction, or a name of a town with an arrow indicating north on roofs of buildings to aid pilots' navigation. Through their efforts, air markers could be seen throughout the United States until World War II.

In May 1937, Helen married Howard Rough, a Gulf Oil pilot from Dearborn, Michigan, who was the incoming Assistant Director of the Bureau of Air Commerce. During World War II, Helen set up and helped organize the Civil Air Patrol, planning application procedures and pilot training. In 1944, she briefly served as the Special

Learn More Online



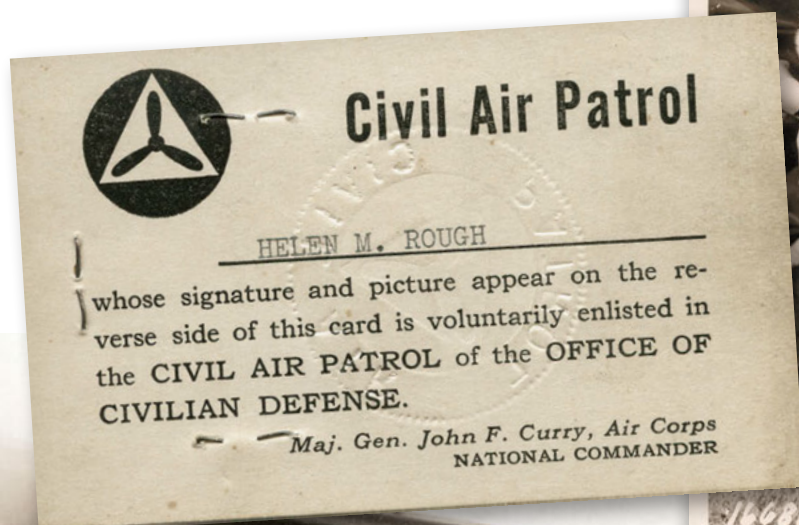
Read more about the significance of the air marking program that Helen was a part of.

Assistant to Executive for Women Air Service Pilots (WASPs) for Nancy Love in Cincinnati. She continued to fly with her husband into the 1950s.

More of Helen's story and other tales of Western Pennsylvania's pioneering women can be found in the Detre Library & Archives at the Senator John Heinz History Center. ☀



Helen and
Howard c. 1940.



Civil Air Patrol
Identification Card.

Helen MacCloskey.





ARCHITECTURE AROUND US

By Lu Donnelly

Carnegie Free Library of McKeesport

Odessa Moore Crabtree and four friends met in December 1898 to found the Woman's Club of McKeesport "to promote intelligence and culture."¹ The City of McKeesport, at the confluence of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Rivers, was home to the National Tube Works, American Sheet, Steel and Tin Plate Company, U.S. Iron and Tin Plate Works, and Firth-Sterling Steel Company.² Three railroads served its 34,000 residents and street railways made it possible to climb the hills to the south. So it's not surprising that the Woman's Club members felt the city could support a library.

To achieve this goal, the women wrote directly to Andrew Carnegie in New York

explaining their plans for carrying out this mission.³ Carnegie graciously responded showing interest in "your good work" but urging it to be "free to all the people." He suggested that if the city would agree to maintain the library he could not "resist the temptation to offer say \$50,000 [which] . . . should provide a suitable building, I think, and about three thousand a year would maintain it, perhaps less. Very Truly Yours, Andrew Carnegie."⁴

The requirements needed to fulfill Carnegie's stipulations were more than the small women's group could accomplish alone, so they convened a meeting of the local businessmen. Representatives of local banks and industries agreed to find an affordable or donated site; help change the city charter to allow city monies to be used for a library; and galvanize popular support to achieve these things.

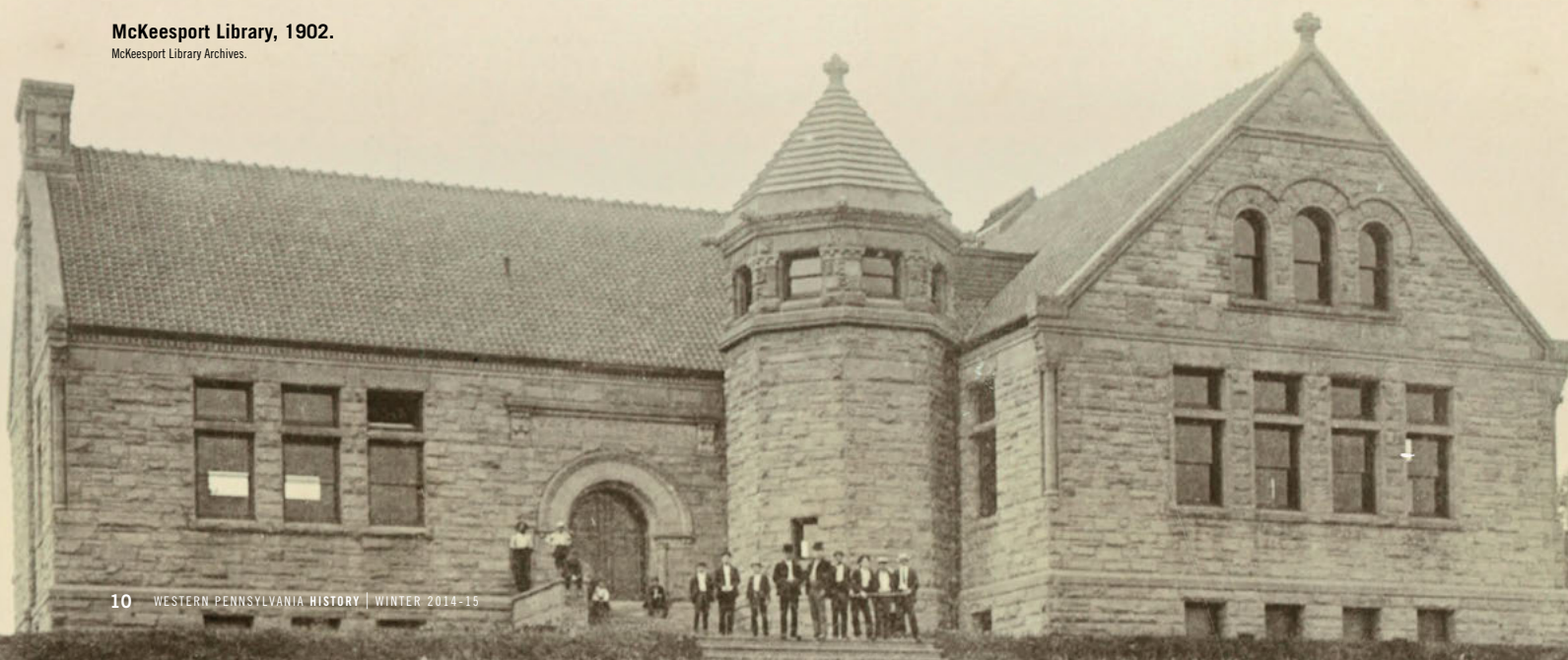
Within weeks, Carnegie approved a commission of 15 people and they consulted with William Nimick Frew, president of the Carnegie Institute and Library in Oakland about the details.⁵ James Evans, president of the National Bank of McKeesport, was named president of the library commission, Odessa

Crabtree, secretary, and James L. Devenny, treasurer. Within three months they had agreed to accept Mr. Evans' donation of 2-1/2 acres of his family's 75-acre estate at the corner of Carnegie and Union Avenues.⁶ Within 10 months they had secured the city ordinance allowing maintenance funding, and within a little over three years the library was open for business.

In April 1899, Frew and Carnegie's favored architect Frank Alden came to McKeesport to view the Evans property and "they at once decided in favor of this location.... Mr. Alden [was] highly pleased, saying that our Library would have a finer site than any one so far erected in the county."⁷ But unfortunately, his firm was in the midst of designing the expansion to the Carnegie Institute in Oakland and eight branch libraries, and couldn't provide architectural plans without payment. The only architect willing to submit his plans speculatively was William J. East (1863-1936). A Pittsburgh architect and son of a stationer, East trained in the offices of Bartberger & Dietrich, formed a brief partnership with Joseph Anglin, and then formed Bartberger & East in 1893. Around 1898 he opened a solo architectural practice,

McKeesport Library, 1902.

McKeesport Library Archives.





Dome over the circulation desk.
Modern photos by Lu Donnelly.

which is why he is the only architect listed in the minutes for the McKeesport Library.⁸

In 1900, Frew let the committee know that Carnegie “did not wish to inspect the Library plans, or dictate to McKeesport about the building.”⁹ While this sounds harsh, it was Carnegie’s standard procedure. He was busy negotiating the sale of his steel empire, and he delegated such details to his personal secretary James Bertram and trusted colleagues like Frew. Carnegie and Bertram ultimately systematized the library grants, choosing the recipients when they could complete the same stipulations that McKeesport had met and deciding the size of the grants according to each city’s population and tax base. Carnegie had given millions of dollars for the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh and funded elaborate community center/libraries in Braddock, Homestead and Duquesne, cities just up the Monongahela River from McKeesport, but he felt the branch libraries in general should be adequate, not elaborate. The average donation among the over 1,600 U.S. libraries was \$10,000 and the usual population requirement was 60-70,000 people. There was no requirement to name them after Carnegie or display his image in them, and only a third of them did.¹⁰

James Evans went to New York to inquire about Carnegie’s increasing the McKeesport grant to cover a music hall, but Carnegie

refused, saying music halls were too expensive to maintain, and Carnegie knew it would be difficult enough for the library to get their operating funds yearly from the city. He did specify that there be a children’s room, adult reading room, central circulation desk and a lecture room.¹¹

East chose a Richardsonian design as an homage to the New England libraries designed by Henry Hobson Richardson in the 1870s and ’80s, especially the Converse Memorial Library built between 1883 and 1885 in Malden, Massachusetts.¹² For McKeesport he designed a T-shaped, sandstone building with a two story tower at the corner of the T on the north elevation containing a curving stairway lit with square windows at the cornice line. He included two meeting rooms reached by the curving stair, one for the Woman’s Club and the other for the Board of the Library.¹³ A large lecture room in the basement had lower level entrances on the north and west elevations and windows on three sides; today it houses the children’s room in an updated configuration. A dome, now lit electrically from above, focuses attention on the circulation desk at the center of the main floor.¹⁴ Graceful arched entrance surrounds and a red tile roof complete the ensemble.

The library is constantly busy now, providing more than 40 computers free to patrons as well as books, videos, and audio books. The funding has always been problematic since many cities assumed that Carnegie had endowed the libraries, but he left no money beyond that used for the building. It has always been up to city taxpayers to support this vital civic resource. In 1995 Allegheny County voted its only self-imposed tax to fund local cultural resources, the Regional Asset District



Rosie

Westinghouse artist J. Howard Miller created one of the most iconic images of female empowerment. In 1942, Miller saw a photograph of a Michigan factory worker and used it as inspiration for “We Can Do It”—his legendary poster showing a Westinghouse Electric worker rolling up her sleeves for the Allied war effort. It became one of many pieces used by the War Production Coordinating Committee to recruit women into industries nationwide. Real life “Rosie’s” played a key role in Pittsburgh area factories. In this photo, Julie Bodnar inspects 155 mm shell casings at the Christy Parks Works of the National Tube Company in McKeesport.

Read more about Rosie and WWII in the Spring 2015 issue.

Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, Archives Center, Russell Aiken U.S. Steel Collection.



tax. It saved the local libraries from their deteriorating structures and has helped to keep them current. This has allowed the Carnegie Free Library of McKeesport to remain a beacon on the hill.

Lu Donnelly is one of the authors of *Buildings of Pennsylvania: Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania* (University of Virginia Press, 2010) a book in the 60-volume series on American architecture sponsored by the Society of Architectural Historians titled *Buildings of the United States*. She has authored several books and National Register nominations on Allegheny County topics and organized an exhibition on the barns of western Pennsylvania for the Heinz Architectural Center at the Carnegie Museum of Art.

¹ By 1910 they had to limit membership to fifty women, but none of the original five were still active. Odessa Moore Crabtree left McKeesport in April, 1901 before the library was finished.

² *Old Home Week: McKeesport, Pennsylvania*: July 3-9, 1910, p. 22. McKeesport's population grew rapidly from 20,711 in 1890 to 34,227 in 1900. By 1910 the National Tube Works employed 10,000 men and was the largest in the world.

³ The letter from Caroline E. Moore, Woman's Club corresponding secretary, was not available, only Carnegie's response was recorded in the Library Minute Book, Volume 1, p. 1. It is not clear whether Caroline Moore was Odessa Moore Crabtree's relative.

⁴ Library Minute Book, Volume 1, p. 1 quoting the letter from A Carnegie to Miss Caroline E. Moore, April 3, 1899.

⁵ Library Minute Book, Volume 1, p. 8: Meeting April 17, 1899 recorded Carnegie's telegram: "Matter referred to Mr. Frew as requested. Commission admirable. Carnegie"

⁶ The land was valued at \$25,000, part of the Library Manor plan on the Oliver Evans Estate. James Evans served as executor of the estate. Opening day was July 15, 1902.

⁷ Library Minute Book, Volume 1, p. 19: quotes a letter from O. M. Crabtree to A. Carnegie, June 8, 1899.

⁸ He briefly paired with C. Emil Muller, c. 1904-1906, and moved to Asheville, North Carolina in 1912. *The New York Times* obituary (5/4/1936, p. 19) states 1913. He died May 3, 1936. His birthdate is listed as August 1864 in the 1900 census and August 11,

1863 on his North Carolina death certificate; the *The New York Times* obituary claimed he was 71, which would make his birth year 1865. His wife, Evelyn, and only son John Ross East survived him.

⁹ Library Minute Book, Volume 1, p. 46, May 14, 1900.

¹⁰ *Andrew Carnegie*, David Nasaw, 2006, pp. 590, 606 and 608.

¹¹ *Palace of Culture: Andrew Carnegie's Museums and Library in Pittsburgh*, Robert J. Gangewere, 2011, p. 111.

¹² *Architecture After Richardson*, Margaret Henderson Floyd, 1994, see pages 237-238 for a reference to the "notable" McKeesport Library, which she erroneously attributes to "George" East. Floyd's book on Richardson has illustrations of the Malden Library, pp. 163-167.

¹³ Today these upper rooms are used for storage, but the present director, Kelley Moten, hopes to restore them to use. Thanks to Michele Parrish for locating the Library Minute Book and Miles Richards for urging me to write about the library.

¹⁴ Ralph Alster Architects updated the library to be handicapped accessible c. 2007 with Swede Construction.



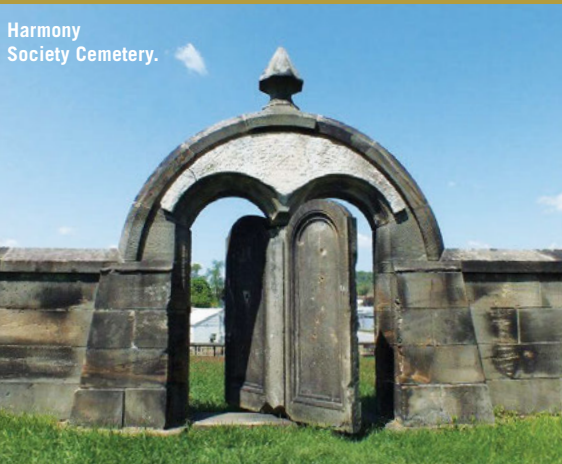
William J. East, library architect.
Notable Men of Pittsburgh and Vicinity, p. 363.

A painting by Jeff Madden of the south entry to the library hangs in the main reading room.

Harmony Museum / Historic Harmony, Inc.



Christmas Market.
All photos by The Harmony Museum.



Harmony
Society Cemetery.



The Harmony Museum in the tiny town of Harmony, Pa.



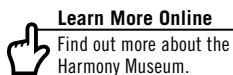
Adam Hoerr coverlet.

- The Harmony Museum is located at the heart of one of Western Pennsylvania's first National Historic Landmark Districts, in southwestern Butler County at 218 Mercer Street, Harmony, Pa. Historic Harmony, Inc., a historical society and preservation advocate of volunteers founded in 1943, operates the museum. Its mission is to preserve and promote public knowledge of Harmony area history and heritage through its museum collections and outreach activities. The organization fosters tourism in its region in cooperation with other organizations and agencies, and it encourages preservation of historical resources in support of educational and economic development and associated community activities.
- The Harmony Museum interprets more than 260 years of history via exhibits and educational programs including: George Washington's 1753 mission to seek French withdrawal from the region; the Lenni Lenape (Delaware) Indian settlement Murdering Town; "Father" George Rapp and his communal Harmonists from Germany; subsequent Mennonite settlers; the Ball Collection of sporting rifles made by 19th-century Harmony gunsmith Charles Flowers; oil and gas booms of the 19th and early 20th centuries as well as recent Marcellus Shale gas developments. Historic Harmony maintains nine properties, including the 1809 main museum building, the Harmony Society cemetery, and the first Mennonite meetinghouse west of the Alleghenies.
- The communal Harmony Society of pacifist German Lutheran Separatists, led by George Rapp (1757-1847), founded Harmony in 1804. Resettlement was led by Mennonites when the Harmonists relocated to Indiana Territory in 1814-15. A decade later the Harmonists established their third and final home, Economy, now Ambridge in Beaver County, Pa. After Rapp's death the celibate colony's membership dwindled, and it was dissolved in 1905.
- Harmony Museum hours for guided tours are Tuesday through Sunday, 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m., closed Mondays and holidays. Reservations are suggested on weekends, and are required for groups of 10 or more.
- The Harmony Museum hosts many wonderful programs and events throughout the year, many of them popular annual affairs including: the Harmoniefest dinner program (February); Quilt and Coverlet Show (March); Quilt in a Day program (May) Herb & Garden Fair (June); Antique Gun Show (August); Antique Show (September); Pumpkin Pancake Brunch (October); WeihnachtsMarkt German-style Christmas market (November); and family oriented Silvester New Year's Eve celebration on German time (December 31).
- Harmony Museum will host the Heinz History Center's traveling Civil War exhibit, *The Civil War in Pennsylvania*, in January 2015.
- For additional information visit www.harmonymuseum.org or contact the museum at hmuseum@zoominternet.net or call (724) 452-7341.



The History Center Affiliates Program, HCAP, is a membership-based network that allows local and regional historical societies and museums access to museum professionals and best practice standards through the Senator John Heinz History Center.

To find out more about HCAP or to apply for membership for your organization, please contact Robert O. Stakeley, Educator, at rostakeley@heinzhistorycenter.org or (412) 454-6359.



Learn More Online
Find out more about the
Harmony Museum.

UP FRONT



NEIGHBORHOOD STORIES

By Bette McDevitt

Ballfield Farm

Many neighborhoods in our area have community gardens, where people tend a small plot. Few communities have a collective farm, and only one has a farm that flourishes on a former ballfield. That would be Brighton Heights, where Ballfield Farm sits above Uniondale Cemetery on the five-acre site of the former Sanguini Field. It is quite a transformation. “We worked our butts off,” says Carole Gonzalez, a member of the collective leadership team, referring not only to the daily labor but the collaborative effort to make their vision real.

Everyone works and everyone harvests the jointly planted vegetables and flowers. The farm takes up 1-1/2 acres; in the remaining area, the group created a picnic site and a trail beside a brook, and is growing ramps (a



Mark Williams, along with his wife, helped create the Ballfield Farm.

Photo by Bette McDevitt.

Erika Beras and Andy Moore kneel next to several bushels of sweet potatoes.

Photo by Jen Meyercheck.



perennial wild onion) and mushrooms. “It’s the best thing I’ve found, since moving to Pittsburgh two years ago,” says Jill Yeomans, who bikes over from Troy Hill, to do the daily watering on certain days.

When I visited one perfect summer Saturday, Charles Chapman was listing chores on a white board, and assigning tasks to workers: “If you like the sun, join us weeding the tomato plants, or if you like the shade, you can plant peas in the high tunnel.” The high tunnel is a rounded long plastic greenhouse that allows them to plant early in the year and offers shade during the hot summer.

Two men were making tomato cages from a roll of wire. Their goal was 30 cages. “We figure they cost about \$3 each this way, versus \$13 if we buy them,” says Andy Moore. Andy has planted some pawpaw plants in the garden. He has a fondness for the native plant, which I’m told tastes like custard, and he has written a book about it to be published next year. Several others are crouched in the garden rows, weeding tomatoes and squash by hand. It’s an organic garden, so hand combat is the method of choice for getting rid of weeds. Their

children are nearby, playing in a sandbox or tending the beans they have planted.

For Mark Williams, Ballfield Farm is the realization of something only hoped for.

In 2008, he walked past the abandoned ballfield every day on his way to work at the Pittsburgh Project, nearby on North Charles Street, and envisioned a garden. “I thought ‘Wouldn’t it be crazy if we could get people to all work together well enough to just do it all together?’” And that is exactly what happened.

Mark attended a Faith and Farming Conference, and met a pastor from Anathoth Community Farm and Garden who transformed an empty field into an urban farm in a still-mostly segregated town in North Carolina. Anathoth is a biblical term referring to reconciliation. “After I came home, I called him and asked him ‘How did you do it? What works? What doesn’t work?’ Mark gave me all the details:

We partnered with Heifer International, the City of Pittsburgh, Mildred’s Daughters, Grow Pittsburgh, and Garden Dreams from Wilkinsburg, and a whole bunch of people to make it happen. My wife, Courtney, is a farmer;

Learn More Online



Learn more about the Ballfield Farm and how to volunteer.

she is the brains of the operation. We got this land and we got enough money to build the fence, the city paid to install it, and we paid for the materials and got a grant to build the high tunnel. The Pittsburgh Project got a grant to employ and train young people aged 18–25 with marketable construction skills. It was way over my head, I don't know how to build anything. They laid the foundation and several church groups put up the tunnel.

During the first year, the farm was part of the Pittsburgh Project, but now it's a stand-alone project, run by volunteers. Gavin Deming, who happens to work for the Western Pennsylvania Conservancy and is one of the lead volunteers, says, "The great thing about this being a baseball field is that the soil, not developed or used for industrial purposes, was not contaminated with lead or other toxins." The Conservancy has helped to improve the soil, bringing excess refuse from city gardens, and providing compost with it." The compost piles are huge, some 10 feet high, before they begin to decompose.

"When people come by," says Gavin, "they tell us 'I remember when my kids played here, or I played here.' Before Mark began the project, volunteers went to every house, asking if people were okay with this happening, and would they like to be involved. And the answer was a resounding yes, we'd love that."

Ballfield Farm is open to everyone, and members come from throughout the county. Dues are \$15 per person, or \$30 for a family. Members are asked to work 1-1/2 hours for an individual membership and 3 hours for a family. They often have social events such as a meal together. On that perfect summer day, one member was having a pool party in the afternoon. The members have done more than plant a garden; they have formed a community. I came home with fresh beets and a sense of well-being. 🌻

Bette McDevitt is a longtime contributor to *Western Pennsylvania History*.

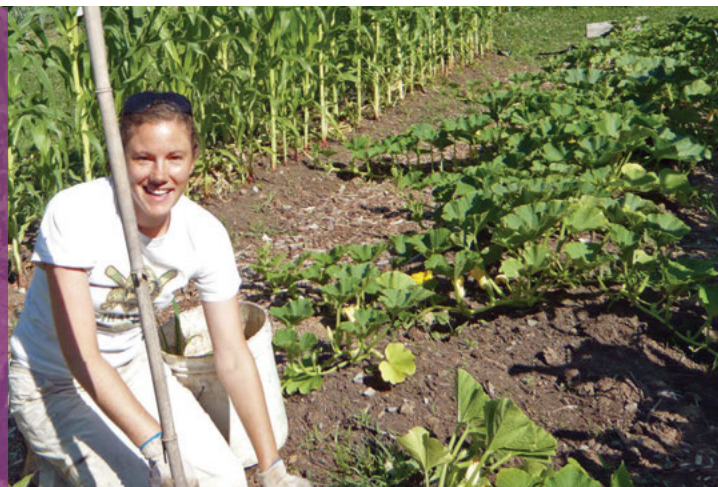


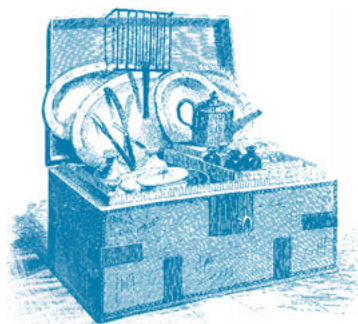
Above:
Charles Chapman
working the farm.

Photos this page by Bette McDevitt.

Right:
Liz Chapman at work.

Below:
Joanna Deuing sits with some
children at Ballfield Farm.





CURATOR'S CORNER

By Emily Ruby, Curator

Paul Sylvander

At the History Center, we like to say that we are the “people” museum. When you visit, we hope you learn about real people who have shaped our region and our world, some famous but many not. An example of the ingenuity and inventiveness that characterizes Western Pennsylvania is Paul Sylvander. He is certainly not famous, but in his 44 years he embodied the spirit of the “tinkerer”—someone who is constantly coming up with new ideas and projects.

A son of Swedish immigrants who came to the region in 1890, Sylvander worked as a draftsman for Carnegie Steel in Braddock and co-owned Mountain Top Carbonated Beverages Company in Mt. Jewett, Pa. He was instrumental in the design of the bottles, flavors, logos and even the bottle closure. Our Detre Library & Archives contains many of Sylvander's letters written in the early 1930s that show his involvement in every stage of the process of establishing the beverage company. In addition, Sylvander and several partners received numerous patents including those for improvements to window screens, a twin-pac tobacco container with a hinged cover, and a safety friction match book. One of the more interesting patents granted to him is the Add-A Bucket patented in 1943.



Paul Sylvander, c. 1945.
HHC Detre L&A.

Sylvander designed the logo for Mountain Top beverages when he bought the company in 1930.

HHC, Gift of John Sylvander, 2008.122.1. Photo by Paula Andras.

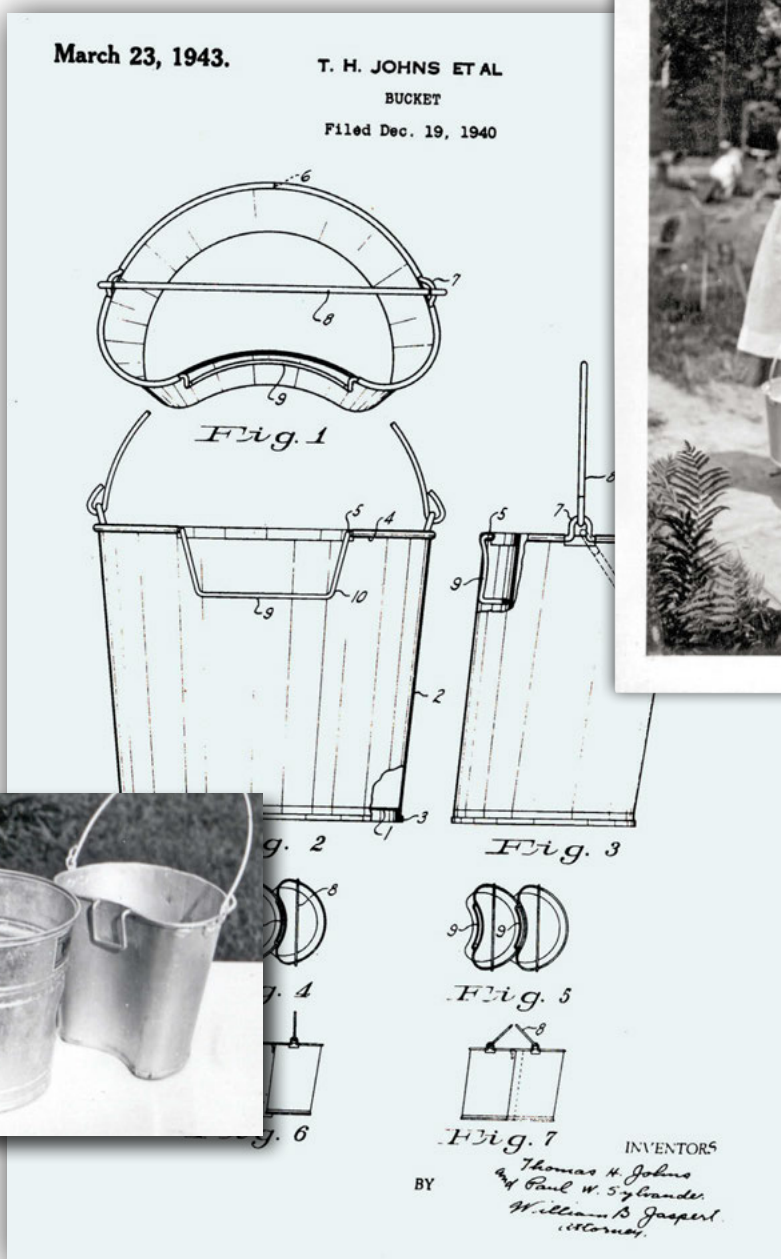
The Add-A Bucket consisted of a kidney-shaped metal bucket that could be added onto a traditional household bucket or connected to another Add-A Bucket. It differed from other split buckets in that it could be separated and used as a single unit or two could be attached to a traditional bucket or to each other.

The intention of the design was to save time and steps for the user so they would not have to carry several buckets or dump the contents of a bucket out to refill with something else. Although a great idea, the bucket never went into production due to wartime metal rationing.

The artifact collection that complements his archival collection includes a Mountain Top soda bottle with the logo he designed and several of his drafting tools from Carnegie Steel.



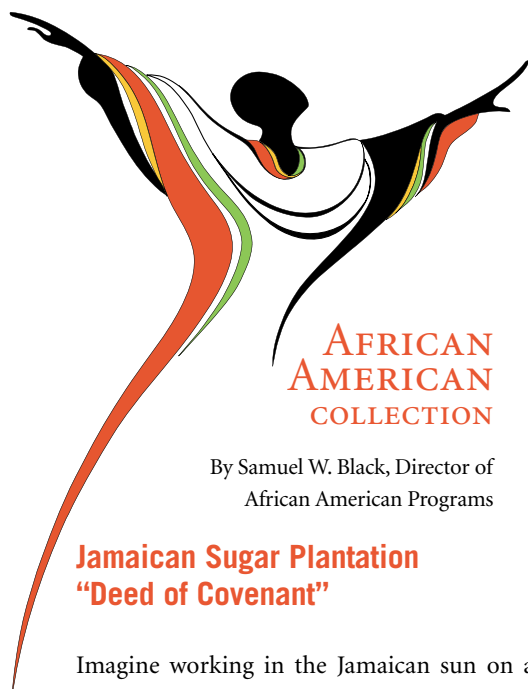
Patent drawing of the Add-A Bucket.
HHC Detre L&A.



A woman demonstrates how to use the Add-A Bucket.
HHC Detre L&A.



Prototype of the Add-A Bucket.
HHC Detre L&A.



AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLECTION

By Samuel W. Black, Director of
African American Programs

Jamaican Sugar Plantation "Deed of Covenant"

Imagine working in the Jamaican sun on a sugar plantation every day of your life from sunup to sundown under the eyes of an overseer whose whip and other instruments of torture prompt you to accept your condition or revolt like hundreds of others and flee to the maroon encampments in the highlands. Between the 17th and 19th centuries, more than one million African captives embarked from ports along the continent's, Atlantic coast and disembarked in Jamaica. Nearly 12.5 million Africans were captives of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, of which 10.7 million or so survived the voyage—only to be enslaved in the Americas.¹ Jamaica was a British colony in the West Indies and part of the extensive American colonial system of the British Empire that included North America. Although sugar plantations did not exist in Pennsylvania, slavery did, and for much of the 19th century Pittsburgh was a battleground for abolition.

Sugar plantations required a large workforce not only to cultivate and harvest the crop but also to process the sugar into various products such as molasses, rum, and crystal sugar. Sugar cane is a member of the

grass family indigenous to New Guinea and was spread to the Middle East by Arab traders. It then made its way to the Mediterranean region including northern Africa and along the Nile River. It is thought that the plant was introduced to the Americas by Columbus.² Jamaican sugar plantations of the 17th to 19th centuries relied almost exclusively on enslaved African labor. It was dangerous labor as the life expectancy of sugar plantation workers was less than 10 years. If the conditions in the field did not kill you, the boiling house most certainly would. Sugar became the most profitable cash crop of the slave trade and was especially profitable for European owned plantations in the Caribbean. Historian Joseph Inikori estimates that between 1761 and 1807, the beginning of British abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, a profit of more than £13.8 million was made by British investors in the slave and sugar trades.³

Some of the Jamaican sugar plantations were owned by absentee landlords and some were owned by British subjects who had made Jamaica their home for decades. One example of the latter was a plantation owned in the 1820s by Joseph Brissett in Hanover Parrish, Jamaica, located on the northwest end of the island. Brissett was born in Jamaica in 1789 where his family had owned a massive plantation since 1655. By the 1820s Brissett's Content Estate was 568 acres and held 147 enslaved Africans. Under Joseph Brissett the plantation grew to over 400 enslaved.

His tax filings, including inventories of male and female slaves, are recorded on a Deed of Covenant and included a duplicate register of slaves for the years 1817, 1820, and 1823. On display as a reprographic in the *From Slavery to Freedom* exhibit, the document extends and explains the complexities of slavery and the economic benefit to slave owners. This Deed of Covenant contains a detailed record of slaves on Brissett's sugar plantation with

names, skin color, race (African or Creole), age, remarks, mortality, and acquisition listed for each enslaved on the registry. The document was wax-sealed, notarized multiple times, and tied with ribbon. The first few pages are registers of enslaved; the final pages are legal documents governing the transaction of such. The document may have been used as a tax document, a petition for compensation (due to impending emancipation of slaves), a contract for the sale of the property, an agreement toward a pending marriage, or a will. Dates on the documents vary due to it being shipped to Great Britain and notarized by multiple officials in both Great Britain and Jamaica, but the last date affixed is March 31, 1827. The document was sent to England in order for the Brissett's to receive compensation for their estate under British law. Affixed with a wax seal and ribbon to the four large schedules of slaves on the plantation are papers, affidavits and assigns by the Mayor of Bristol, England, Thomas Camplin, esquire. Mayor Camplin's affidavit alludes to the British law passed during the reign of King George II, "an Act for the more easy recovery of Debts in His Majesty's Plantations and Colonies in America."⁴

The Deed of Covenant provides clear documentation of the nature of slavery in the Americas and its economic impact. It fosters a connection to Jamaican genealogy and history. Finally, the document provides a glimpse into the economic base of the British Empire that relied on its subjects in colonial territories to manifest its global enterprise. Not until the emancipation of slavery in Jamaica which began in 1833 and were finalized in 1838, did many of the enslaved in Hanover Parish see freedom. This record also helps us understand the accounting necessary as the British government doled out reparations to the tune of £20 million to slave holders who lost their "property" in emancipation.



This is a July 1823 accounting of the enslaved on a Jamaican sugar plantation owned by Englishman Joseph Brissett. The multi-page document lists 384 enslaved for that year by gender and age. By 1815, British plantation owners were required to register their slaves. Slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1833 and slave owners received compensation for the loss of their slaves. Britain paid out £20 million pounds in compensation, or \$32,241,580.71 today. The enslaved received nothing.

Courtesy of Ernest Thomas.

In the final analysis this historic document sheds a lot of light on the specter of slavery in the United States. Issues such as reparations, emancipation, citizenship and most importantly, the economic growth and structure built on slavery in North America did not escape Western Pennsylvania. Sugar may have been instrumental in developing the Jamaican plantation economy, but cotton played the same role in the U.S. From the

1820s to the 1860s, slave-raised cotton from Mississippi and other Southern states made its way to the Port of Pittsburgh to the tune of nearly 5,000 tons per year. This raw material fed the numerous cotton mills along the three rivers, making textile mill owners such as abolitionist Charles Avery very wealthy.

¹ Eltis, David and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010. Also the online database, *Voyage: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*,

www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces, that offers numerous statistics and data gathered from a field of historical research on the subject.

² Bressey, Caroline and Tom Wareham *Reading the London Sugar & Slavery Gallery* London: Museum of London Docklands, 2011, page 17.

³ Ibid, page 21.

⁴ Affidavit attesting to the filing of the schedule of slaves and inventory of the Joseph Brissett plantation of Hanover Parish, Jamaica according to British law. This document is affixed to the said schedules and signed by the outgoing Mayor of Bristol, England, Thomas Camplin on April 4, 1827.

The frontispiece from *The Passenger Pigeon*, a 1907 book by W.B. Mershon.
The Passenger Pigeon, Outing Publishing, 1907.



PASSENGER PIGEON (*Columba Migratoria*)

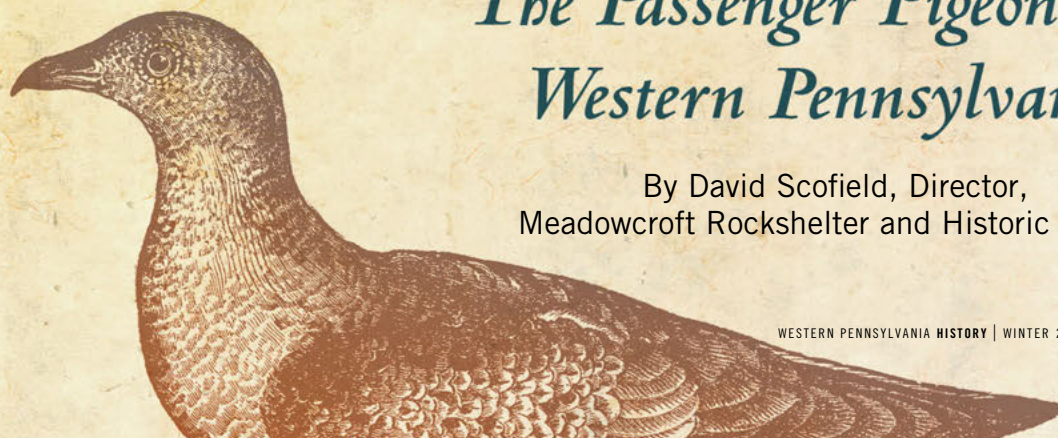
Upper bird, male ; lower, female



WE WILL
NEVER
SEE THE LIKE
AGAIN

*The Passenger Pigeon in
Western Pennsylvania*

By David Scofield, Director,
Meadowcroft Rockshelter and Historic Village



“OUR PASSENGER PIGEON has been promised to the Smithsonian Institution when it dies,” wrote the general manager of the Cincinnati Zoological Gardens to Dr. R. W. Shufeldt.¹ The bird he referenced was no ordinary passenger pigeon; she was the very last passenger pigeon, ever. This remarkable species, with its population once numbering in the billions, dwindled and made an irrevocable slide into extinction in a matter of decades. This solitary, geriatric, female pigeon named Martha outlived her mate and her kind, quietly dying 100 years ago on the afternoon of September 1, 1914.²

To fulfill the promise, zoo officials froze Martha’s remains in a 300 pound block of ice and shipped her to the Smithsonian by rail where she arrived on September 4. That morning, Dr. Charles W. Richmond, Assistant Curator of the Division of Birds, requested the assistance of Shufeldt in recording the new specimen.

A graduate of Columbian College (now George Washington University), Shufeldt was a surgeon and no stranger to military service. During the Civil War, as a 14-year-old, he served as captain’s clerk and signal officer aboard the USS Proteus, a gunboat which was under the command of his father. After medical school, he served in the army’s medical department as a surgeon during campaigns against the Sioux Indians in the west. He retired from the army with the rank of Major and was reactivated during World War I to serve at the Army Medical Museum. Shufeldt’s personal character was questionable at best. Some of his writings revealed him to be a racist and his adulterous conduct led his second wife to sue for divorce in 1898. He filed for bankruptcy and refused to pay the court-ordered alimony, which prompted the army to hold a courtmartial hearing on the charge of conduct unbecoming of an officer and a gentleman. But in spite of his personal failings, it was his scientific reputation as a keen observer and “one of the most diligent

and worthy investigators of detail in the science of osteology and paleontology of birds” that made him the obvious choice to assist Richmond with documenting Martha.³

In an unusual and impassioned preamble to the necropsy report, Shufeldt describes Martha as:

beyond all reasonable doubt, the last living representative of its race in the world — the last, the very last, of the millions upon millions of those birds which were known to pass over certain sections of the United States during their migrations to and from their feeding and breeding grounds. Many of us, whose birthdays date back to the middle of the last century and before, and who resided in the districts where these vast unnumbered hosts of migrating “blue pigeons” darkened the heavens for days at a time, distinctly remember the cruel, unnecessary slaughtering of those

birds, untold thousands of which were never used for any purpose whatever; millions of others of which were slain for their feathers alone, while it is now impossible to form any correct estimation of the number supplied to the markets of the time, or of those allowed to remain where



Martha, the last passenger pigeon.

Smithsonian Institution, Department of Vertebrate Zoology, USNM 22397. Photo by Donald E. Hurlbert.



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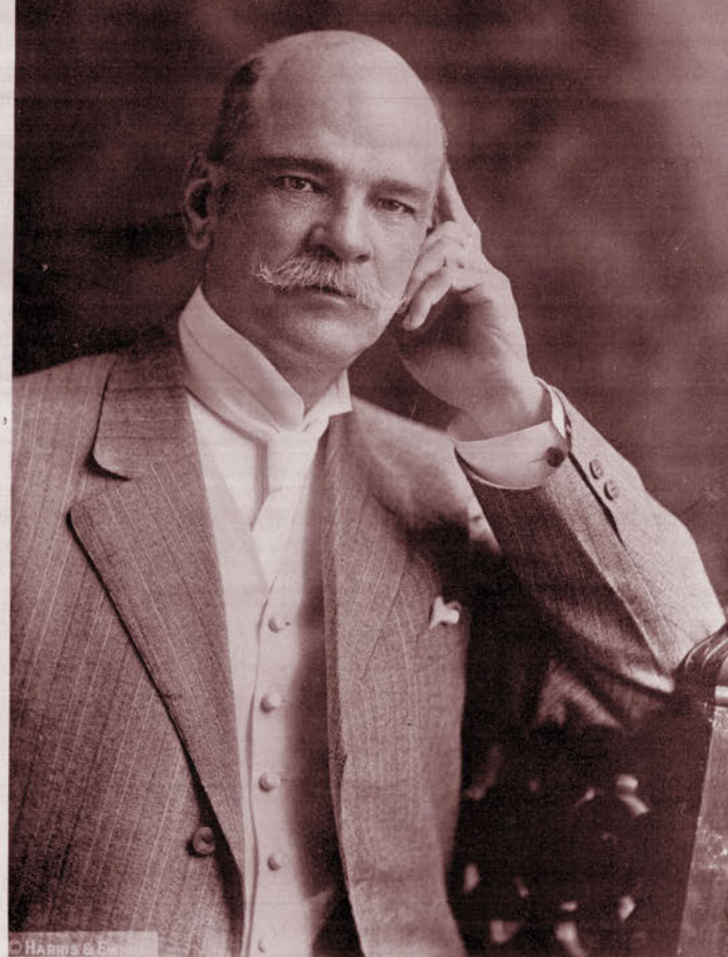
Find out more about the centenary of the extinction of the passenger pigeon.

they fell to the guns and other weapons of destruction of the army of slaughterers responsible for their extinction. All this is now past history, and will not be further touched upon in this article more than to say, that *Ectopistes migratorius* is now extinct; and what is here set forth is but a brief account of my personal observations upon the last known example of the species.⁴

The importance of the task and the extraordinary opportunity presented was not lost on Shufeldt. He carried out his systematic procedure and anatomical descriptions with the precision expected of a scientist bearing his stature. But he knew this was a somber occasion. On the table before him lay the disarticulated remains of a species never to be observed again. As Shufeldt concluded his examination, he arrived at a decision to diverge from protocol which would have him dissect Martha's heart:

I therefore did not further dissect the heart, preferring to preserve it in its entirety — perhaps somewhat influenced by sentimental reasons, as the heart of the last “Blue Pigeon” that the world will ever see alive. With the final throb of that heart, still another bird became extinct for all time — the last representative of countless millions and unnumbered generations of its kind practically exterminated through man's agency.⁵

The now-extinct *Ectopistes migratorius* were commonly called passenger pigeons (referring to their nomadic behavior), wild pigeons, or as Shufeldt called them, “Blue Pigeons.” These birds were notably larger than the closely related mourning dove—they had long pointed wings with a long tail and a smallish head. The males were arrayed with slate blue on the head, metallic iridescence of bronze, green, and purple on the neck, and a breast of reddish brown. Females were similarly attired but decidedly less colorful.



R.W. Shufeldt

Portrait of Dr. R.W. Shufeldt (1850-1934).

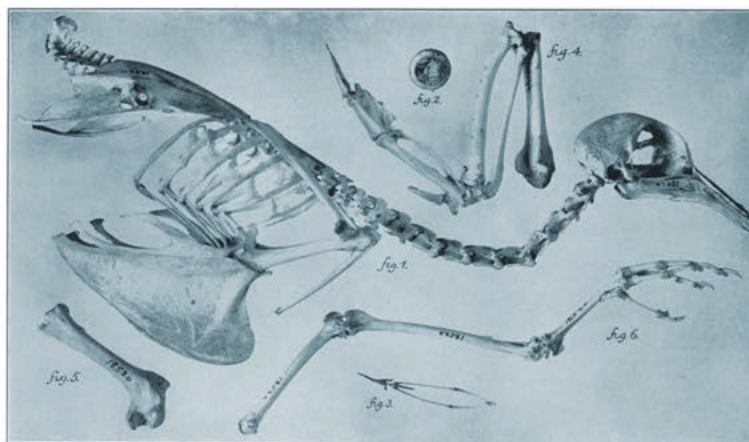
"In Memoriam: Robert Wilson Shufeldt, 1850-1934," *The Auk: A Quarterly Journal of Ornithology* 52, no. 4 (October 1935).

Published just two months before he performed the necropsy on Martha, Robert Shufeldt's paper on the osteology of the passenger pigeon contained this photo of a complete skeleton.

The Auk, July 1914.

THE AUK, VOL. XXXI.

PLATE XXXIV.



OSTEOLOGY OF THE PASSENGER PIGEON, *Ectopistes migratorius*.

COUNTLESS MILLIONS

The presence of passenger pigeons in flocks numbering “countless millions” is well documented. Their range covered the entire eastern half of the United States as well as the southern parts of Canada. The famed artist and naturalist, John James Audubon, experienced this awe-inspiring phenomenon firsthand. So remarkable was this experience that when he committed his observation to paper, he felt it necessary to qualify the account:

The multitude of Wild Pigeons in our woods are astonishing. Indeed, after having viewed them so often, and under so many circumstances, I even now feel inclined to pause, and assure myself that what I am going to relate is fact. Yet I have seen it all, and that too in the company of persons who, like myself, were

struck with amazement.

In the autumn of 1813, I left my house at Henderson, on the banks of the Ohio, on my way to Louisville. In passing over the Barrens a few miles beyond Hardensburgh, I observed the pigeons flying from north-east to south-west, in greater numbers than I thought I had ever seen them before, and feeling an inclination to count the flocks that might pass within the reach of my eye in one hour, I dismounted, seated myself on an eminence, and began to mark with my pencil, making a dot for every flock that passed. In a short time finding the task which I had undertaken impracticable, as the birds poured in in countless multitudes.... The air was literally filled with Pigeons; the light of noon-day was obscured as by an eclipse; the dung fell in spots, not unlike melting

flakes of snow; and the continued buzz of wings had a tendency to lull my senses to repose...Before sunset I reached Louisville, distant from Hardensburgh fifty-five miles. The Pigeons were still passing in undiminished numbers, and continued to do so for three days in succession. The people were all in arms. The banks of the Ohio were crowded with men and boys, incessantly shooting at the pilgrims, which there flew lower as they passed the river. Multitudes were destroyed. For a week or more, the population fed on no other flesh than that of Pigeons, and talked of nothing but Pigeons.⁶

Although Audubon's first attempt failed to estimate the size of this immense flock, his curiosity teamed up with simple mathematics for a second attempt:

It may not, perhaps be out of place to attempt an estimate of the number of Pigeons contained in one of those mighty flocks.... Let us take a column of one mile in breadth, which is far below the average size, and suppose it passing over us without interruption for three hours, at the rate mentioned above of one mile in the minute. This will give us a parallelogram of 180 miles by 1, covering 180 square miles. Allowing two pigeons to the square yard, we have one

Portrait of artist and naturalist John James Audubon by John Syme, 1826.
The White House Historical Association.



“THE AIR WAS
LITERALLY FILLED
WITH PIGEONS;
THE LIGHT OF
NOON-DAY WAS
OBSCURED AS BY
AN ECLIPSE”

-John James Audubon



A sketch near Monroe, La., 1875. "At some of the pigeon-roosts in this vicinity the birds congregate in incredible numbers, the weight of the immense flocks frequently breaking and twisting the limbs of the forest trees as if a hurricane had passed through the woods. Sallying out from their resting-place, they move through the air in compact form, wheeling and twisting in graceful and undulating lines, which resemble the coils of a gigantic serpent. They fly with inconceivable velocity, every one striving to be ahead, and produce a noise similar to that made by a gale at sea passing through the rigging of a close-reefed vessel. As the torrent rolls along, the gunners keep up a continued fire upon the flying birds, and but little skill is required to soon obtain a game-bag well filled."

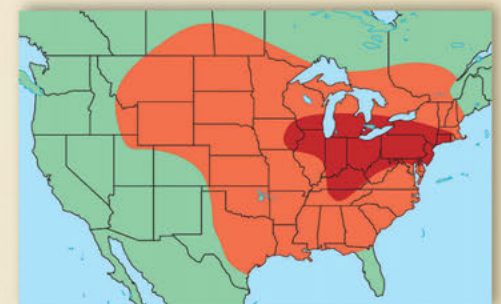
LoC USZ62-69248, sketch by Smith Bennett, from *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, July 3, 1875, p. 332.

billion, one hundred and fifteen millions, one hundred and thirty-six thousand pigeons in one flock.⁷

So incredibly numerous were these birds that the simple, daily behavior of roosting for the evening was a devastating spectacle. Eyewitness accounts tell of large tree limbs and even whole trees, strained by the weight of innumerable birds, snapping off and causing the death of many of them. The floor of the forest covered for miles with several inches of dung from a single night. The damage to


the trees and the undergrowth was evident for several years. Audubon witnessed this phenomenon as well and, of course, described it for us:

The dung lay several inches deep, covering the whole extent of the roosting-place, like a bed of snow. Many trees two feet in diameter, I observed, were broken off at no great distance from the ground; and the branches of many of the largest and tallest had given way, as if the forest had been swept by a tornado. Every thing proved to



Passenger pigeon range in North America. The red area indicates where the extensive flocks usually nested.

Learn More Online

 Watch a trailer for the documentary *From Billions to None*.



JUNIUS BRUTUS BOOTH

“By far the strangest example of sympathy for the bird was expressed by Junius Brutus Booth, one of the leading actors of the nineteenth century and even more famously the father of John Wilkes Booth.... Booth was in Louisville for an acting engagement when he wrote a local Unitarian clergyman, James Freeman Clarke, to secure a gravesite for a recently departed friend.... Clarke was shocked to see that the object of Booth's sorrow was a bushel of passenger pigeons!

‘Booth knelt down by the side of the birds, and with evidence of sincere affliction began to mourn over them. He took them up in his hands tenderly, and pressed them to his heart....’

Clark quoted Booth:

‘You see,’ said he, ‘they’re innocent victims of man’s barbarity. I wish to testify, in some public way, against this wanton destruction of life.’”

~Joel Greenberg,
*A Feathered River
Across the Sky*,
pp. 62-63.

me that the number of birds resorting to this part of the forest must be immense beyond conception.... Here and there the perches gave way under the weight with a crash, and falling to the ground, destroyed hundreds of the birds beneath.... It was a scene of uproar and confusion.... I found it quite useless to speak, or even to shout to those persons who were nearest to me. Even the reports of the guns were seldom heard, and I was made aware of the firing only by seeing the shooters reloading.⁸

ANCIENT EVIDENCE

While their writings were separated by a century, neither Audubon nor Shufeldt (whose second wife that divorced him, was, coincidentally, Audubon's granddaughter) could have known that the “mighty flocks” of “unnumbered generations” would be numbered, in part, by archaeological evidence of passenger pigeons at the Meadowcroft Rockshelter in Avella, Washington County, Pennsylvania.

It was another scientific observer, John E. Guilday, Associate Curator of Vertebrate Fossils at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, who, like Shufeldt, had

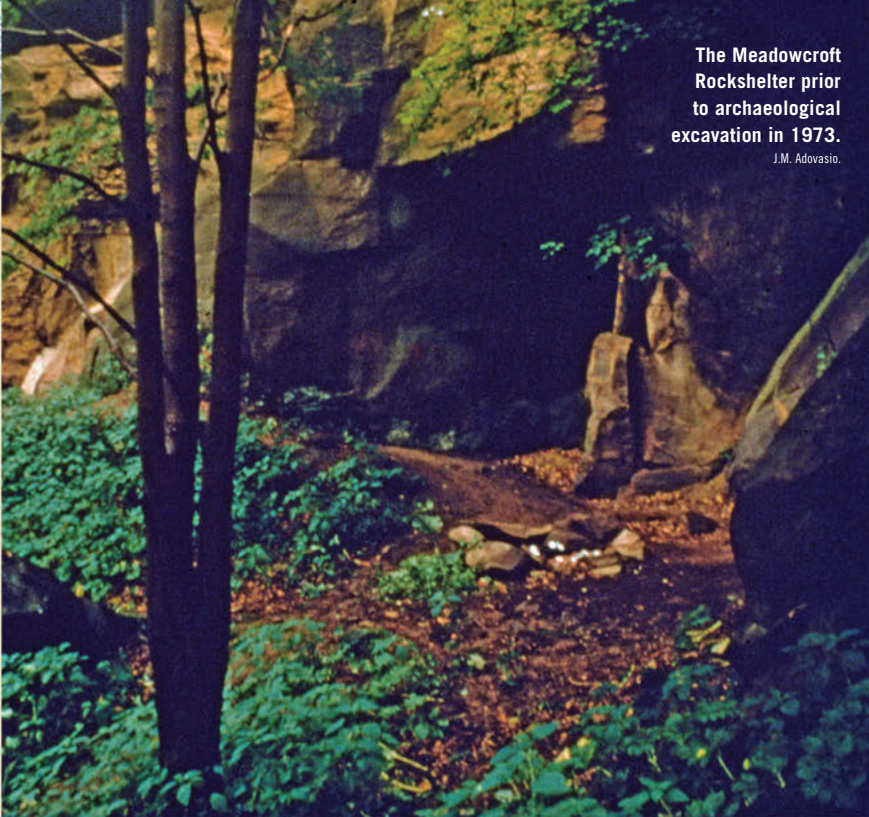
the opportunity to spread out the remains of the extinct passenger pigeon on the table before him. However, this time it was not one specimen, it was hundreds and, rather than a recently expired example, the bird remains examined by Guilday in the 1970s were, in some cases, many thousands of years old.

Guilday and others performed the analysis of vertebrate faunal remains excavated from the Meadowcroft Rockshelter during the initial years of the excavation from 1973 to 1978. He reported that among the 13,350 bird bones recovered at Meadowcroft (representing 68 species),⁹ was an overwhelming 7,050 passenger pigeon bones.¹⁰ Almost all of these bones were from adult birds; however, a scant number of juvenile bones from Meadowcroft provide the only evidence that passenger pigeons ever nested in southwestern Pennsylvania. This archaeological collection represents a minimum of 810 individual birds and the largest existing collection of passenger pigeon remains.¹¹ Other Pennsylvania archaeological sites in Huntingdon, Lancaster,

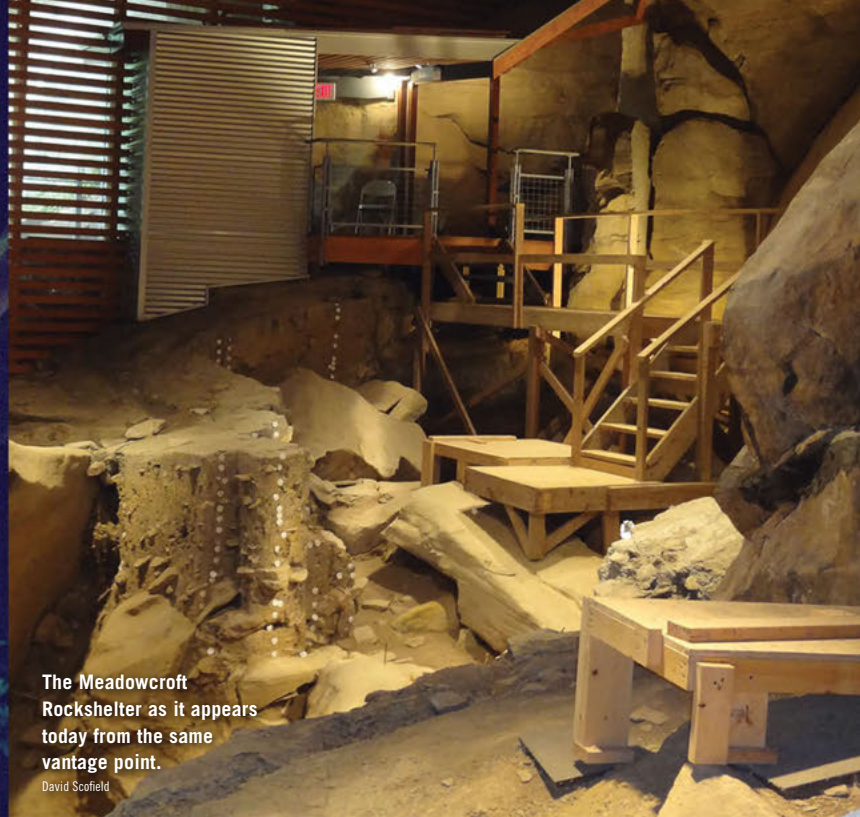
A male passenger pigeon at Meadowcroft on loan from Carnegie Museum of Natural History is paired with the October 19, 1971 issue of *Look* magazine that included a story on naturalist John James Audubon, who was the subject of a painting by Norman Rockwell, Audubon Observing The Passenger Pigeon.

Photo by David Scofield.





The Meadowcroft Rockshelter prior to archaeological excavation in 1973.
J.M. Adovasio.



The Meadowcroft Rockshelter as it appears today from the same vantage point.
David Scofield

Somerset, and Venango counties have produced small numbers of bones from these pigeons but nowhere near the number recovered at Meadowcroft.¹²

The fact that passenger pigeons represent such a high percentage of the total number of bird remains in the Meadowcroft faunal collection is not surprising. Because of the extraordinary size of the flocks observed, it has been estimated that the passenger pigeon population at one time made up 25% to 40% of the total bird population in the United States.¹³

The earliest evidence of passenger pigeons at Meadowcroft was recovered from a level bracketed by dates of roughly 13,000 and 15,000 years ago. Pigeon remains are also present in every subsequent stratum of the site up to the most recent, which is dated to the eve of the American Revolution

and marked by a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1775 (+/- 50 years). Most of the surviving bones were broken due to both their fragile nature and the environment in which they were preserved, or due to the fact that they were broken by the raptor that caught and consumed the bird. Guilday reports that ninety per cent of vertebrate faunal remains at Meadowcroft are the result of raptors roosting at the site and casting the undigested portion of their quarry.¹⁴ The careful examination by Guilday revealed two examples

with evidence pointing to bone injuries suffered by the birds that eventually healed.¹⁵ Apparently these two birds evaded their predators for at least one more day.

NATIVE USE OF PASSENGER PIGEONS

The first people to live in Western Pennsylvania were the so-called Paleoindians who used the Meadowcroft Rockshelter for a base camp as early as 16,000 years ago. These prehistoric

people left no written records to shed light on their experience with passenger pigeons. However, because the conditions at the Meadowcroft site were favorable to the preservation of faunal material, the presence of passenger pigeons, contemporaneously with prehistoric people, has been conclusively demonstrated.



THE EARLIEST EVIDENCE OF PASSENGER PIGEONS AT MEADOWCROFT WAS RECOVERED FROM A LEVEL BRACKETED BY DATES OF ROUGHLY 13,000 AND 15,000 YEARS AGO.

It is relatively safe to assume that such an abundant, seasonal food source was utilized at Meadowcroft by the Paleoindians, in competition with the raptors, even though only one charred passenger pigeon bone was recovered at the site, which suggests it was cooked over a fire.

Native Americans in the Upper Ohio Valley often led a life characterized by feast or famine. With winter stores depleted, word spread quickly in the springtime of the arrival of the nesting pigeons or “big breads” that would annually supply the villages with an abundance of food.¹⁶

Merle H. Deardorff documented the tradition of passenger pigeon hunting

among the Seneca Indians in 1941. A Warren, Pennsylvania banker, Deardorff’s interest in Indian culture led him into close relationships with the remaining Seneca living on the Cornplanter Tract in Warren County, Pennsylvania. This tract was a land grant made in 1791 to Chief Cornplanter of the Seneca Nation by the Pennsylvania General Assembly to convey gratitude for his service as a diplomat among the Iroquois during the American Revolution. A community of Seneca Indians continued to reside on the Cornplanter Tract until 1964 when the Kinzua Dam project flooded the area to create the Allegheny Reservoir.

Deardorff interviewed several of the

remaining Seneca who either remembered the annual pigeon hunts or hearing tales of the bounty. In 1943, Deardorff co-authored “The last passenger pigeon hunts of the Cornplanter Senecas” with Smithsonian ethnologist William N. Fenton that was published in the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*.

The flocks of pigeons began to return from their winter territory to Pennsylvania in March or April. The Seneca hunting grounds, in what are now the counties of Warren, McKean, Potter, Elk, Cameron, Forest, and Jefferson, were also pigeon habitat. Seneca Willie Gordon relates to Deardorff: “We would see the *jäh’ gowa*, ‘big bread’ flying north in flocks so large that their numbers darkened the sky and their wings sounded as thunder. They came as a plague of locusts and devoured every sprouting plant. They would nest in patches of beechwood timber where they flocked to eat the beechnuts.”¹⁷

Native hunters successfully trapped pigeons, shot them with arrows or guns, and also collected the immature birds, known as squab, from their nests. First-hand accounts of the Iroquois in the New World, as early as the mid-17th century, describe the use of nets to take hundreds of pigeons. Jesuit missionaries wrote “that sometimes as many as seven hundred are caught in the course of one morning.”¹⁸ The Swedish-born naturalist, Pehr Kalm, visited America in the mid-18th century, making the following observation near Lake Onondaga, New York in August of 1750:

and here they had erected sloping nets with a cord attachment leading to the huts where they were sitting; when the pigeons arrived in swarms...the savages pulled the cords, inclosing them in the net, and thus at once secured the entire flock. At certain times, when they come in such numbers that the ground could hardly be seen for them, the savages found it more advisable to use a gun, as by a single discharge of bird-shot they could sometimes kill as many as 50 or more; and this proved a splendid source of food supply.¹⁹



Mark Catesby's 1754 illustration of the Passenger Pigeon is thought to be the first published depiction of the species.

The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, Marsh and Wilcox, 1754.

“EVEN THE MEANEST DOG IN CAMP HAD HIS FILL OF PIGEON MEAT”

Collecting squab was a high-yield endeavor. Just two weeks after hatching, the adult birds fed the young one last time and abandoned the nest, leaving a forest full of fat, succulent squab for the taking.

These young birds had grown rapidly on a diet of pigeon milk—a nutritious food produced in the crop of both the male and female parent. When the parents took their leave, the corpulent young birds weighed as much, or more, than the adults, rendering the juveniles unable to fly for the next three or four days. During this time of vulnerability, opportunistic hunters frequently moved into the nesting grounds.

In the spring of 1780, Benjamin Gilbert, along with members of his family and several others, was taken captive from his home near Bethlehem, Pennsylvania by a group of several Cayuga and Seneca Indians and at least one Delaware Indian. The captives were taken west, split up, and adopted by various families to replace their own members lost in war. A



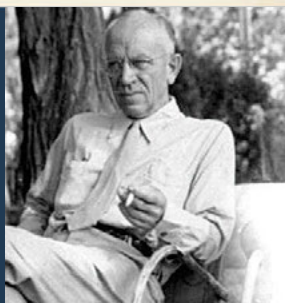
“THEIR NUMBERS DARKENED THE SKY AND THEIR WINGS SOUNDED AS THUNDER. THEY CAME AS A PLAGUE OF LOCUSTS AND DEVoured EVERY SPROUTING PLANT.”

year later, In the spring of 1781, Benjamin was with his adopted family when an Indian arrived with news that “an astonishing Number of young Pigeons might be procured at a certain Place, by falling Trees that were filled with Nests of young.... This Information delighted the several Tribes; they speedily joined together, young and old, from different Parts, and with great Assiduity pursued their Expedition, and took Abundance of the young ones, which they dried in the Sun and with

Smoke.... They lived with Extravagance for some Time, faring sumptuously every Day.”²⁰

Horatio Jones, another Pennsylvanian captured and adopted by the Seneca in 1779, also took part in a squab collecting party. While on a trip with his Seneca captors to visit Cornplanter along the Allegheny River, a runner arrived with news of the “big breads” two days journey away on the Genesee River:

All was now bustle and confusion, and every person in the village who could



ALDO LEOPOLD

Here is my favorite passage regarding the passenger pigeon by the ever-so-eloquent Aldo Leopold. This passage is, in fact, my favorite natural history prose writing of all time. I still am saddened each time I read it.

~ Jay Banta, Manager for 19 years, Fish Springs National Wildlife Refuge, Utah.

“ We have erected a monument to commemorate the funeral of a species. It symbolizes our sorrow. We grieve because no living man will see again the onrushing phalanx of victorious birds, sweeping a path for spring across the March skies, chasing the defeated winter from all the woods and prairies of Wisconsin.

Men still live who, in their youth, remember pigeons. Trees still live who, in their youth, were shaken by a living wind. But a decade hence only the oldest oaks will remember, and at long last only the hills will know.

There will always be pigeons in books and in museums, but these are effigies and images, dead to all hardships and to all delights. Book-pigeons cannot dive out of

a cloud to make the deer run forever, or clap their wings in thunderous applause of mast-laden woods. Book-pigeons cannot breakfast on new-mown wheat in Minnesota, and dine on blueberries in Canada. They know no urge of seasons; they feel no kiss of sun, no lash of wind and weather. They live forever by not living at all. ”



bear the fatigue of travel at once set out for the Genesee. On their arrival at the place designated by the runner, Jones beheld a sight that he never forgot. The pigeons, in numbers too great to estimate, had made their temporary homes in a thick forest. Each tree and branch bore nests on every available spot. The birds had exhausted every species of nesting material in the vicinity, including the small twigs of the trees, and the ground was as bare as though swept with a broom...the Indians cut down the roosting-trees to secure the birds, and each day thousands of squabs were killed. Fires were made in front of the cabins and bunches of the dressed birds were suspended on poles sustained by crotched sticks, to dry in the heat and the smoke. When properly cured they were packed in bags or baskets for transportation to the home towns. It was a festival season...and even the meanest dog in camp had his fill of pigeon meat.²¹

THE PATH TO EXTINCTION

The taking of passenger pigeons by the Indians and by the European settlers, even though it was done in large numbers, did not seem to have a negative impact on the overall population of the massive flocks. However, the arrival of the railroad in the middle of the 19th

is present.
All specimens of ducks that have com-
tion have been taken during the spring migration, and, to my
mind, at least, the discoloration is due to iron "in the water
frequented by the ducks" in their winter quarters.
CIRCLEVILLE, OHIO, Nov. 1, 1909.

A LAST ATTEMPT TO LOCATE AND SAVE FROM EXTINCTION THE PASSENGER PIGEON.

Through the interest and generosity of Col. Anthony R. Kuser, I am able to offer the following award:
Three Hundred Dollars (\$300) for information of a nest-
ing pair of wild Passenger Pigeons (*Ectopistes migratoria*),
UNDISTURBED.

Before this award will be paid such information must be
furnished (exclusively and confidentially) as will enable a
committee of expert ornithologists to visit the nest and con-
firm the finding. If the nest and parent birds are found un-
disturbed the award will be promptly paid.
(Signed) C. WILLIAM BEEBE.

Until January 1st, 1911, during Dr. Beebe's absence from
America, all information concerning the existence of Passen-
ger Pigeons should be sent to C. F. Hodge, Clark University,
Worcester, Mass.

In making this offer Col. Kuser withdraws his former of-
fer of One Hundred Dollars (\$100) for a freshly killed Pas-
senger Pigeon. He does this because of the great danger of
complete extermination.

century brought easier access to city markets for pigeon meat and for live birds used in the sport of trapshooting. The expanding rail service and the accompanying expansion of telegraph service, which provided rapid communication of nesting site locations, was a boon to professional pigeon trappers.

Cages full of live birds and barrels holding 25 to 35 dozen birds packed in ice, filled the railroad cars. In 1855, it was reported that 18,000 pigeons were shipped out of New York State and Pennsylvania over the Erie Railroad in a single day.²² Estimates of the number of birds shipped from each region in a given season vary widely, but certainly it numbered in the millions.

Within a couple of decades, the number of pigeon flocks and the size of those flocks were noticeably declining. In 1873, and again in 1875, the Pennsylvania legislature attempted to curb the decline by establishing laws prohibiting the disturbance of pigeon nesting areas and the shooting of roosting birds. A twenty-five dollar fine was the penalty. These legislative efforts were not effective. In 1905

another law was passed establishing a ten-year period of protection for passenger pigeons with a fine of twenty-five dollars for each bird killed. It was simply a case of too little, too late. The laws were frequently ignored and largely ineffective. The species was already well on its way to extinction.

The extinction of the passenger pigeon is by all accounts a dramatic story and much has been written about this irrevocable loss. In the last half-century, two major works have been produced on the subject of passenger pigeons.²³ Both authors point to over-harvesting as the primary cause of extinction. There is no doubt that the astonishing number of birds taken by unregulated trapping and hunting had a devastating effect on the species. However, there was more at play in this drama. In addition to the extensive predation by humans, other factors such as loss of habitat also adversely affected the population of these birds. Even certain innate characteristics of the birds themselves, when coupled with hunting pressure and habitat loss, contributed to the decline in population.

FAR LEFT: Audubon painted this watercolor of passenger pigeons in the fall of 1824 while he was in Pittsburgh.

University of Pittsburgh Library System, Special Collections, The Birds of America, Volumes I-IV.

LEFT: By 1909, sightings of passenger pigeons in the wild were rare, prompting this offer of a \$300 reward for locating a nesting pair of the nearly extinct bird.

The Wilson Bulletin 21, no. 4 (October 1909): 223.

THE LARGEST DOCUMENTED
NESTING WHICH TOOK PLACE
IN CENTRAL WISCONSIN
DURING 1871 COVERED 850
SQUARE MILES AND CONTAINED
136 MILLION NESTING PIGEONS.



A passenger pigeon
egg collected in 1849.
Collection of James Bond/Jacques Perrin
de Brichambaut.

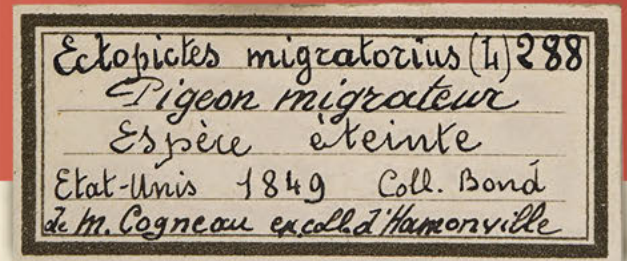


Fig. 8. Crowned pigeon (*Goura coronata*).

Fig. 7. Turtle-dove (*Turtur communis*).

Clearly, intense hunting of passenger pigeons took place and is well documented. One dramatic example is recorded during the largest documented nesting, which took place in central Wisconsin during 1871.²⁴ The nesting covered approximately 850 square miles and contained an estimated 136 million nesting pigeons. Roughly 1.2 million birds were taken from that nesting by 600 professional pigeon netters.

While passenger pigeons ate a variety of things such as earthworms, snails, and various insects, they were highly dependent on mast and the seemingly endless forests of eastern United States and Canada provided an abundance of their preferred beechnuts as well as acorns and chestnuts. As the virgin timber was cut to sustain a growing nation and open the landscape for agriculture, the forests were reduced and became fragmented. Naturally

The Passenger Pigeon amongst some of her relatives. Pigeons and doves together constitute the bird family Columbidae, containing about 310 species.

W.P. Pycraft, *A Book of Birds*, Sidney Appleton, 1908.



The east face of the Meadowcroft excavation where evidence of prehistoric campfires spans thousands of years.
Photo by David Scofield.

this diminished the abundance of mast from its former state and would have presented a hardship for the great flocks.

Certain characteristics of passenger pigeons had an impact on their ability to overcome these challenges. The birds typically laid only a single egg upon nesting, so any disturbance of the breeding cycle would have a significant impact on maintaining the population. In addition, the social attributes of immense flocks facilitated food finding. Because mast trees typically produce abundant crops every two to five years, they

are a somewhat irregular source of food. As the mast forests diminished and became fragmented, the declining pigeon population may have experienced significant challenges in locating this irregular food supply across a vast geographical area.

For any species to survive, they must reproduce at a rate that exceeds loss. When predation, habitat loss, diminished food resources, and disruption of breeding cycles all apply pressure on a population, the outcome cannot be favorable. In the recently published book, *A Feathered River Across the Sky*, author

Joel Greenberg speaks of the various factors necessary for a species to sustain itself as “links in the chain of life” and laments that, in the case of passenger pigeons, “...all of the links were simultaneously being compromised.”²⁵

WE WILL NEVER SEE THE LIKE AGAIN

Many of those who saw the extraordinary spectacle of an immense flock of passenger pigeons darkening the sky or experienced the din of a colony nesting in the forest were compelled to write about their experience. We are indebted to those who recorded in their journals and memoirs the details of a sight we will never see.

The irrevocable loss of any species demands reflection. On the centenary of the extinction of the passenger pigeon we should reflect not only on the beauty and uniqueness of this species but also on the lessons learned and the implications for stewardship and future wildlife conservation efforts.

Arlie W. Schorger, author of a seminal work on the natural history and extinction of the passenger pigeon, tells of a boyhood outing on the roads of northern Ohio with his uncle:

We came to a segment of the highway then bordered by fields. He told me that the area was once covered with a large beech forest. In spring when there were beechnuts on the ground, huge flocks of wild pigeons would appear. Their numbers were so great that the earth was shadowed and dung struck the dry leaves like hail. Men stood in the rift in the forest and fired at the passing birds until the road was dotted with their blue bodies, and more were killed than could be carried. He ended by saying, “We will never see the like again.”²⁶

David Scofield is the director at Meadowcroft Rockshelter and Historic Village.

The author is indebted to the following individuals for their assistance: Art Louderback, Detre Library and Archives at the Heinz History Center; David Grinnell and Miriam Meislik, University of Pittsburgh Library; Jamie Yancic,

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Visit passengerpigeonpittsburgh.org for information on Pittsburgh area passenger pigeon centenary events, exhibits, and performances.

¹ R. W. Shufeldt, "Anatomical And Other Notes On The Passenger Pigeon (*Ectopistes Migratorius*) Lately Living In The Cincinnati Zoological Gardens". *The Auk* Vol. 37 (January, 1915), 29.

² There is discrepancy surrounding the origin of Martha, her exact age and the time of her death but, most accounts place her death on September 1, 1914.

³ Kalman Lambrecht, "In Memoriam: Robert Wilson Shufeldt, 1850-1934". *The Auk* Vol. LII (October, 1935), 359.

⁴ Shufeldt, op cit., 29-30.

⁵ Ibid., 38.

⁶ John James Audubon and William Macgillivray, *Ornithological biography, or An account of the*

habits of the birds of the United States of America: accompanied by descriptions of the objects represented in the work entitled The birds of America, and interspersed with delineations of American scenery and manners /v.1., <digital.library.pitt.edu/cache/3/1/7/31735056284882/0345.jp2.s.jpg> accessed 12/7/2012, 320-321.

⁷ Ibid., 322.

⁸ Ibid., 323-324.

⁹ J.E. Guilday, P.W. Parmalee, and R.C. Wilson, "Vertebrate Faunal Remains from Meadowcroft Rockshelter, Washington County, Pennsylvania: Summary and Interpretation". In *Meadowcroft: Collected Papers on the Archaeology of Meadowcroft Rockshelter and the Cross Creek Drainage*, edited by R.C. Carlisle and J.M. Adovasio (1984), 167-168.

¹⁰ J.E. Guilday, P.W. Parmalee, and R.C. Wilson, "Vertebrate Faunal Remains from Meadowcroft Rockshelter, (36WH297) Washington County, Pennsylvania". (Unpublished manuscript on file at Mercyhurst Archaeological Institute, 1980), 31.

¹¹ Guilday, et al., op cit., 168.

¹² John B. Orlandini, "The Passenger Pigeon: A Seasonal Native American Food Source". *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 66(2) (1996), 71-77.

¹³ A.W. Schorger, *The Passenger Pigeon: Its Natural History and Extinction*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955), 205.

¹⁴ Guilday, et al., op cit., 163.

¹⁵ Guilday, et al., op cit., 33.

¹⁶ William N. Fenton and Merle H. Deardorff, "The Last Passenger Pigeon Hunts of the Cornplanter Senecas". *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* Vol. 33, No.10 (October 15, 1943), 294.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, *The Jesuit relations and allied documents*, 73 vols. Cleveland, 1896-1901. In Fenton and Deardorff, 289.

¹⁹ Pehr Kalm, "The passenger pigeon". *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1911*. In Fenton and Deardorff, 290.

²⁰ Frank H. Severance, editor, *The Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family, 1780-1783*, (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1904), 115-116.

²¹ George H. Harris, *Life of Horatio Jones*, (Frank H. Severance, editor.) Buffalo Historical Society Vol. 6, 1903. In Fenton and Deardorff, 291.

²² Schorger, op cit., 145.

²³ A.W. Schorger's *The Passenger Pigeon: Its Natural History and Extinction*, see note xiii, and Joel Greenberg's recent publication of *A Feathered River Across the Sky*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014)

²⁴ Schorger, op cit., 91.

²⁵ Joel Greenberg, *A Feathered River Across the Sky*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 195.

²⁶ Schorger, op cit., vii.

Passenger pigeon remains recovered from the Meadowcroft Rockshelter in a level dated between 13,000 and 16,000 years old.

Carnegie Museum of Natural History. Photo by David Scofield.



PITTSBURGH'S
FAMOUS FORGOTTEN RADICAL

BY RICHARD GAZARIK



Jacob Margolis.

Courtesy of Ron Schuler, from the upcoming book
*The Steel Bar: Pittsburgh Lawyers and
the Making of Modern America.*

"I WELCOME ALL STRIKES I WELCOME THE FEELING OF UNREST"



Attorney Jacob Margolis was an anarchist, an atheist, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and Pittsburgh's most prominent radical in the 1920s until he was disbarred as an attorney for his political beliefs. He opposed World War I, the draft, capitalism, trade unions, and the legal profession whose members he called "grafters."

"I'm a Bolshevik ... And I don't care who knows it," he once proclaimed.² Margolis' clientele included anarchist Emma Goldman; her lover Alexander Berkman, the would-be assassin of Henry Clay Frick; and Big Bill Haywood, the one-eyed leader of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). He also was associated with William Z. Foster, a syndicalist and radical labor organizer who

led the nationwide 1919 steel strike from his Pittsburgh headquarters. Because he was a Jew, the Scots-Irish Presbyterians, who dominated Pittsburgh's legal, financial, and political fields, treated Margolis as an outsider.³ The Allegheny County Bar Association would not allow him to join its ranks, and then after it did, instigated disbarment proceedings against him because of his political beliefs.⁴

The political climate in Pittsburgh encouraged a state of mind among the public and government officials that saw reason replaced by hate, fear, and intolerance. Margolis defied the stereotype of a radical, a label affixed to anyone who strayed from conventional thought. He was not the wild-eyed anarchist bent on bombings and the violent overthrow of the government. He defended free speech, members of the IWW, and members of the Union of Russian Workers

who faced deportation. But he paid a price for his advocacy, spending years in legal limbo as an attorney unable to practice law and kept under scrutiny by a government that considered him dangerous.

In the early years of the 20th century, America was suffering from a severe case of xenophobia. The IWW gained new members among immigrants who were driven to join its ranks by harsh working conditions and low pay. Labor and management were at odds, and radicals and leftists felt they could take advantage of worker discontent through strikes.⁵ Many Americans viewed these foreigners suspiciously because of the revolutions that were going on in their native countries. A report on the 1919 strike described these aliens as "Physically powerful men, with dark or dirty faces, with heavy brows or long moustaches in whose former

homelands strange political events are going on, these men are feared because nothing is known about them.”⁶

When WWI ended, demobilization created a tight job market as Pittsburgh shifted from wartime to peacetime production. Ex-soldiers competed with foreigners for work, and inflation and a high cost of living forced labor to become more aggressive in demanding higher wages. When their requests were ignored, workers went on strike. Margolis and the left became targets of government surveillance because of unrest among foreign workers. Rational-thinking Americans were transformed into rabid nationalists. Businessmen, wanting to protect their investments, viewed these foreigners as a threat. It was considered a patriotic duty to report anybody making statements that were seen as un-American or disloyal.⁷

On a hot August day in 1912, more than 15,000 people had jammed the streets in Pittsburgh’s Homewood neighborhood to listen to Socialist Party speakers urge an industrial revolution. Many of the men in the crowd worked at the nearby Westinghouse plant or in the city’s steel mills. Socialists John McGuire and Fred Merrick were arrested as they climbed a makeshift platform to speak. Mounted police waded into the crowd swinging clubs, cracking heads and breaking arms of any demonstrator within reach.⁸ Just then, Elizabeth Hobe,

a young woman waving a red flag, led a marching band playing Socialist songs down the street. The band continued playing until every musician was arrested.⁹ Several marchers were jailed for selling *Justice*, the Socialist newspaper, and waving copies in the face of policemen. Another man was arrested for wearing a red tie.¹⁰

“Revolt, real industrial revolt is in the air. The woods are full of revolutionary Socialists and industrial unionists and the free speech fight is merely a skirmish in the industrial revolt about to follow,” Margolis stated.¹¹ Margolis, who helped organize the rally, claimed that authorities persuaded Homewood businessmen to file complaints with the police as a pretext to break up the gathering.¹² They were afraid, Margolis alleged, this “contagion might spread and do irreparable damage. Free speech is a valuable asset. To be deprived of it means that secret methods must be employed and the latter are hardly every successful.”¹³

The Homewood demonstration cemented Margolis’ credentials as a leader of the radical movement in Pittsburgh. When he was not practicing law, Margolis was agitating on behalf of labor. He urged striking miners in Washington County to “prepare and equip yourselves to take over these industries and mines.”¹⁴ In 1913, he helped Pittsburgh cigar workers form a chapter of the IWW.¹⁵ In 1915, Margolis staged a rally at Montefiore Hall in

Pittsburgh to raise money for the defendants charged with blowing up the Times Building in Los Angeles. He defended one of the bombers, David Caplan, before withdrawing from the case over trial strategy disputes and the client’s lack of money to pay the attorneys.¹⁶

Margolis attracted the attention of the fledgling Bureau of Investigation, which later became the FBI, after bureau agents infiltrated the IWW while Margolis was serving as the group’s attorney.¹⁷ Even though Margolis identified himself as a member of the IWW, he disavowed their violent methods.

Jacob Margolis was born on Magee Street in Pittsburgh’s Hill District in 1886. He was influenced at an early age by the political currents surrounding him in his neighborhood, which was a radical hotbed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Jewish immigrants living on the Hill were politically active and quick to stage protests if they thought they were being treated unfairly. When landlords increased the rent for apartments, 500 tenants protested and demanded that city council pass an ordinance against rent profiteering.¹⁸ When Jewish-owned bakeries increased the price of a loaf of bread by a penny, 3,000 Jewish women picketed the bakeries to prevent anyone from entering the stores.¹⁹ The Hill District also was a favorite meeting place for radical groups such as the Union of Russian Workers and an assortment of anarchists. After McKinley’s assassination on September 6, 1901, there was a public outcry for authorities to rid the city of the radicals nesting in the Hill.²⁰

Margolis’ parents were among the 30,000 Jews who flooded Pittsburgh from Russia at the end of the 19th century. They arrived in Pittsburgh via the B&O Railroad carrying their possessions and bedding on their backs. As many as 3,000 immigrants arrived each day in Pittsburgh to escape pogroms underway in Eastern Europe.²¹ Margolis was a short, slightly built man who weighed about 150 pounds. He had dark eyes, black hair, and a large forehead. He was smart, articulate, and

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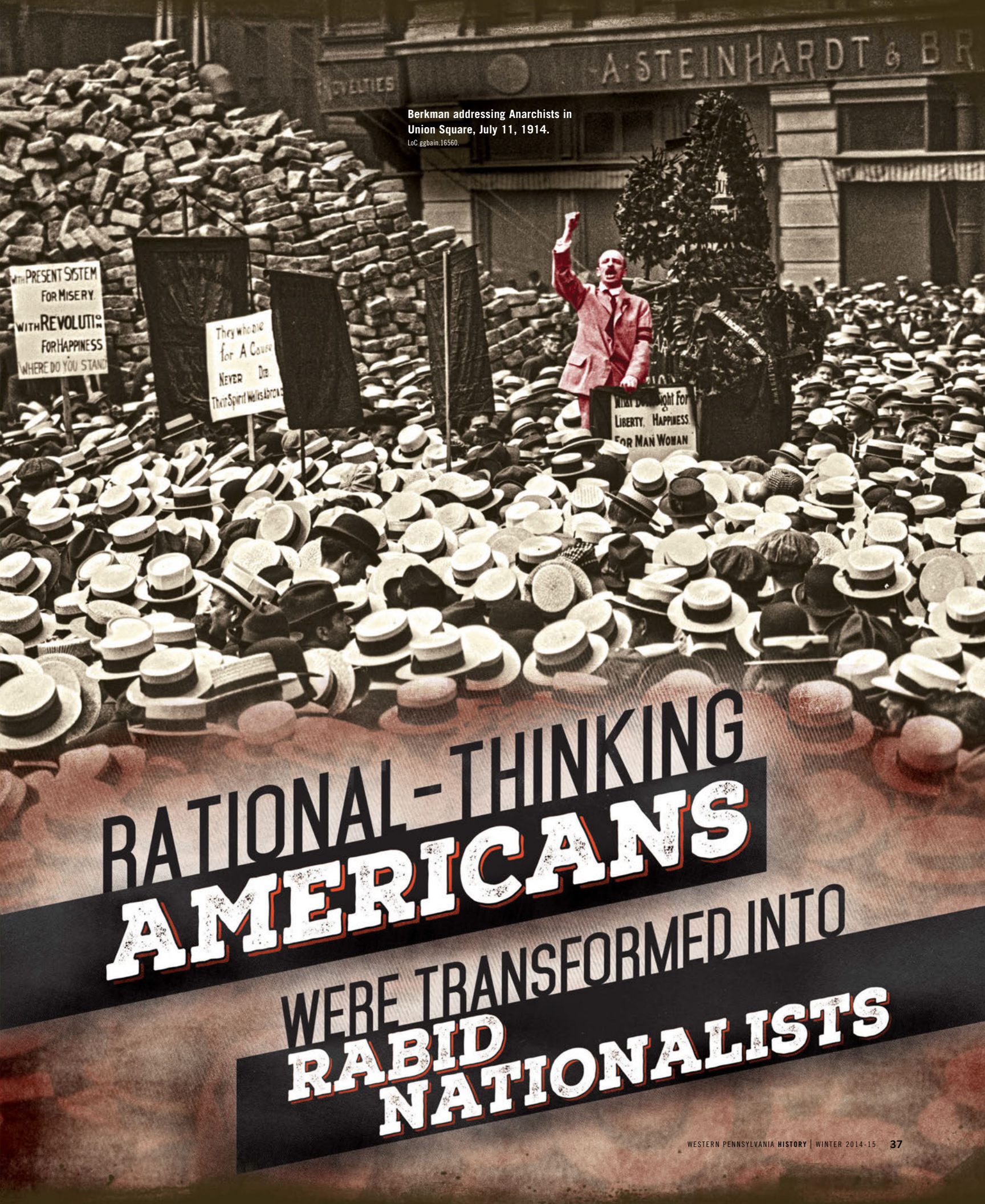
Who were Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman?

Anarchist Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

National Archives and Records Administration
Record Group 165.533643.



Berkman addressing Anarchists in
Union Square, July 11, 1914.
LoC ggbain.16560.



**RATIONAL-THINKING
AMERICANS
WERE TRANSFORMED INTO
RABID
NATIONALISTS**

ambitious.²² He also fancied himself a “street corner orator.”²³ He attended Franklin Public School in the Hill District and graduated in 1904 from Pittsburgh Central High School, then attended Washington & Jefferson College for one year before quitting and finishing his law degree at the University of Pittsburgh, and being admitted to the bar in 1910.²⁴

As Margolis’ reputation grew as a prominent member of the radical community, the Ku Klux Klan issued death threats against him. The Klan warned Margolis to temper his radical rhetoric or the “radical element will be looking for another Jew to defend them at their next trial, as we loyal red-blooded American citizens intend to ... if necessary kill off those who are so depraved as to preach revolution within our border, and don’t forget this you Jew bastard.”²⁵

Because he was outspoken, Margolis was a prime target for U.S. authorities who

wanted to prove that foreigners were bent on overthrowing the American government. He was dragged into the national spotlight when he testified before a Senate committee investigation on the causes of the 1919 nationwide steel strike. Pittsburgh quickly became the storm center for the labor dispute, triggering a crackdown on civil liberties by the police.

The American Federation of Labor began a grassroots effort to organize workers in the metal trades within the steel industry into one union under the AFL banner. Organizers infiltrated the steel towns and coal patches throughout southwestern Pennsylvania. The organizing effort was spearheaded by William Z. Foster, which industrialists claimed as proof that the strike was ordered by Bolsheviks in Moscow. The senators questioned Margolis about his role in organizing the strike even though he denied having anything to do with

the planning. He never spoke at any union meetings and differed with Foster’s strategy. When he testified, Foster came to Margolis’ defense claiming the senators “dragged in Mr. Margolis and made him a scapegoat” because of his reputation as a radical lawyer.²⁶ Foster explained that, “The Senate Committee selected [Margolis] as the man who had organized, with my hearty support and cooperation, the real force behind the strike, the I.W.W.’s, Anarchists and Bolsheviks.”²⁷

To further prove their contentions, the senators pressed Margolis about his relationship to Goldman and Berkman, whom he admitted were his friends. Goldman referred to Margolis as “my good old comrade” in her book, *Living My Life*.²⁸ “Are you in accord with them?” Sen. William Kenyon of Iowa asked Margolis. “Yes sir,” was his response.²⁹ Since he admitted he was a Bolshevik, the committee accused Margolis of being “behind



**Assault upon Rudolph Dressel, Homestead, Pa.,
September 23, 1919.**

The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons, by William Z. Foster
gutenberg.org/files/36032/36032-h/36032-h.htm

the strike with all his power. We call attention also in this connection to the testimony of Mr. Margolis who at least is entitled to credit for his frankness, in expounding his abominable doctrines before the committee.”³⁰

Kenyon asked Margolis how he could fulfill his oath as a lawyer to defend the U.S. Constitution while at the same time arguing for an end to government. “Senator, I have lived up to my oath to support and maintain the Constitution of the United States. I feel, as honestly and as consistently as any lawyer in Allegheny County whoever took the oath,” he replied.³¹ Margolis added, however, that when working conditions in the country changed, there would be no need for government. “It is a mere advocacy of a new structure which makes government unnecessary.”³² He continued, “I believe that human society can get along without government, and that if certain conditions prevailed that the people of this country, or for that matter, any other country, can do away with the causes of government and then they would not have to have any government.”³³

Margolis also told the senators he did not believe in violence. “I do not believe in war under any circumstances,” he testified. “I do not believe in using force against force, and if it comes to such a pass, I do not believe in killing.” “And, if a man came in and assaulted your wife, would you try to persuade him not to?” asked a senator. “I would try to persuade him not to,” Margolis answered. “If I could not persuade him, I would not use violence; I would do nothing.”³⁴

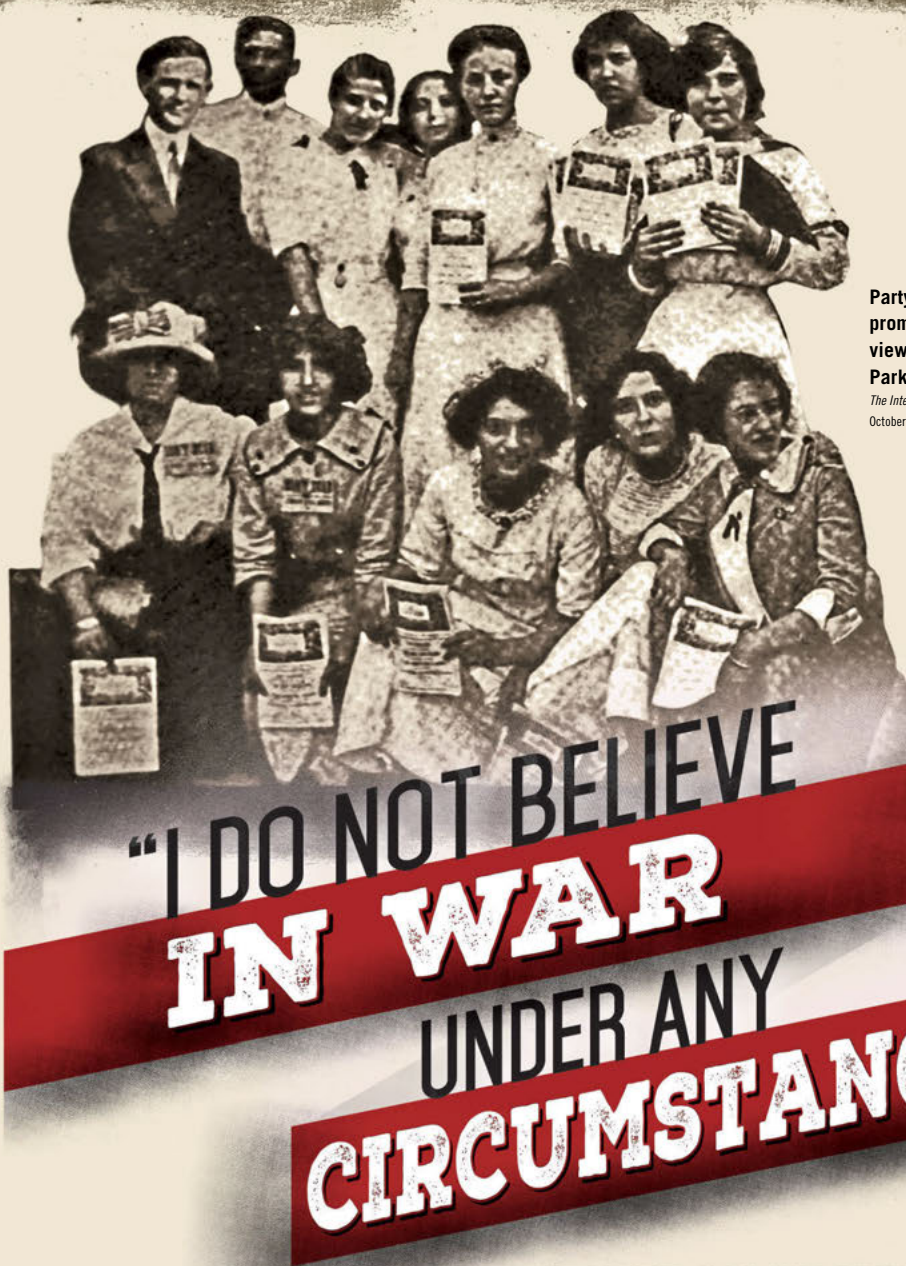
Fellow lawyers in Pittsburgh were unnerved by Margolis’ testimony and feared if they represented clients the government viewed as radical, they might invite the same scrutiny as Margolis.³⁵ After Margolis returned to Pittsburgh, the county bar association formed the Allegheny County Lawyers League of Patriotism, complaining that some of its members were not as patriotic as they should be.³⁶ The Allegheny County Bar

Association began investigating Margolis after he returned from Washington, but he refused to repudiate his ties to Goldman and Berkman. Even though they had been guests in his home, Margolis disagreed with them over the use of violence. “Change in government should be accomplished without resorting to disorder, bloodshed or human slaughter,” he said.³⁷ Margolis did not fear the prospect of disbarment:

I have no fear of the result of any investigation instigated by the bar association because I have said nothing against the United States government which I have sworn to uphold. My evidence at Wash-

HE TESTIFIED. “I DO NOT BELIEVE IN USING FORCE AGAINST FORCE, AND IF IT COMES TO SUCH A PASS, I DO NOT BELIEVE IN KILLING.”

ington was to the effect that if certain social and economic conditions were adopted, there would be no need for government, and when I believe that these considerations can be brought about, I have a right to say that I am against all government whom I know to be unnecessary. And mark you, those conditions will come, perhaps not as soon as in Europe, but they will come. It does not take religion to make men



Party workers promoting their views at Kennywood Park in 1912.

The International Socialist Review, October 1912, p. 336.

treat each other right. The education of all classes, along the lines of social and economic living will do that very thing, and then there will be no need of government, no law, no agreement or anything of that kind.³⁸

The bar association filed a petition in the Allegheny County courts seeking his ouster, and the Margolis disbarment hearing began April 29, 1920. The bar association was not able to justify Margolis' disbarment on his political or religious grounds, so they accused him of failing to adhere to his oath as a lawyer and cited his active role in opposing draft laws, finding that "the record before us discloses not only a lack of

respect for the duly enacted laws of the land but the active encouragement of others to violate them."³⁹

The bar association had to dig deep to find a precedent. It cited an 1809 case of an attorney accused of leading a movement that slaughtered whites during a slave revolt in Santo Domingo. Another case cited was that of a lawyer in Florida disbarred after participating in a lynching.⁴⁰ One witness against Margolis testified he heard Margolis say before World War I that if Germany invaded the United States, he would serve under Kaiser Wilhelm. Margolis never challenged the claim.⁴¹ Another witness testified that Margolis had argued the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915 by a German submarine and the loss of 1,195 lives was justified.⁴² Margolis wrote in Alexander Berkman's *The Blast* that, while Pittsburgh thrived by making munitions for the war, little thought was given to dead soldiers who were "the flowers of manhood from France, Germany, England and Russia.... What of it? We have work—intoxicating work. Everybody is too busy working and reaping the whirlwind of prosperity to think of anything else."⁴³

As evidence to buttress their case, bar association attorneys portrayed Margolis' law office as a meeting place where conspiracies were hatched. Government agents found copies of speeches by Goldman and Berkman there along with buttons depicting Leon Trotsky and the Communist flag. His attorneys unsuccessfully tried to bar the introduction of that evidence and argued the bar association had no authority to bring charges against him.⁴⁴ Attorney George Bradshaw, who represented Margolis, said of the proceedings,

We have an absolute and indefensible right to think as we please on matters political or religious as long as they obey the law.... This entire proceeding is based on mob action. This is the vilest proceeding ever brought

into this court. This petition does not charge any crime known to the law against public or private morals.⁴⁵

Final arguments were held May 13. The three-judge panel ruled in September that Margolis' actions constituted a violation of the legal Canons of Ethics. The recommendation to disbar Margolis was accepted by Judge Ambrose B. Reid who ruled, "The rule must be absolute, and it is ordained that the name of the respondent, Jacob Margolis, be stricken forever from the rolls of attorneys of this court."⁴⁶ Margolis appealed his ousting to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, but the justices rejected his arguments. They wrote that because Margolis taught "iniquitous doctrines to persons predisposed to lawlessness, point unerringly to the conclusion that his purpose therein was treasonable and his object was the destruction of the existing government by force."⁴⁷

After his banishment from the legal profession, the government continued its surveillance of Margolis. Agents were ordered to conduct "a very discreet and confidential investigation" of Margolis and to obtain a copy of the disbarment proceedings.⁴⁸ Margolis applied for reinstatement several times, but was rejected. He sold insurance before leaving Pittsburgh and shuffling between Milwaukee and Detroit, where he became editor of a Jewish newspaper.⁴⁹

Finally, in 1928, the Allegheny County Bar Association recommended that Margolis be allowed to practice again.⁵⁰ After years in legal no-man's land, Margolis was no longer viewed as a threat to public order. His fiery oratory softened and his fellow attorneys, who had once shunned him, no longer stood in his way of resuming his law practice.

After reopening his law office, Margolis kept speaking and defending people accused of being radicals. He represented members of the Communist-led National Miners Union and he defended three pacifist students expelled from the University of Pittsburgh for exercising their First Amendment rights.



The One Big Union Monthly was a publication of the IWW.

IWW Archives.

In 1929, he defended an Italian miner accused of killing a state trooper in Cheswick during a rally protesting the convictions of anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti; his client was found not guilty.⁵¹

Before he was disbarred, Margolis arranged lecture tours for Emma Goldman when she came to Pittsburgh to speak about birth control, free love, and an end to government. Margolis had a difficult time finding a venue willing to rent him space once they learned Goldman was to be the speaker; 22 theaters and hotels turned him down.⁵² Goldman had been a frequent visitor to Pittsburgh and often stayed in the Hill District, however authorities in Pittsburgh ordered her to be arrested on sight.⁵³ After President William McKinley was assassinated, his killer, Leon Czolgosz, said he was inspired by Goldman's writings on anarchism. When the train carrying McKinley's body traveled through Pittsburgh, mobs hanged Goldman in effigy.⁵⁴

After he was reinstated, Margolis resumed his correspondence with Goldman, who had been deported to Russia in 1919 but was allowed to return from exile in 1933. In

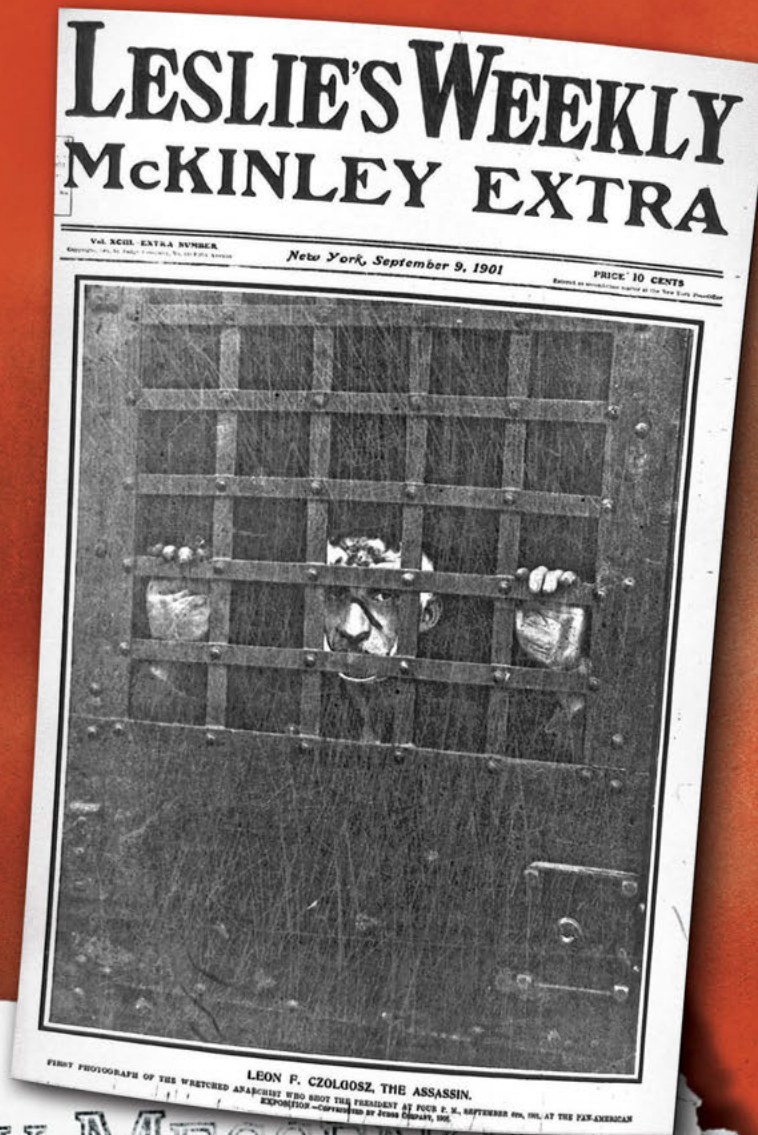
1934, she again asked Margolis for his help in resuming her speaking tour, which he had difficulty booking.⁵⁵ The Pittsburgh Board of Education refused to allow her to speak at Schenley High School.⁵⁶ The Schenley Hotel also rejected a request from Margolis for the rental of its ballroom.⁵⁷ Eventually, city officials granted her a permit to speak at Carnegie Hall on the North Side.⁵⁸

After resuming the practice of law, Margolis realized he had become a footnote in the history of Pittsburgh's radical movement. His dream of a stateless society began to fade and as he continued to lecture, fewer people came to hear him speak. The government reported that "Margolis persists in being an Anarchist when he is a well-educated person and should know that change cannot be achieved by peaceful means."⁵⁹

In 1940, he closed his

The cover of a special edition of *Frank Leslie's Weekly* (September 9, 1901) shows "Leon F. Czolgosz, The Assassin, First Photograph of the Wretched Anarchist who Shot the President."

LoC cph.3b46778.



An AP story in the *Brenham [Texas] Weekly Messenger*, October 22, 1919, reported on Margolis' inflammatory words to a Senate Labor Committee investigating the steel strike. The attorney "told of a 'union of Russian workmen,' existing in and around Pittsburgh, revolutionary in its object."

Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, Austin, via Portal to Texas History.

BRENHAM WEEKLY MESSENGER

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BRENHAM WEEKLY MESSENGER, TUESDAY, OCT. 22.

NO. 4

VOLUME 48

ANARCHIST STARTLES SENATORS

DEVELOPING GIGANTIC PLAN TO CONTROL U. S. INDUSTRY

I. W. W. ATTORNEY AND RADICAL LEADER TELLS STORY OF WORK

CROSSED PECAN AND HICKORY
By The Associated Press.
Tex. Oct. 20.—A cross

WANT MORE GUARDS FIREMEN HOLD MEET MONDAY
ON U. S. IMMIGRATION
DECLARE 5,000 TO 6,000 UNDESIRABLES FORCING WAY INTO U. S. DAILY
CONTROL IS NOW REDUCED

TOOK UP MATTER OF HOLDING CARNIVAL IN CITY'S STREETS
WANT BUILDING AT BLINN

STEEL TRUST LEADER IS FIRM IN OPPOSITION TO BARGAINING


NOVEMBER 11 IS HOLIDAY.
WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY | WINTER 2014-15
MAYOR A. A. HUCKER HAS PROCLAIMED NOVEMBER 11 A HOLIDAY IN BRENHAM IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF BATTLESHIP
AGAIN SAYS STEEL STRIKE SHOULD "NOT BE ARBITRATED OR COMPROMISED."

OWNERS COMPERS'IRE



Find out more about Ron Shuler's upcoming book *The Steel Bar: Pittsburgh Lawyers and the Making of Modern America*.

office in the Grant Building and moved to Santa Barbara, California, still unwavering in his belief that government was unnecessary. During his senate testimony, a senator remarked that Margolis seemed to have "no sympathy for American institutions," which Margolis didn't deny.

"I vociferously damned their whole idiotic social order," he said, ever the radical.⁶⁰ 

Richard Gazarik spent 42 years as a newspaper reporter in Western Pennsylvania. He is the author of *Black Valley: The Life and Death of Fannie Sellins* (Latrobe: Saint Vincent College Center for Northern Appalachian Studies, 2011). He is working on a biography of Father James Cox of Pittsburgh.

Note: The photo of Jacob Margolis comes to us from Ron Schuler, who is completing a comprehensive history of the legal profession in Pittsburgh and its impact on American history titled *The Steel Bar*, which features Jacob Margolis as one of its protagonists.

¹ Basil M. Steven, "With Kindly Consideration," *The North American Review*, University of Iowa, (January 1920): 57.

² In re: Margolis, *Pittsburgh Legal Journal*, Allegheny County Bar Association, Vol. 68, (Jan. 1, 1920-Dec. 31, 1912): 610.

³ Clarke Thomas, "Scotch-Irish Heritage Dominant in Pittsburgh," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 10, 1976.

⁴ Charles H. McCormick, *Seeing Reds: Federal Surveillance in the Pittsburgh Mill District, 1917-1921* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), 38.

⁵ Patrick Renshaw, "The IWW and the Red Scare, 1917-24," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 3, no. 4, (Oct. 1968), 65.

⁶ Report on the Steel Strike of 1919 by the Commission of Inquiry, The Interchurch World Movement of North America (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 30.

⁷ Philip Jenkins, "Spy Mad? Investigating Subversion in Pennsylvania, 1917-1918," *Pennsylvania History*, 63, no.2 (April 1996), 204.

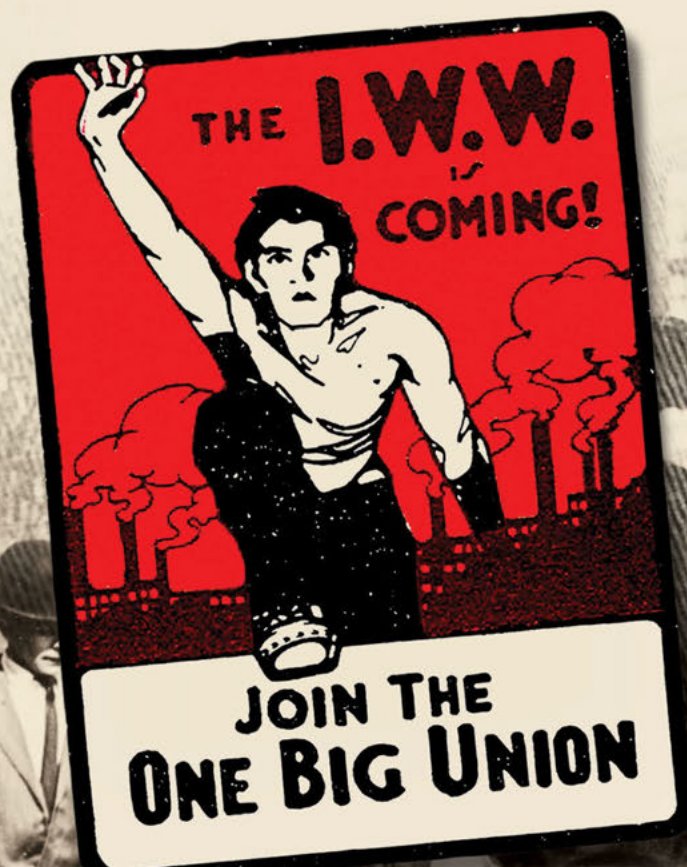
⁸ "Heads Cracked In Socialist Riot," *New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1912.

⁹ In re: Margolis, 314.

¹⁰ "Socialists and Others in Police Court," *Gazette Times*, Pittsburgh, Aug. 12, 1912. The following month, an Allegheny County judge overturned a city ordinance that prevented the Socialist Party from holding the Homewood rally. "Court Ruling Is Victory For Socialists," *Gazette Times*, Pittsburgh, Sept. 20, 1912.

Referred to as a "silent agitator," this image was printed on stickers that were distributed to raise awareness and suspicion of the union.

IWW Archives.



Big Bill Haywood,
leader of the IWW.
LoC, LC-D2-2392-2.

MARGOLIS DID NOT FEAR THE PROSPECT OF DISBARMENT:

I HAVE NO FEAR OF THE RESULT OF ANY INVESTIGATION INSTIGATED BY THE BAR ASSOCIATION BECAUSE I HAVE SAID NOTHING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WHICH I HAVE SWORN TO UPHOLD.

¹¹ In re: Margolis, 318.

¹² McCormick, *Seeing Reds*, 28.

¹³ Jacob Margolis, "Streets of Pittsburgh," *International Socialist Review* (October 1912): 314.

¹⁴ "Lawyer Oath to Support Constitution," *American Bar Association Journal* 6 (1926): 155.

¹⁵ "Pittsburgh Thinks Plots Began Here," *The Pittsburgh Press*, June 15, 1919.

¹⁶ "Lawyers Desert David Caplan on Trial's Eve," *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 1916.

¹⁷ In re: National Civil Liberties Bureau, Bureau of Investigation Case Files, 1908-1922, 18789, M1805, Roll 934, 230, NARA.

¹⁸ "Protest High Rent In Hill District," *The Pittsburgh Press*, Feb. 28, 1921.

¹⁹ "3,000 Jewish Women Boycott Bakers Who Raise Bread Prices," *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 8, 1916.

²⁰ "Anarchists And Their Active Work in Pittsburgh," *The Pittsburgh Press*, Sept. 15, 1901. The Hill District also produced notables in politics and in the art world. Future Pittsburgh Mayor and Pennsylvania Governor David Lawrence were born in the Hill along with actor Adolph Menjou and jazz artists Bill Eckstine, Earl Hines, and Oscar Levant. Composer Bill Strayhorn and singers Lena Horne and Hazel Scott also lived for a time in the Hill. Goldman, "Hill District As I Knew It,"

²¹ "Immigrants Find Work Here Without Trouble," *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 20, 1906.

²² McCormick, 31.

²³ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁴ U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Investigation of Strike in Steel Industries, 66th Congress, 1st sess., 1919, Committee Print, 817.

²⁵ "Last Warning," U.S. Department of Justice, Old German Files, Record Group 65, 18197, NARA.

²⁶ William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1920), 140.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, Vol. 2 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 837

³⁰ "Kenyon Fines Red Heads Behind Steel Strike," *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 1919.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Investigation of Strike in Steel Industry, 838.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 820.

³⁵ David Williams, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation and Its Critics, 1919-1921. The Origins of Federal Political Surveillance," *The Journal of American History* 68, no. 3 (December 1981): 569.

³⁶ "Lawyers In County In Patriotic League," *The Pittsburgh Press*, July 23, 1918.

³⁷ "Margolis Recanting, Fighting Disbarment," *New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1919.

³⁸ "Move In Pittsburgh To Disbar Margolis," *New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1919.

³⁹ George H. Campbell, *The Pittsburgh Legal Journal*, 68 (Jan. 1, 1920-Dec. 31, 1920): 609, 1187.

⁴⁰ In re: Margolis, *Pittsburgh Legal Journal*, Allegheny County Bar Association, 68 (Jan. 1, 1920-Dec. 31, 1920): 610. Pierre Dornemon was accused of leading "an army of 1,500 assassins" during 1793 when he was serving as a public official. Dornemon had been refused his seat in the Louisiana Legislature and eventually was expelled. The charge leading to his disbarment was because he "headed and aided the negroes of St. Domingo in their horrible massacre and other outrages against whites in and about the year 1793." Jacob D. Wheeler, *Reports of Criminal Cases with Notes and References*, Vol. 2 (New York: Gould, Banks & Gould, 1851), 344. A further hearing found there was no evidence to substantiate the charges and Dornemon was later reinstated. Peter J. Kastor, *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 199.

Attorney J.B. Wall was disbarred because he was part of a mob in 1883 that removed a prisoner from a county jail in Florida and then lynched the man from a tree in front of the courthouse steps. *Ex parte Wall*, 107, U.S. 265 (1883), 107.

⁴¹ "Says Margolis Was Against Man-Made Law," *The Pittsburgh Press*, April 30, 1920.

⁴² *The Pittsburgh Legal Journal*, Allegheny County Bar Association, Jan. 1, 1920-Dec. 31, 1920, (Pittsburgh: George J. Campbell, 1920), 1188, 1189.

⁴³ Alexander Berkman, ed., *The Blast* (Oakland: AK Press, 2004), 106.

⁴⁴ "Margolis Fails In Effort to Bar Evidence," *The Gazette Times*, Pittsburgh, April 30, 1920.

⁴⁵ "Counsel Argues Margolis Case," *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 13, 1920.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* The same day the Margolis decision was handed down, federal authorities announced they had smashed a plot by anarchists to kill federal and state officials as part of the May Day demonstrations. Both stories appeared on the front page of *The Gazette Times* as if to link Margolis to the plots. "Red Plots for Assassination Bared," *The Gazette Times*, Pittsburgh, April 30, 1920.

⁴⁷ Pennsylvania State Reports, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1921, October term, 207-08,

⁴⁸ McCormick, 199.

⁴⁹ "Jacob Margolis Insurance," U.S. Bureau of Investigation Case Files, July 18, 1921, OG, 600, 754-12. "Margolis Was Editor of Detroit Jewish Chronicle," June 30, 1927, jta.org

⁵⁰ "May Be Reinstated," *The Pittsburgh Press*, Nov. 13, 1928.

⁵¹ "Accorsi Freed, Undecided on Future Plans," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Dec. 14, 1929.

⁵² "Goldman Won't Stop Here," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Aug. 13, 1934. Goldman was hanged in effigy after the assassination of President McKinley when the train carrying McKinley's body passed through the city. "Beaten, Burned And Hanged," *The Pittsburgh Press*, Sept. 19, 1901. Goldman was charged with complicity in the president's death after assassin Leon Czolozg said he was inspired to kill McKinley by Goldman's writings. The charge against Goldman later was dismissed. Margolis once sponsored an appearance by Big Bill Haywood at a Socialist rally at Kennywood Park that was attended by 15,000.

⁵³ "No Liberty for Emma Goldman in Pittsburgh," *The Pittsburgh Press*, Sept. 9, 1901.

⁵⁴ "Beaten, Burned and Hanged," *The Pittsburgh Press*, Sept. 19, 1901.

⁵⁵ McCormick, 200.

⁵⁶ "Emma Goldman Supporters Protest School Board Ban," *The Pittsburgh Press*, March 14, 1934.

⁵⁷ "Emma Goldman's Talks Postponed," *The Pittsburgh Press*, March 27, 1934.

⁵⁸ "Council Gives Emma Goldman Permit to Talk," *The Pittsburgh Press*, March 28, 1934.

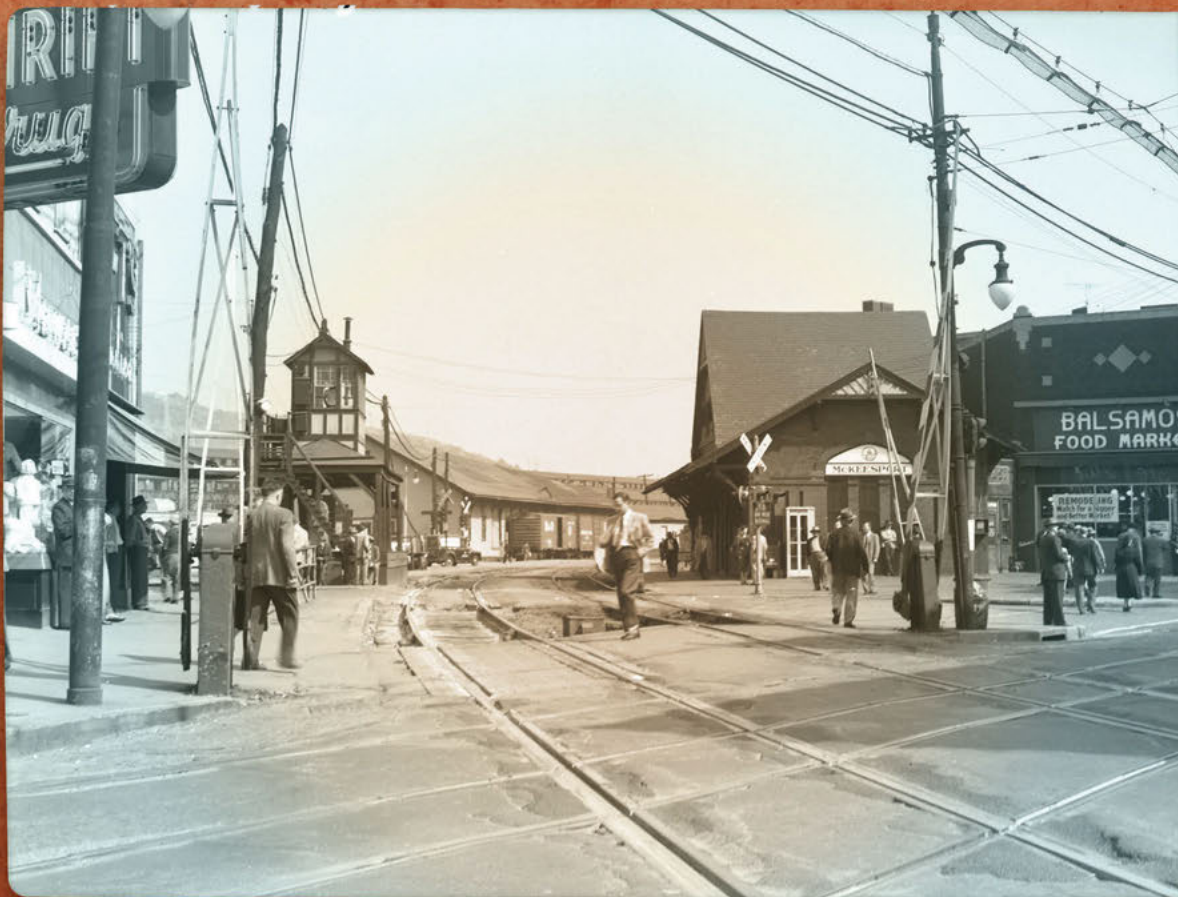
⁵⁹ McCormick, 199.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 200.

RAIL PASSENGER SERVICE IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

PATrain at B&O Station, 1989.

44 WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY | WINTER 2014-15



McKeesport B&O Station, 1940s.
Barriger Collection, University of Missouri via Ken Kobus.

My dad, David Roth, practiced law at the Frick Building in Downtown Pittsburgh and commuted daily on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad from McKeesport for 13 years from 1939 until 1952, when we moved back to Pittsburgh. Often, when he had Saturday morning office hours in the early 1940s, he'd take me on the train with him. These trips fascinated me. At the McKeesport station, the train en route from its terminal at Versailles passed a few feet from the waiting passengers and I can still recall the aromas associated with trains of this era, especially the acrid smoke from the locomotive and the steam used to heat the passenger cars in cold weather.

I vividly remember some of the passing scenery as the train made its way along the Monongahela River, stopping at the stations that lined its way: Riverton, Braddock, Glenwood, and Hazelwood. But what really persists are the memories of the sights en route that no longer exist: steel mills, breweries, and the busy rail yards. This personal exposure led to a lifelong fascination with railroads, trains, technology, and maps.



ABOVE: Penn Station,
1930s.

Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

BELOW: PRR 28th Street
engine yard, c. 1950.

Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD



Nearly all the trains in today's Pittsburgh region carry freight and pass through the city without stopping.

Only four passenger trains stop or originate in the Steel City, but it was not always so. Western Pennsylvania was once served by many railroads: the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR), now Norfolk Southern, the Baltimore & Ohio (B&O), the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie (both now CSX) and the Pittsburgh & West Virginia. These were supplemented by smaller freight lines such as the Union, Montour, Monongahela, and Bessemer & Lake Erie. As late as 1964, almost 100 passenger trains originated, terminated, or called at various local stations and terminals each day. In 1924, that number was reported to be over 400!¹

Besides carrying people, some passenger trains had other tasks such as transporting newspapers, express parcels, and passenger baggage. This was implemented by adding one or more cars to the long-distance trains or a so-called "combination" car to the local trains, which had half passenger seating and half express parcel space. Often, the express service and cars were a function of an independent entity called the Railway Express Agency.

According to Samuel Mahfood of Squirrel Hill, who managed the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette's* delivery trucks for many years, bundles of newspapers would be delivered to downtown railroad stations by 10 p.m. so that they could be loaded onto overnight trains destined for Chicago, New York, Washington and other distant locations in time for morning distribution. Similarly, evening papers such as the *Pittsburgh Press* and *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph* were carried by daylight trains for evening distribution.

Both local freight trains and passenger trains have all but disappeared. Most of today's freight trains are "run-throughs," passing uninterrupted on their way to-and-from regional or distant yards, power plants, ports, mines, and terminals. Recently, this traffic

Table 8

Eastern Standard Time

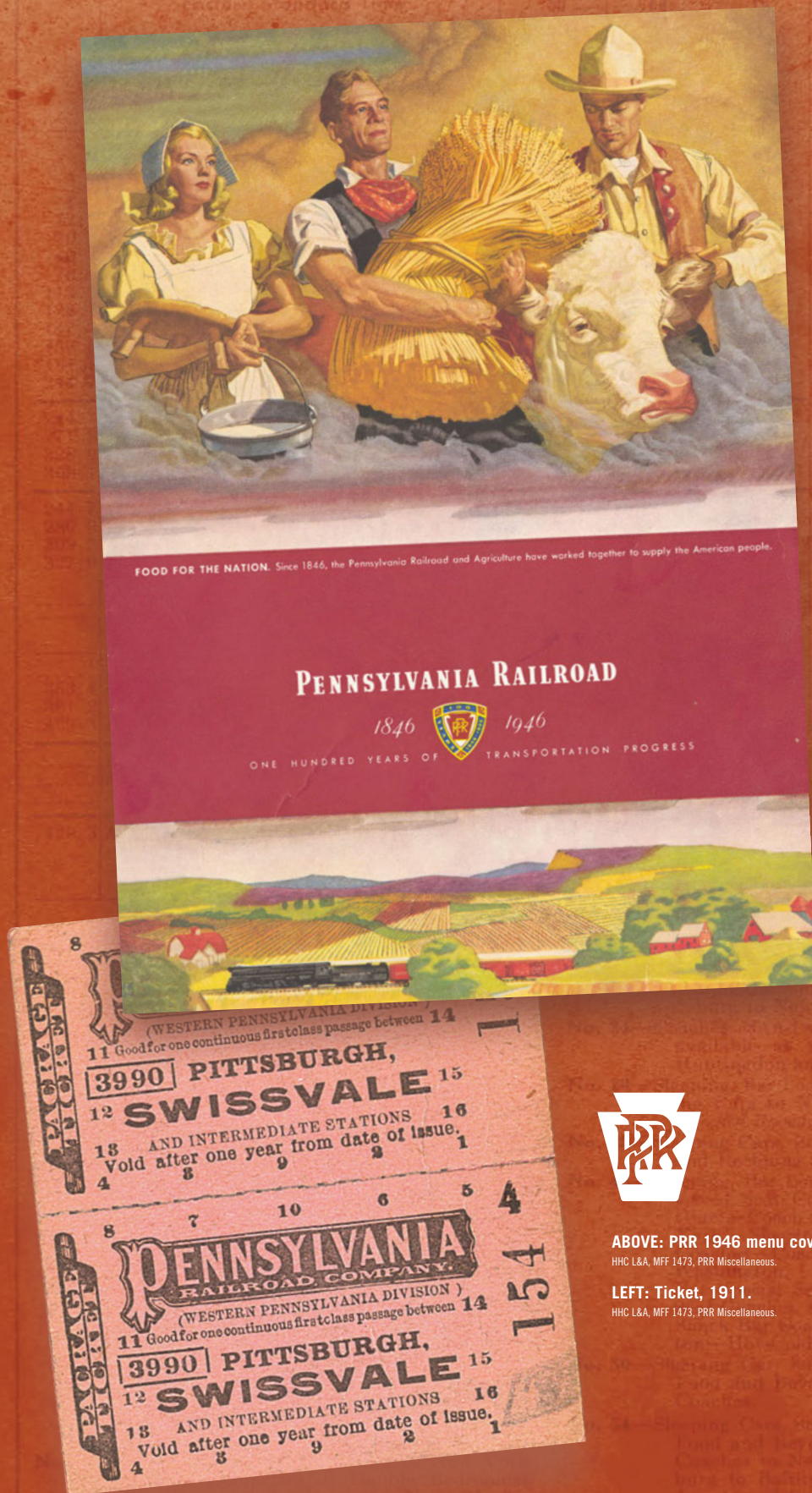
has been enhanced by trains carrying North Dakota oil and locally produced liquid natural gas. Sidings for industrial and commercial freight cars have also disappeared.

A remnant of a once-flourishing passenger service is provided by Amtrak: a pair of daily trains between Pittsburgh and New York—one in each direction—and a pair of overnight trains between Chicago and Washington, D.C., which stop at Penn Station in downtown Pittsburgh in late evening/early morning hours. There has been no rail commuter service since 1989.

Local passenger trains were able to compete with other public transportation such as streetcars and buses because each served its own niche. For instance, between McKeesport and downtown Pittsburgh, the options were commuter rail (B&O, P&LE) and Pittsburgh Railways streetcars (Routes 68 and 56). The trains took approximately 30 minutes each on a direct route along the Monongahela River, with five or six scheduled stops. The streetcars, on a less direct route with many unscheduled stops, required nearly an hour to make the trip. Streetcars and buses, naturally, were impeded by street traffic and congestion, while the trains were on an independent right-of-way.

While attending Pitt, I frequently boarded the “68” in downtown McKeesport. Travel time to Oakland could consume anywhere from 30 minutes to a full hour. However, streetcars and buses served more communities and neighborhoods and were less expensive to use. Streetcars required only one motorman/conductor, while trains had large crews, work rules, and maintenance requirements.

It would be interesting to compare the advantages of yesterday’s commuter trains with modern local developments such as the restricted Busway, which primarily uses the right-of-way formerly employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad’s eastbound commuter trains. Some major metropolitan areas have retained their local rail service under civic or state control, including New



ABOVE: PRR 1946 menu cover.
HHC L&A, MFF 1473, PRR Miscellaneous.

LEFT: Ticket, 1911.
HHC L&A, MFF 1473, PRR Miscellaneous.



PITTSBURGH AND WEST VIRGINIA RAILROAD

Wabash Station, c. 1905.

LoC 4a12732.

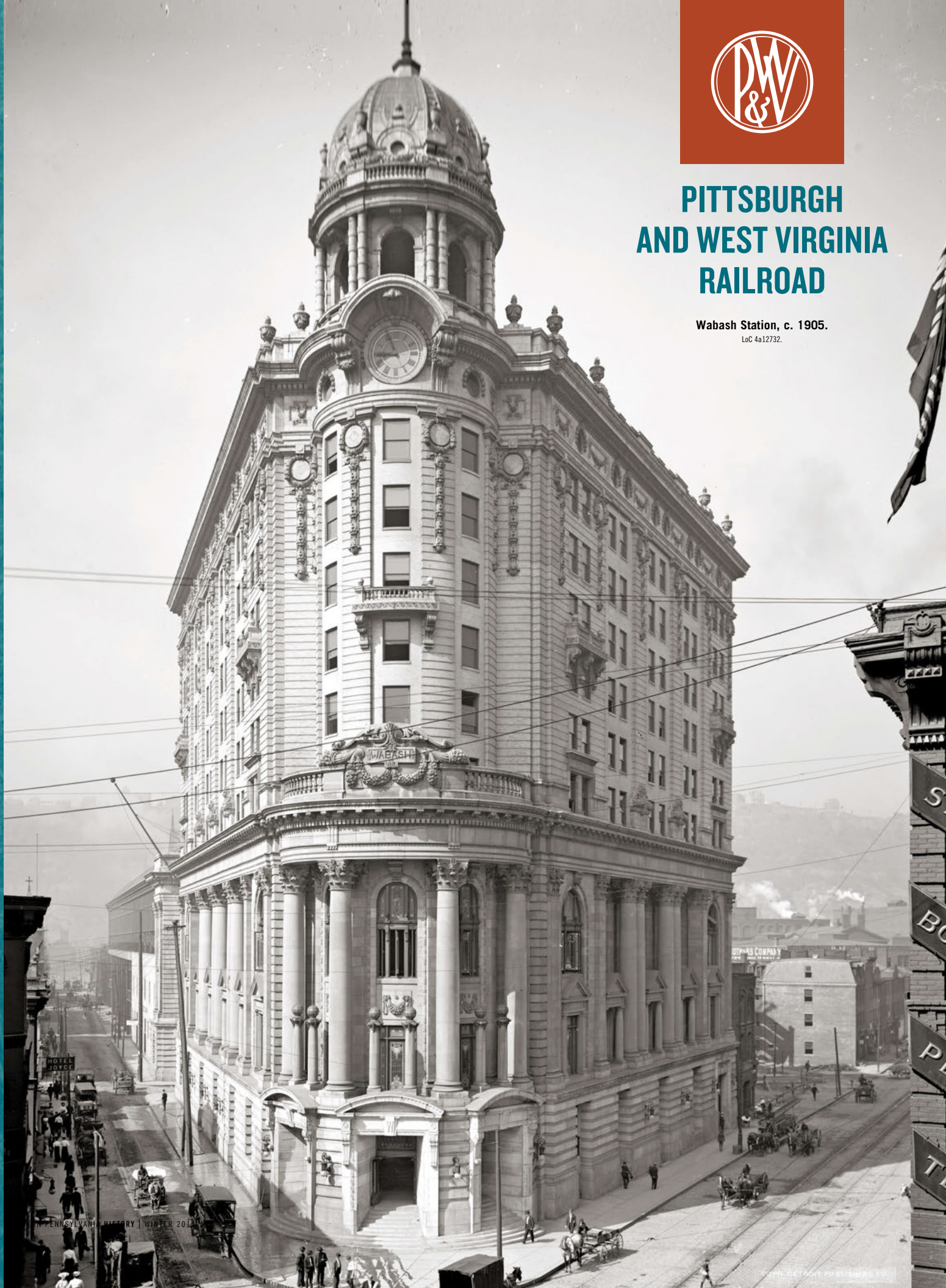


Table 8

Eastern Standard Time

The Wabash Terminal, located at the intersection of Liberty Avenue and Stanwix Street, comprised an ornate office building coupled with a train shed towering two-stories above street level. Passenger service ended in 1931 and the building was demolished in 1954.

York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles. Amtrak trains mostly use the tracks of privately owned freight railroads, and are thus affected by conflicts in scheduling and slowdowns.

MAJOR PASSENGER STATIONS

In the old days, the four major Pittsburgh passenger railroads each had a downtown station.

The Pennsylvania Railroad scheduled the most trains, which all emanated from or passed through downtown's Penn Station, which was

so busy that it required a large adjoining yard to service its many locomotives. The B&O Station at Smithfield Street mainly served as a base for commuter trains, but for a time it also originated and terminated passenger service to West Virginia, Ohio, and western New York.

The P&LE Station (currently the Grand Concourse restaurant in Station Square) provided a depot for long-distance B&O trains running over its track from Chicago or Detroit to cities on the Eastern seaboard. It also served as a terminus for its own commuter trains and a limited number of regional trains between Pittsburgh and Cleveland, some which

connected with the main line trains of the New York Central System.

The Pittsburgh and West Virginia Station (P&WV) served the least number of trains and had the shortest existence, but possessed the most elaborate terminal building of all. That was the Wabash Terminal, located at the intersection of Liberty Avenue and Stanwix Street, comprised of an ornate office building coupled with a train shed towering two-stories above street level.² Passenger service ended in 1931 and the terminal caught on fire twice in 1946, but it was not until 1954 that the building was demolished.³

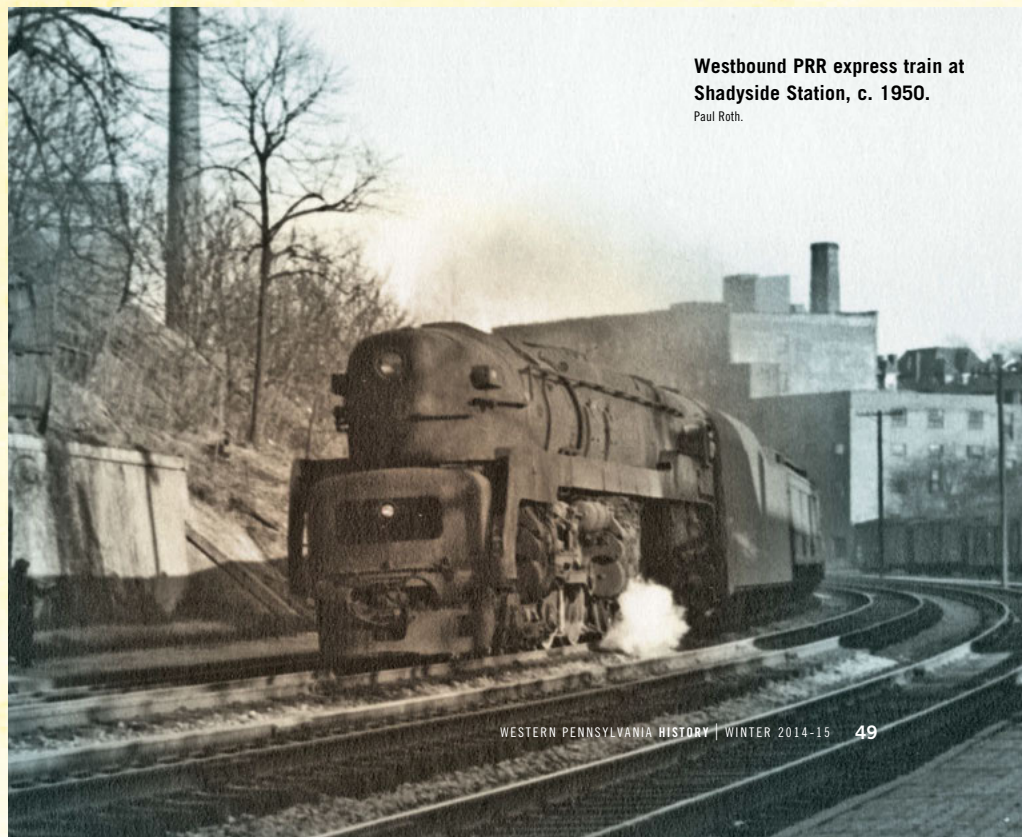
PRR

Through the 1950s, PRR's Pittsburgh commuter service was extensive. From Penn Station, its routes extended to Oakmont and Freeport, northbound along the east and west banks of the Allegheny River, respectively. To the south it served communities along the west bank of the Monongahela as far as Elrama, near Monongahela. In a westerly direction, individual routes terminated at Steubenville, Ohio, and Beaver Falls. The most extensive



B&O Versailles-Pittsburgh local at Riverton, c. 1945.

Paul Roth.



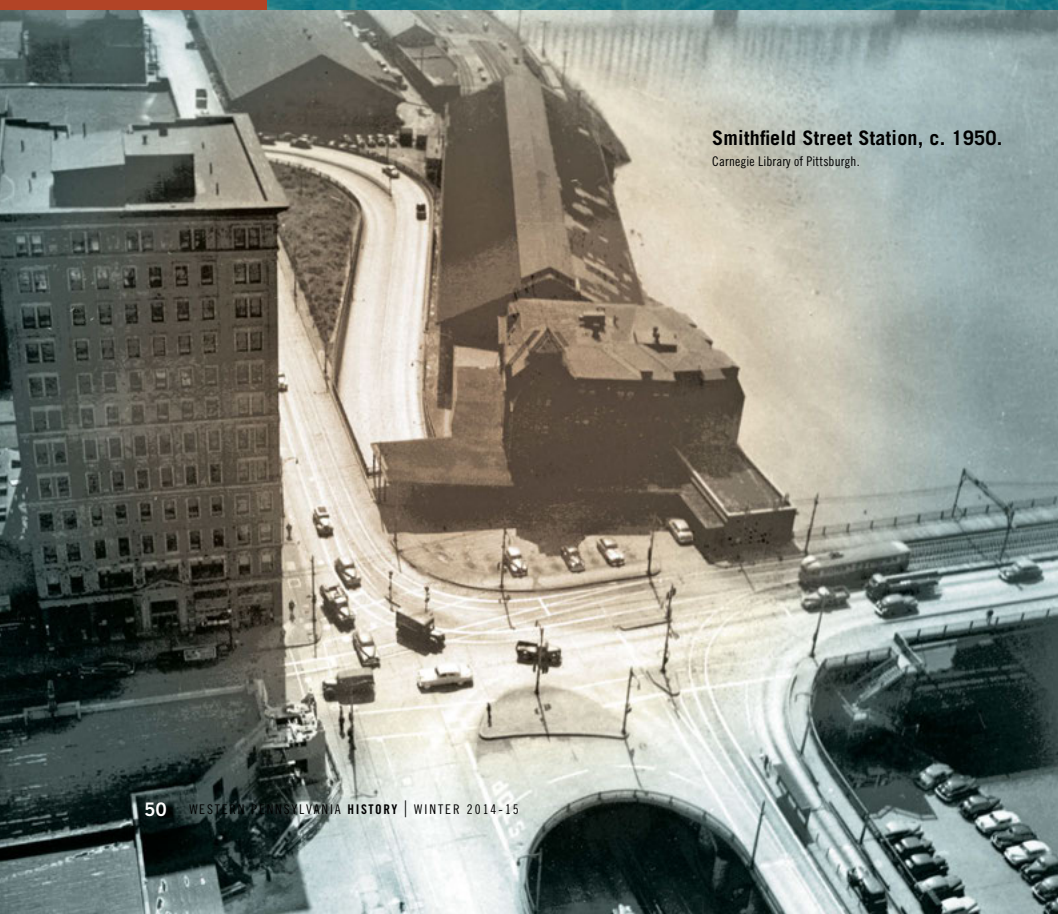
Westbound PRR express train at Shadyside Station, c. 1950.

Paul Roth.

Smithfield Street Station, 1890s.
Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.



BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD



Smithfield Street Station, c. 1950.
Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

Table 8

Eastern Standard Time

and frequent service was eastbound, along the main line to Derry. At these outlying locations, each railroad maintained a yard where the equipment could be serviced, stored, and, in most cases, turned around for the return trip.

In the late 1940s, you could board a PRR train in Pittsburgh and travel—without changing trains—to end points such as New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. At one time you could even traverse a route through Oil City up to Corry and arrive in either Erie or Buffalo, New York!

In 1940, an article in *Trains* magazine reported that each day, between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m., nearly 30 long-distance passenger trains traversed Horseshoe Curve, which was at the crest of the Pennsylvania Railroad's main line over the Allegheny Mountains.⁴ The list of trains included the famous Broadway Limited, both eastbound and westbound, and was an important indicator of the density of railroad passenger traffic to and from Pittsburgh.

Pittsburgh (97 miles west of Horseshoe Curve) was located midway between the Pennsylvania Railroad's major western rail terminals in Chicago and St. Louis and its eastern terminals in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington D.C. All of PRR's trains between these cities went through Pittsburgh. Most were on overnight schedules that required them to stop at Pittsburgh's Penn Station to accommodate passengers, service the locomotives and cars, and change crews.

Over the years, I had traveled on the Pennsylvania Railroad to and from various destinations, always as a coach passenger. In 1966, while living in the Philadelphia area and contemplating an annual Thanksgiving family trip to Pittsburgh, I decided that it was time that I rode in style: over the Horseshoe Curve in the cab of the locomotive. I had been in various cabs on numerous railroads before, but this ride was reputed to be notoriously difficult, if not impossible, to arrange. I accomplished the feat by buying several shares



Learn More Online

Read some of the history behind Station Square in Pittsburgh.



P&LE Station, 1940s.
Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

PITTSBURGH AND LAKE ERIE RAILROAD



**B&O "Shenandoah" at
P&LE Station, c. 1971.**
Paul Roth.



George (age 8) and Dan (10) Roth in the cab on Horseshoe Curve, 1966.
Paul Roth.

In 1940, an article in *Trains* magazine reported that each day, between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m., nearly 30 long-distance passenger trains traversed Horseshoe Curve, which was at the crest of the Pennsylvania Railroad's main line over the Allegheny Mountains.

Learn More Online
Learn about Horseshoe Curve in Altoona, Pa.

of stock, then appealing to the company as a stockholder. Whether I had “real clout” or they were just humoring me, it worked!

On the day before Thanksgiving 1966, upon arriving in Altoona on the *Duquesne*, (the New York to Pittsburgh day train), I was escorted, along with my two sons Dan, 10, and George, 8, to the locomotive cab by district supervisor Clyde Ferrin. With engineer John Hoffman and fireman Elmer Snively, we rode up the Horseshoe Curve and on to Johnstown where my sons and I disembarked. I managed to both film and take snapshots of the trip.

One of the most interesting and unusual trains was named *The Pittsburgher*, an overnight train my father used periodically

The westbound *Duquesne* train climbs Horseshoe Curve near Altoona, as seen from the train itself. 1965.

Paul Roth.

On the day before Thanksgiving 1966, upon arriving in Altoona on the *Duquesne*, (the New York to Pittsburgh day train), I was escorted, along with my two sons Dan, 10, and George, 8, to the locomotive cab by district supervisor Clyde Ferrin. With engineer John Hoffman and fireman Elmer Snively, we rode up the Horseshoe Curve and on to Johnstown where my sons and I disembarked.

Engineer Hoffman, 1966.

Paul Roth.



that went in both directions between Pittsburgh and New York. It was composed entirely of sleeping cars that provided overnight non-stop service for executives who could then spend the day in New York. These trains provided executives and business travelers the equivalent of a deluxe hotel on wheels. For instance, passengers could board the trains after a day's work, have a relaxed dinner and retire. Late in the evening the trains departed for their destinations, making stops only for servicing and crew change. The trains reached their destinations early in the morning, but passengers could remain aboard to have breakfast before detraining. The only exceptions to the non-stop service were "flag

stops" at stations such as Latrobe, where VIPs could access the train from their country residences in places such as Ligonier. This train lasted until 1960, when Amtrak drastically curtailed passenger service. Servicing of this train was the one of the last remaining functions of the Pittsburgh 28th Street yard and facility.

B&O

The B&O provided frequent commuter trains between downtown Pittsburgh and Versailles until 1975, when the Allegheny County Port Authority took over the trains. Called the PATrain, this lasted until April 1989; long after

commuter rail service in most similarly sized urban areas had been discontinued. For that matter, Western Pennsylvania also temporarily retained its streetcars under Port Authority.

B&O long-distance trains, though less frequent than those of the Pennsylvania Railroad, served most of the same major terminal cities: Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Washington D.C., Philadelphia, and New York. B&O's flagship overnight trains were the all-sleeper *Capital Limited* and the all-coach *Columbian*. I remember traveling on the daylight train, the *Shenandoah*, which provided an outstanding passage between Pittsburgh and Washington D.C. The B&O closely followed a parallel route to the

A commuter train bound for Derry passes the Trafford tower in 1960.

Paul Roth.



DERRY, LATROBE, GREENSBURG, JEANNETTE, IRWIN, PITCAIRN AND PITTSBURGH

Dist.	EASTERN STANDARD TIME	631 Daily Ex. Sun. N.B. Note 1	633 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	635 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	35 Daily	513 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	637 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	37 Daily	621 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	641 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	85 Sun. Only	13 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	519 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	25 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	627 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	629 Daily Ex. Sat. & Sun. N.B. Note 1	75 Daily	19 Daily Ex. Sun.	23 Daily
	Leave	AM	AM	AM	AM	AM	AM	AM	AM	PM	PM	PM	PM	PM	PM	PM	PM	PM	PM
0	Derry	4 10	4 45	5 16			5 22	6 08	6 22	6 33 12 40 1 23							6 16	7 47	9 41
4.9	Latrobe	4 21	4 59	5 28	5 44		5 32	6 08	6 22	6 33 12 40 1 23							6 29	8 02	9 41
10.1	Donohoe	4 29					5 40	6 26	6 48 12 57 2 02										
14.2	Greensburg	4 39	5 15	5 45	5 59		5 49	6 26	6 48 12 57 2 02										
16.1	Radebaugh	4 43	5 20				5 54		6 56									8 57	
17.8	Grapeville	4 46	5 24				6 00		7 02									9 04	
18.3	Jeannette	4 48	5 26	5 52			6 04		7 06									9 09	
19.8	Penn.	4 52	5 30	5 58			6 08												
21.3	Manor	4 56	5 34	6 02			6 11												
22.7	Shafon	4 59	5 37				6 15												
23.6	Irwin	5 02	5 40				6 20												
24.7	Larimer	5 06	5 43				6 22												
25.9	Ardara	5 09	5 46				6 26												
28.4	North Trafford						6 26												
28.0	Trafford	5 14	5 50				6 20												
29.6	Pitcairn	5 19	5 53				6 24												
31.2	Wilmerding	5 23	5 57				6 28												
32.3	Turtle Creek	5 26	6 00	6 15			6 31												
32.8	East Pittsburgh	5 29	6 03				6 35												
34.1	Bessemer	5 33	6 06				6 37												
34.9	Braddock	5 36	6 09				6 40												
35.4	Copeland	5 38	6 11				6 43												
36.0	Hawkins	5 41	6 14				6 44												
36.9	Swissvale	5 44	6 17				6 47												
37.7	Edgewood	5 47	6 19	6 28			6 50												
38.4	Wilkinsburg	5 50	6 22				6 53												
39.4	Homewood	5 53	6 25	6 33	6 45		7 03	7 13	7 15	7 29 1 34 3 02									
40.4	East Liberty	5 56	6 28				7 05	7 15	7 20	7 30 1 45 3 15									
41.3	Roup	5 59	6 30				7 07	7 17	7 22	7 32 1 47 3 17									
41.8	Shadyside	6 01	6 32	6 45	7 00	7 05	7 15	7 25	7 30	7 40 1 55 3 25									
45.0	Pittsburgh Ar. (Penna. Sta.)	6 10	6 40				7 20	7 30	7 40	7 50 2 05 3 35									

Note 1.—Will not run September 1.
b.—Stops on notice to Conductor to discharge passengers.
b.—Stops on signal or notice to Agent or Conductor to receive or discharge passengers.
N. B.—No checked baggage handled on this train.
Responsibility.—The Pennsylvania Railroad is not responsible for errors in time tables, inconvenience or damage resulting from delayed trains or failure to make connections. Schedules subject to change without notice.

Form 161—10,000—8-18-52 1st Edition. Printed in U. S. A.

Pittsburgh-Greensburg-Derry

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD

TIME TABLES

Eastern Standard Time

Pittsburgh
Pitcairn
Irwin
Jeannette
Greensburg
Latrobe
Derry



Go By Train...
SAFETY—WITH SPEED AND COMFORT

Form 161

Effective September 1, 1952

Eastbound express train at Wilkinsburg station, c. 1960.

Paul Roth.



PRR timetable 1952.

HHC L&A, MFF 1473,
PRR Miscellaneous.

Table 8

Western Maryland Railway, which is now the Great Allegheny Passage bike trail. The last eastbound *Shenandoah*, down to one coach, is seen at the P&LE Station in 1971.

P&LE

The Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad (a subsidiary of the New York Central System) provided limited long-distance service on the NYC via a connection in Youngstown, Ohio. Passengers coming from Pittsburgh would be conveyed to Cleveland and Buffalo, although the Buffalo service was quite inconvenient. I remember that the Buffalo-bound coach was switched onto a main-line NYC train at Ashtabula, Ohio, arriving at its destination in the post-midnight hours.

P&LE commuter service was limited to a few trains between Pittsburgh and College (Beaver Falls), with some continuing to Youngstown. When service ended in 1985, it was the last regional commuter train excepting PATrain.

At one time P&LE commuter trains ran south to Brownsville. According to Jim Stedeford, a retired P&LE engineer, and Ken Kobus, a retired Jones & Laughlin/LTV supervisor, this route actually tunneled under the J&L Steel plant on the South Side and then passed by both the J&L and the U.S. Steel Homestead Works in sight of the open hearth furnaces! It is noteworthy that both the B&O and PRR commuter trains passed in close proximity to steel-making processes in McKeesport and Braddock, respectively.

AMTRAK

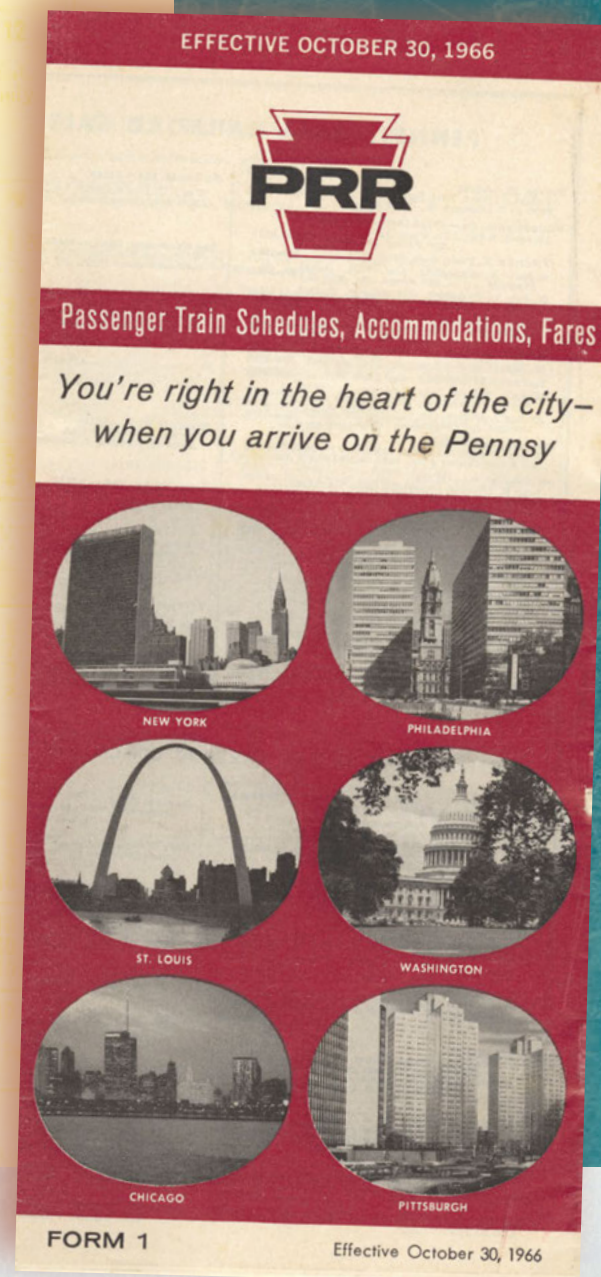
Initially, Amtrak continued many of the trains between New York and the West, but they rapidly devolved into three, then two pairs of trains. At present, only one pair of daylight trains (the *Pennsylvanians*) offer direct service between Pittsburgh and New York. The overnight trains (the *Capital Limiteds*) connect Chicago with Washington D.C.,

stopping in Pittsburgh in early morning hours, much like their namesake predecessors. It is interesting that these trains follow a hybrid route: Norfolk Southern (ex-PRR) between Chicago and Pittsburgh, and CSX (ex-B&O) between Pittsburgh and Washington D.C.

Thus, what was once a thriving passenger rail center now sees merely four long-distance and no commuter trains each day. Two of the four downtown stations still exist, but as different entities. Penn Station at Liberty and Grant, the once-great transportation hub, has lost its yard and function. However, the building itself thrives as a luxury condominium and office building called The Pennsylvanian. Amtrak maintains several tracks and a small office there to serve its remaining pairs of trains. The P&LE Station main building along Carson Street still exists, but the yards and other buildings have long been converted to the Station Square hotel and entertainment complex, with just a token restored caboose as

Last run of the
Pittsburgher.

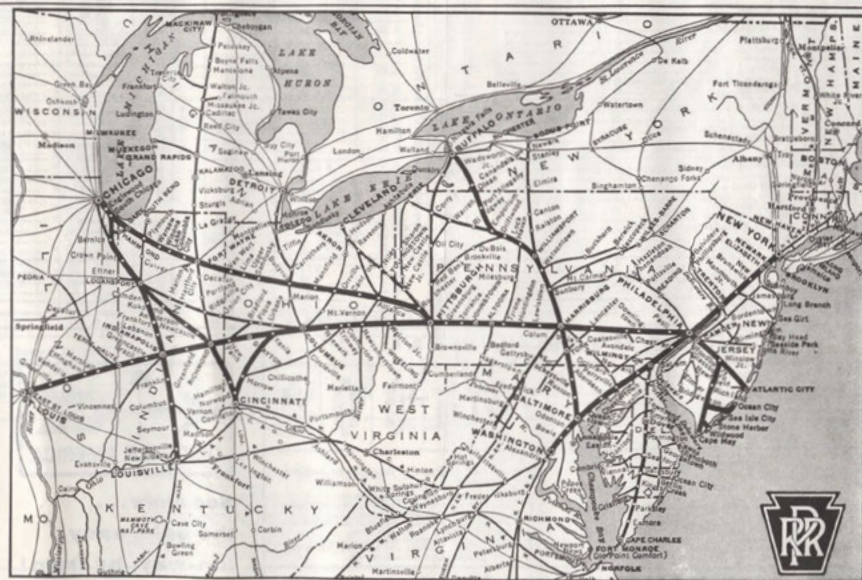
Paul Roth.



**In the late 1940s,
you could board a PRR
train in Pittsburgh
and travel—without
changing trains—to
end points such as New
York, Philadelphia,
Washington, Chicago,
Detroit, Cincinnati, and
St. Louis.**

Pennsylvania Railroad timetable map.
HHC L&A, MFF 1473, PRR Miscellaneous.

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a reminder of busier days. The B&O Station at Smithfield Street by the Monongahela Wharf was demolished around 1955 for a new depot, the last privately owned train station in the state. It served commuters from 1957 till the McKeesport PATrain service ended in 1989. It was demolished in 1998 and replaced by PNC's Firstside building and, appropriately, a light rail station. As previously mentioned, the Wabash Terminal was destroyed by fire in 1946 and demolished in 1954.

Pittsburgh is not alone in its deterioration of rail passenger service. It at least maintains a minimum amount, while many important regional cities have no service at all, including Fort Wayne, Columbus, and Louisville. Many of the region's suburban stations survive,

though some are derelict and others have been converted to a different use. An interesting example is the Wilksburg station. Its regal head building has long been unoccupied, but the platform area now serves as a station for the East Busway. Some commuter stations, such as those at Greensburg, Latrobe, and Tarentum, have been converted to restaurants, providing at least some connection to the glory days of passenger train travel.

Paul Roth, a retired professor of Computer Science, is a lifelong historian and photographer of railroads. His photographic book series, *Railroad Vistas*, currently comprises three volumes. He is also a musicologist whose "Pittsburgh's Dance Band Era" appeared in the Fall 2013 issue of this magazine. He is a

graduate of McKeesport High with degrees from the Universities of Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania. He thanks Brian O'Neill for his help with this article.

Pat Finkel is a retired nurse and a former volunteer at the History Center. She wrote "An Officer and a Gentleman" for this magazine in 2010, and is co-author of "Pittsburgh's Dance Band Era" with Paul Roth.

- ¹ *Official Guide of the Railways*, August 1958 (New York: National Railway Publication Co., 1958).
- ² The P&WV was constructed as the eastern end of the Wabash Railroad.
- ³ Trains reached the terminal via a tunnel under Mt. Washington and a bridge over the Ohio River. The tunnel is now a rush-hour auto route and the stone bridge piers still exist.
- ⁴ Harry T. Sohlberg. Horseshoe Curve. *Trains*. March, 1940.



Amtrak *Pennsylvanian* attendants, Pittsburgh, 1991.

Paul Roth.

BELOW: Amtrak *Capitol Limited* emerges from Schenley Tunnel, October 2014. The day this was taken, the train was 5 hours late due to track congestion.

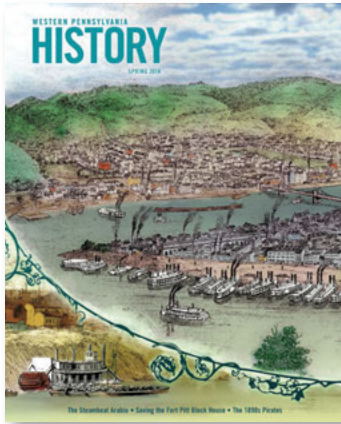
Paul Roth.



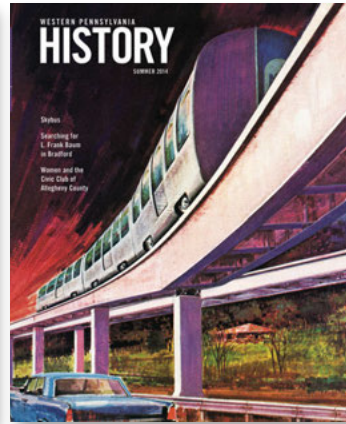
What was once a thriving passenger rail center now sees merely four long-distance and no commuter trains each day. Two of the four downtown stations still exist, but as different entities.



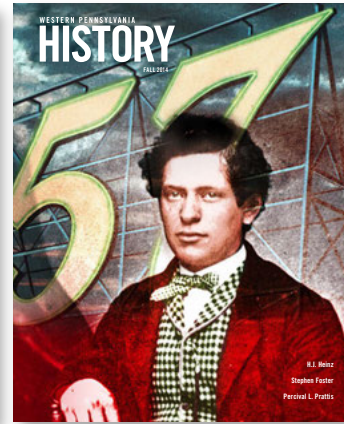
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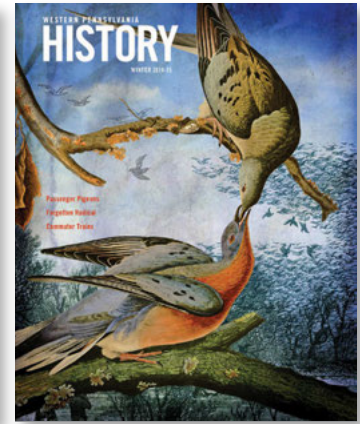
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BOOK REVIEWS



E Block

By Mark Perrott

Pittsburgh: Woods Run Press LLC, 2012

101 pps., b&w photographs

\$35 paperback

Reviewed by Barbara Antel, Conservation Services Manager, Museum Conservation Center

Through the lens of his camera, Pittsburgh photographer Mark Perrott has painstakingly and sympathetically documented the abandoned 43-cell E Block unit of Western Penitentiary on Pittsburgh's North Side. Within *E Block*, he presents a record of Pennsylvania's oldest prison with deeply textured and masterfully composed black and white photographs. The title is spare; it suggests a paring down to the most basic element, like a cell is basic to the block.

Perrott has worked as a photographer and educator in Pittsburgh for 40 years. His work is represented in private and public collections and he was named Master Visual Artist by Pittsburgh Center for the Arts in 2013. Perrott said of his work of the 1980s—photographing the vanishing Mon Valley steel culture—that he “photographed the hell out of [it].” In *E Block*, Mark documents the living hell *in* it; every surface, each container of incarceration within the block, the drawings, writings and scratchings on the walls, the communal interior spaces, and the riverside setting of the old state correctional facility.

“Our place in this world is to witness without judgment,” was Mark Perrott’s informal remark prior to his public introduction of the Crime of Punishment forum in April

2014. Held at the Pittsburgh Center for the Arts, a panel of experts discussed the history, growth, and privatization of incarceration. This forum, joined with Perrott’s observations, were a means to contribute a small act, one that might join with others, to “help end the epidemic of imprisonment.” While photographing, Perrott also transcribed the writings that were left behind by prisoners from each wall in E Block, the place of “lock and clock.” A place once entered for sorting and classifying prisoners, it was sometimes exited via the sheet “you tie around your neck.”

Landesberg Design’s layout aids the reader’s act of witnessing by assigning these photographs a space within a book of spare design. The bold use of photos and text are juxtaposed, as in *Rope, E Block*, 2005. A horizontal bar, black against the diminishing perspective of the cellblocks, is wound with a thick knotted and opposes the text that follows. In prisoner-to-prisoner advice it reads, “Don’t go the 1/2 way house or a center its only paroles way of giving you a rope to hang yourself.” On another page, the grid of barred walls is one the left, and the prisoner’s hand-drawn calendar with an arrow leads to the date known as “Hopefully.”

The history section includes excerpts from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission’s *Two Centuries of Corrections in Pennsylvania*. Author Adam Gopnik’s article, “The Caging of America” (first appearing in the *New Yorker*), was used as the preface to *E Block*. It describes the staggering statistics of incarceration where imprisonment is for some “a destination that braids through an ordinary life.”

Seeking the Greatest Good: The Conservation Legacy of Gifford Pinchot

By Char Miller

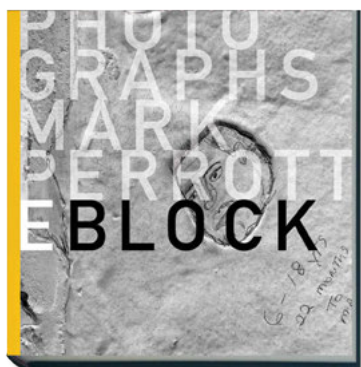
232 pps., b&w illustrations

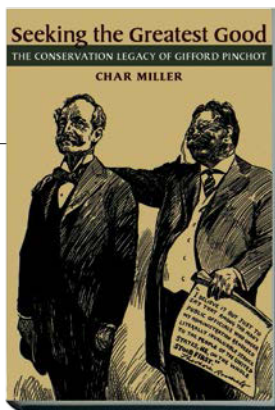
\$24.95 paperback

Reviewed by Vagel C. Keller, Jr., Ph.D.

This history by Pinchot biographer Char Miller of the National Forest Service’s Pinchot Institute for Conservation at Grey Towers National Historical Site in eastern Pennsylvania illustrates how the “wise use” philosophy of America’s first Chief Forester has evolved since its founding in 1963. Although Pinchot is commonly portrayed as having viewed forests as primarily an economic resource, this author argues that Pinchot also understood that the definition of what he famously termed “the greatest good of the greatest number” would change with time. That said, the Institute’s founding principle of “collaborative engagement” by public-private coalitions does reflect the Conservationism of early-20th Century Progressive Republicans more than the “confrontational” nature of modern Environmentalism. But, after numerous changes in strategy—and four name changes—the Institute has remained true to what Pinchot’s son, Gifford Bryce Pinchot, who conceived the idea for the Institute, saw as his father’s vision: current generations should leave their natural resources in better condition than they found them.

The narrative chronicles the restoration and re-purposing of Pinchot’s material legacy (Grey Towers) and describes efforts to preserve his ethical legacy (the vision) through programs developed there; its twelve chapters fall under two broad categories. “Living Memorial” places Grey Towers and the Institute in the context both of the social and political climate during its early years and of the evolution of the Forest Service’s organizational culture since its foundation under Pinchot. One chapter of particular interest in this section, “Greening the Presidency,” is an important exposition of the





President Kennedy's uniquely urban view of the environmental problems facing the United States. This is preceded by "Under Fire," in which the author shows how the Forest Service's original culture of "forest regeneration" shifted under the pressure of the post-World War II housing boom to "accelerated yield." By the 1960s many rank and file foresters were ill-equipped to grasp the need for change being urged by their leadership, who were more attuned to the nascent environmental movement and growing public concern for the esthetic and recreational value of forests.

The second half of the book, subtitled "Institutional Change," describes how the Forest Service and the Institute for Conservation emerged after three decades of frustrating false starts stemming from opposing viewpoints held by key personalities in the Forest Service and in its erstwhile partner, the Conservation Foundation. The Forest Service sought specific policy recommendations through "mutual engagement of scientists and conservationists," a narrower scope than the public "environmental education" agenda urged by the Foundation. Failure to reconcile the conflict led the Foundation to pull out after just four years. During the 1970s and '80s, Grey Towers and the Institute suffered from a lack of interest by the Forest Service, which led to the physical deterioration of Grey Towers and limits on the urban environmental forestry programs that became

the Institute's major focus. Finally, in 1991 the two organizations reached consensus on how exactly to express Gifford Pinchot's vision and on a strategy to implement it, expressed in the Grey Towers Protocols, which look beyond Conservation as "scientific management" to a "moral imperative" of improvement rather than mere sustainability.

This successful model follows a bottom-up approach, funding and coordinating collaborative efforts between community-based conservation groups, businesses, and local, state, and federal officials to formulate best-practice policies to solve local problems, while steering clear of contentious political debate. It contrasts to the centralized approach of using legislation and the courts to impose regulatory regimes, which Miller considers to be both a cause and a result of today's partisan landscape of environmental politics. It follows a two-pronged approach: educating the public and fostering interdisciplinary research by biologists, foresters, social scientists, and others.

The case studies presented in the closing chapters demonstrate how the Pinchot Institute for Conservation has lived up to its original "aspiration to help Americans comprehend their obligation to enhance the health of people and places, striving to make the planet more habitable and just—a new greatest good for the long run, a moral imperative worth pursuing." ☀

Vagel Keller is an independent scholar whose interests include the relationships between society, technology, and the environment. He lives in Pittsburgh, where he lectures on topics related to the material causes of natural disasters.

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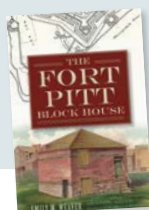
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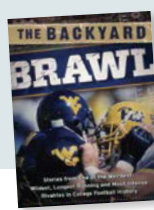
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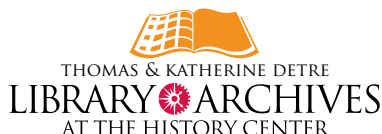
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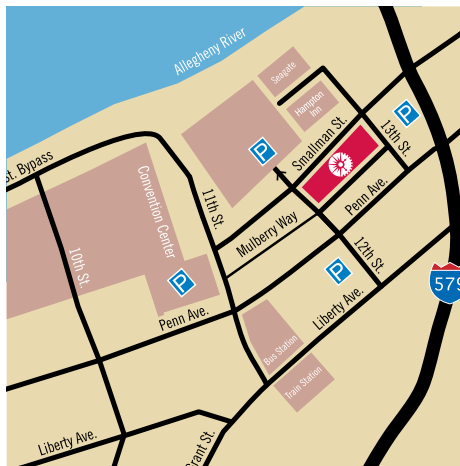
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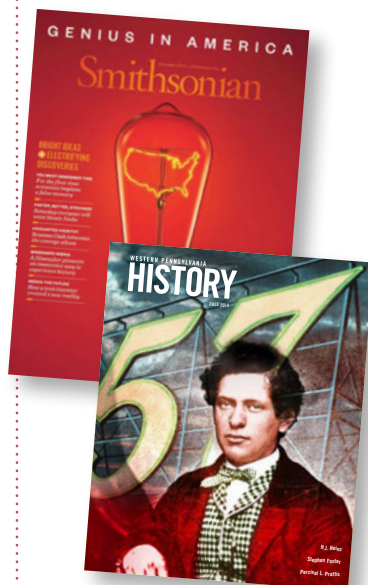
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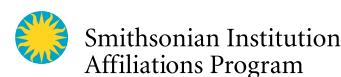
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