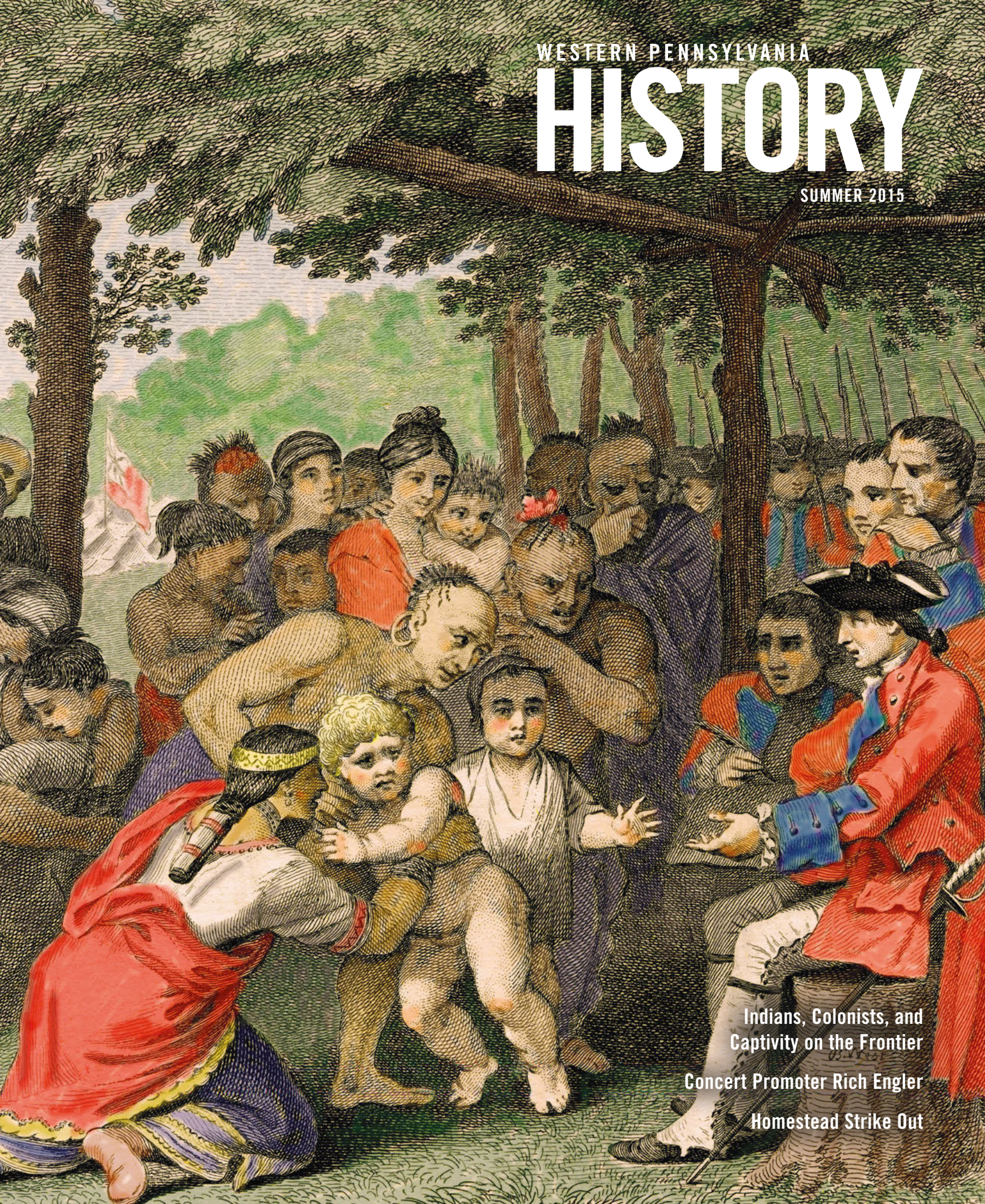


WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

HISTORY

SUMMER 2015



Indians, Colonists, and
Captivity on the Frontier

Concert Promoter Rich Engler

Homestead Strike Out



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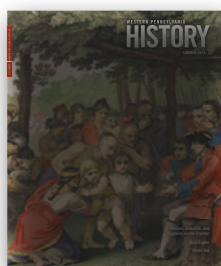
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This drawing by Benjamin West shows the return of the captives to Bouquet's army and the difficult range of emotions. Read more starting on page 22.

Private collection, digitally colorized version of black and white engraving.



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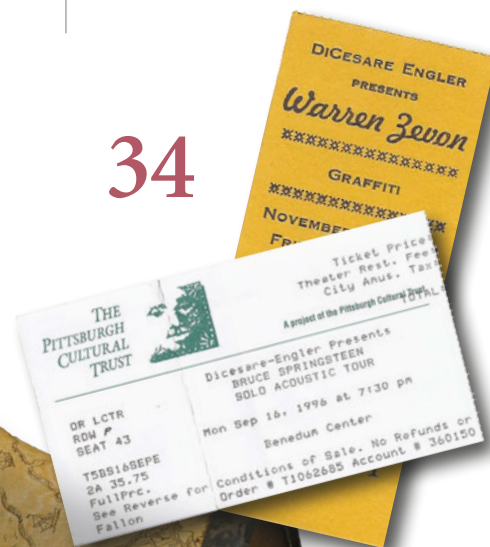
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EXHIBITS

Captured by Indians: Warfare and Assimilation on the 18th Century Frontier

Fort Pitt Museum

Now open

During the turbulent decades of the mid-18th century, thousands of settlers of European and African descent were captured by Native Americans, whose dwindling numbers forced them to adopt non-Indians as a matter of survival. Using documentary evidence gleaned from 18th- and early 19th-century sources, a wide array of period imagery, and artifacts from public and private collections in the U.S. and Canada, this exhibit examines the practice of captivity from its prehistoric roots to its reverberations in modern Indian, African, and Euro American communities.



Detail of *The Indians Delivering up the English Captives to Colonel Bouquet near his camp at the forks of Muskingum in North America in November 1764*, by Benjamin West, 1765-66.

Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Summer 2015 — Ongoing Exhibits



Photo by Rachellynn Schoen

We Can Do It! WWII

Through January 4, 2016

This 10,000 square-foot exhibition focuses on Pittsburgh's role on both the home front and the battlefield during World War II using 300 artifacts, four life-like museum figures, and interactive displays. Learn about the Jeep, created in Butler, Pa., and the stories behind "Rosie the Riveters" and local Tuskegee Airmen.

Close-Up Photographs from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette 2014

Through January 2016

From Slavery to Freedom

Explore 250 years of African American history in Pennsylvania

Western Pennsylvania Sports Museum

Pittsburgh: A Tradition of Innovation

Heinz

Special Collections Gallery

Treasures that celebrate our ethnicity, industry, innovation, and lifestyle.

Glass: Shattering Notions

Rediscovering Lewis & Clark:

A Journey with the Rooney Family

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of Woodworking Planes

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from the Blum Collection

Clash of Empires:

The British, French & Indian War,
1754-1763

At Meadowcroft Rockshelter and
Historic Village:
From Trails to Trains

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

by Andrew E. Masich
President & CEO

The Jeep - An American Original

In 1940, on the eve of our nation's participation in World War II, the U.S. Army was in search of a motorized vehicle that could replace the horse but retain the animal's maneuverability. The U.S. Quartermaster General issued a request for proposals to 135 car manufacturers for a prototype vehicle that could climb a 30-degree grade, pull a cannon, go anywhere a horse could go, and yet weigh less than one ton — in 49 days!

All the major carmakers laughed off the incredibly tight deadline. Only one company met the Army's deadline and requirements.

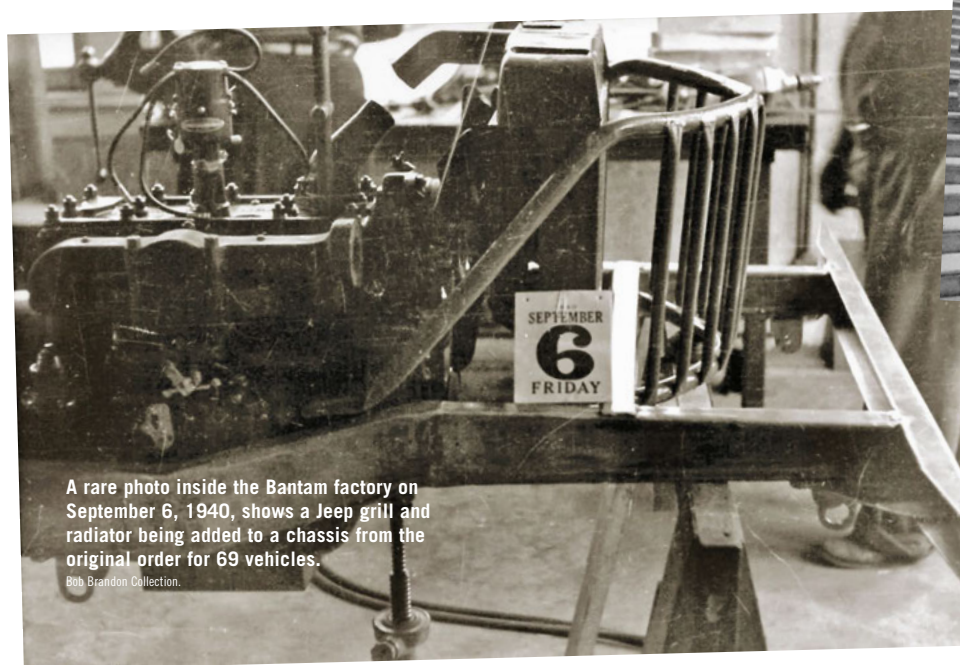
The tiny American Bantam Car Company in Butler, Pa., had been building lightweight roadster cars at that time. After deciding to come up with a proposal and working day and night to meet the Army's 49-day deadline, the Jeep was born—cobbled

together with equal measures of spare parts, ingenuity, and “can do” spirit. As the only company with blueprints, Bantam was officially awarded a contract for 70 vehicles on July 25, 1940.

The Bantam Reconnaissance Vehicles were deployed to military installations across the U.S. for further testing and became known as “Jeeps,” though no one knows with certainty where this name comes from. Over the next year, Bantam produced a total of 2,675 Jeeps, far exceeding their typical yearly output of automobiles, but by 1941, the government feared that little Bantam could not meet wartime production demands and turned to Willys Overland and the Ford Motor Company, which turned out nearly 700,000 Jeeps. As a consolation prize, Bantam was given a contract for Jeep trailers but by the early 1950s, the little company with a “can do” spirit passed into history.

To mark the 75th anniversary of the start of World War II, the History Center is recognizing the Jeep's key role in the Allies' victory, along with dozens of local individuals and innovations, as part of the *We Can Do*

It! WWII exhibition. Visitors can explore the stories of local heroes from George Marshall and Tuskegee Airman Carl Woods to Iwo Jima hero Michael Strank and Rosie the Riveter. Three Jeeps are prominently displayed inside the exhibit along with nearly 300 artifacts that help to showcase Western Pennsylvania's contributions to the war effort. We invite you to visit the History Center to learn about these local contributions as well as the incredible story of the vehicle that both George Marshall and Dwight Eisenhower singled out as the vehicle that helped to win WWII. ☼



A rare photo inside the Bantam factory on September 6, 1940, shows a Jeep grill and radiator being added to a chassis from the original order for 69 vehicles.

Bob Brandon Collection.



A Willys Quad prototype Jeep climbs the steps of the U.S. Capitol Building in February 1941.

Washington Daily News.

UP FRONT



FORT PITT

By Alan D. Gutchess
Director, Fort Pitt Museum

Logan's War

In the spring of 1774, several friends and family members of a Cayuga Indian leader known as John Logan were massacred along the Ohio River near the mouth of Yellow Creek, 40 miles northwest of Pittsburgh. The murders were committed by a group of approximately 30 frontier malcontents led by Daniel Greathouse and John Baker.¹ Logan was absent when the crime was committed, and by the time the news reached him, the perpetrators had fled inland to the safety of the eastern settlements.² Overwhelmed by grief and rage, he sought to avenge his murdered family by attacking vulnerable settlements at the far western edge of the frontier. The first of these strikes were in the Ohio Country, but by early fall, Logan and a cadre of warriors under his command had ranged as far south as present-day Tennessee.³ Logan's name struck both fear and hatred in the hearts of frontier residents, especially those at Pittsburgh.

Logan was an American Indian leader formally known as Soyeghtowa but known as "Logan the Mingo" to associates throughout Ohio, West Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania.⁴ Born to the Oneida leader Shickellamy and his Cayuga wife in New York or Eastern Pennsylvania, he spent his youth and young adulthood along the Susquehanna River. He lived primarily in the multi-ethnic



Frontispiece to *The American Pioneer*, 1844

By the mid-19th century, many historians came to see Logan as a pivotal, if tragic, figure of the frontier, bound by honor to avenge the murders of his family. Ohio antiquarian John S. Williams and others dedicated their newly minted Logan Historical Society to the memory of the great Indian leader. The frontispiece to their first volume of frontier sketches, *The American Pioneer*, featured an engraving of Logan delivering his *Lament* to John Gibson near Chillicothe in 1774.

Private Collection.

Indian village of Shamokin, now Sunbury, Pennsylvania, a town which missionary Martin Mack referred to as "the very seat of the Prince of darkness."⁵ His father, Shickellamy, was a strong supporter of the English in their ongoing conflict against the French, a position that Logan and his brothers adopted as well. So strong were the family's ties to the English that Logan even adopted the surname of the Pennsylvania statesman James Logan as his own. After Shickellamy's death in 1748, Logan and his brothers remained at least nominally in support of British Indian policy on the frontier.⁶

Following the French and Indian War, he may have migrated to the Ohio Country with the Shawnee or Mingo sometime in the late 1760s. In the early 1770s several different travelers found him living along the Ohio River not far from Fort Pitt. The Rev. David McClure, who had seen Logan at Pittsburgh, referred to him as "the most martial figure of an Indian that I had ever seen." He also noted

the controversy that even then followed Logan, citing rumors in Pittsburgh "that he had been a bloody enemy of the poor defenseless settlers on the Susquehanna, & the frontiers, in the last french war in 1758, & [5]9."⁷ The following year, Quaker missionary John Parrish noted that he "Rode 9 or 10 miles down the Ohio to Beaver Creek's Mouth where John Logan had his Cabbin."⁸ By this time, Logan was related by marriage to former captive and Pittsburgh area trader John Gibson, who also kept a residence in the area.

By the spring of 1774, Logan and his extended family (including Gibson's Indian wife) had relocated to a camp at the mouth of Yellow Creek. It was there on April 30, in Logan's absence, that the infamous Yellow Creek Massacre occurred.

While it is difficult to track his movements precisely afterward, his distinctive appearance helped identify him; several contemporary observers noted his remarkably

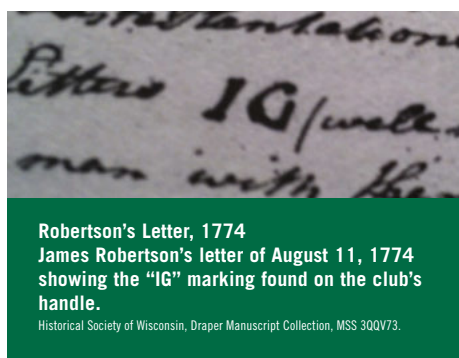
light complexion and mixed ancestry.⁹ Having grown up in the multi-ethnic community of Shamokin on the Susquehanna River, he spoke fluent English in addition to several Native dialects.¹⁰ A female slave captured by Logan in the fall of 1774 noted that one of her captors was “a Large man much whiter than the rest and talked good English.”¹¹

Four months after the massacre at Yellow Creek, in August 1774, the family of Balser Lybrook was attacked by a small war party in a frantic, brutal raid. In the course of a few minutes, five people including Lybrook’s three young sons were killed and scalped, and three boys—Theophilus Snidow, Jacob Snidow, and Thomas McGriff—were taken prisoner. To mark the scene of the attack, the party left behind a wooden war club, “well made and mark’d with two Letters IG (well made)” carved into the handle. James Robertson, whose men discovered the club, was certain there was a white man with the war party.¹²

Five days later, Robertson’s scouts encountered a “Couple of Poor Little Boys,” nearly starved, who they soon identified as Jacob Snidow and Thomas McGriff. Having waited for their captors to fall asleep, and trying in vain to wake the youngest boy, Theophilus, the two had made their escape three days earlier. When asked about the identity of their captors, the boys reported that there were “two Indians and a white

man Only that did the mischief,” “three poor Sons of Bitches Intirely naked without Either Blankets or match Coats.”¹³

A little over a month later the ragged war party struck again. On September 23 they attacked Fort Blackmore in Scott County, Virginia, where they managed to capture two black slaves.¹⁴ They then continued through Big Moccasin Gap to the neighborhood of King’s Mill on Reedy Creek, attacking the family of John Roberts the following day.¹⁵ Roberts, his wife, and children were all



Robertson's Letter, 1774
James Robertson's letter of August 11, 1774 showing the "IG" marking found on the club's handle.
Historical Society of Wisconsin, Draper Manuscript Collection, MSS 30QV73.

killed and scalped, with the exception of his 10-year-old son, James, who was captured. Here, Logan tied a note to another war club, leaving it for the whites to find.¹⁶ It had been written for him by a white captive two months earlier and revealed his confusion about those responsible for killing his family.

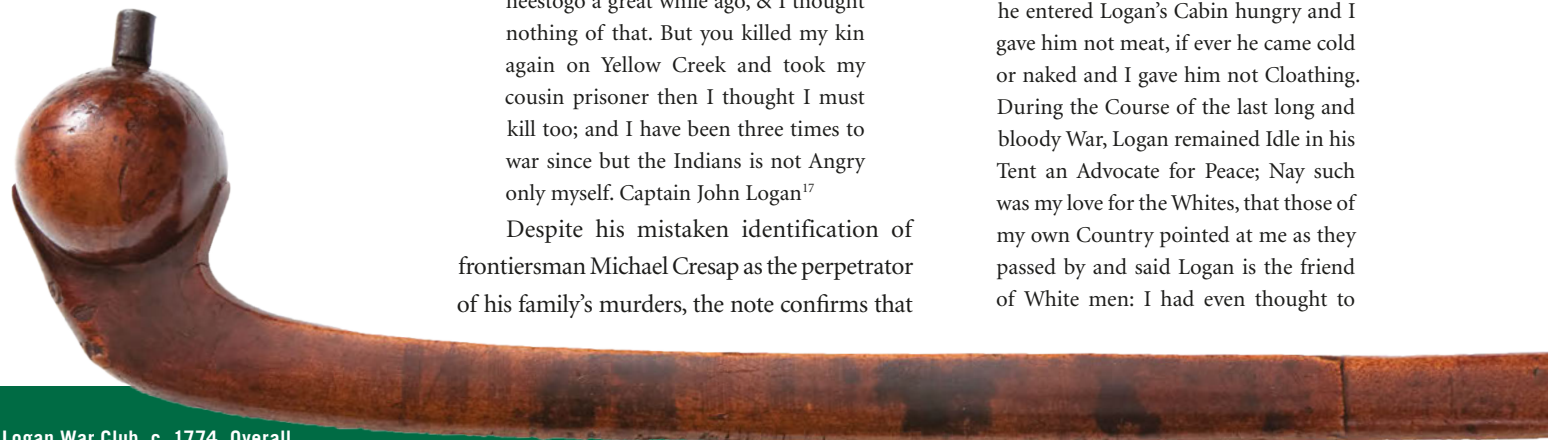
To Captain Cressap — What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for. The white People killed my kin at Conneestogo a great while ago, & I thought nothing of that. But you killed my kin again on Yellow Creek and took my cousin prisoner then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to war since but the Indians is not Angry only myself. Captain John Logan¹⁷

Despite his mistaken identification of frontiersman Michael Cresap as the perpetrator of his family’s murders, the note confirms that

Logan’s campaigns in the spring and summer of 1774 were carried out in direct retaliation for the Yellow Creek Massacre.¹⁸ As the Delaware, Shawnee, and Mingo were at peace with the British at the time, he was also careful to note that he acted only on his own behalf.¹⁹

While Logan actively sought his personal revenge, the turmoil and fear generated by the bloodshed on both sides reached all the way to Williamsburg. Seizing on the opportunity for an offensive strike, royal governor Lord Dunmore quickly raised an army of Virginia militia to suppress the Ohio tribes. In October 1774, his army defeated the Shawnee at the Battle of Point Pleasant, bringing an abrupt end to the conflict. Shortly afterward, his vengeance “fully glutted,” Logan returned from his final raid, having missed the only true battle of the war sparked by the murder of his family. Noting Logan’s absence from the peace negotiations, Lord Dunmore sent his interpreter, John Gibson, to find the Mingo leader.²⁰ A former captive himself and husband to Logan’s murdered sister, Gibson found Logan at the Shawnee towns on the Scioto River. Asked to accompany the embattled war chief into the woods, Gibson later admitted that he feared Logan intended to kill him. Instead the war-weary leader broke down in tears and asked Gibson to send a message to Lord Dunmore on his behalf:

I appeal to any White man to say if ever he entered Logan’s Cabin hungry and I gave him not meat, if ever he came cold or naked and I gave him not Cloathing. During the Course of the last long and bloody War, Logan remained Idle in his Tent an Advocate for Peace; Nay such was my love for the Whites, that those of my own Country pointed at me as they passed by and said Logan is the friend of White men: I had even thought to



The Logan War Club, c. 1774, Overall
An overall view of the war club left after the attack on the home of Balser Lybrook in 1774. Typical of Native war clubs, it was made from the lower portion of a small sapling, with the ball being carved from the dense, swirling grain of the root mass. An iron spike projects from the center of the ball and, through the handle, marks representing various campaigns are also visible.

Fuller Collection.



Logan War Club, Inscription
The initials "IG" carved into the handle of the club match the description left by James Robertson.

Fuller Collection.


live with you but for the Injuries of one man: Col. Cresop, the last Spring in cold blood and unprovoked cut off all the Relations of Logan not sparing even my Women and Children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the Veins of any human Creature. This called on me for Revenge: I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my Vengeance. For my Country I rejoice at the Beams of Peace: But do not harbour a thought that mine is the Joy of fear: Logan never felt fear: He will not turn his Heal to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one.^{21 22}

In the years following his encounter with Gibson, as war broke out between the United States and Great Britain, Logan struggled to find a place in his own country. At a meeting with former Indian trader turned American army officer George Morgan in 1776, he recounted that he and an associate had been warned by a Pennsylvania trader to stay away from Pittsburgh, then a hotbed of anti-Indian sentiment. "[A] great Reward is offered to any Persons who will take or entice either of us to Pittsburgh where we are to be hung up like Dogs by the Big Knife."²³ Logan heeded the warning, as Pittsburgh became an increasingly dangerous place for Indians through the remainder of the American Revolution. With no immediate family and few remaining friends, he relocated to British-held Detroit.²⁴

Though he held great sway with the younger warriors, his erratic behavior and a

lifelong battle with alcohol earned him the widespread condemnation of his own people. By 1780, the Ohio Mingo took action to eliminate him once and for all. Enlisting the services of his nephew with promises that he would "fill [Logan's] place and inherit all his greatness," they arranged for his assassination. Accordingly, the legendary war captain was killed near present-day Monroe, Michigan, in 1780. When asked years later why he agreed to kill his uncle, the younger Indian, who had since taken the name "Logan" as his own, responded, "Because he was too great a man to live."²⁵

Nearly two centuries after Logan's death, a war club bearing the initials "IG" was purchased in an antique shop in Kingsport, Tennessee. The dealer, who believed it to be a table leg, reported that he had purchased it with some antique furniture from a family in southwest Virginia. An examination of the original Robertson document, now part of the Draper Manuscript Collection at the Wisconsin Historical Society, showed that the author interrupted his longhand script to print the two initials that had been cut into the club.²⁶ Closely matching those on the grip of the extant club, it seems likely that the weapon was locally preserved as a treasured memento of the frontier.

In addition to the English initials, several other marks appear on the handle of the club, signifying the number of campaigns associated with the war party, and the number of captives taken.²⁷ True to form, the number of captives corresponds precisely with the three boys taken on the raid in which the club was left. While many 18th-century war clubs exist, this rare example may be the only such object for which the names of the captives—Theophilus and Jacob Snidow and Thomas McGriff—are known. Nearly 250 years after its creation, this rare and powerful object will be among the key artifacts displayed in *Captured by Indians: Warfare & Assimilation on the 18th Century Frontier*, which runs through May 2016 at the Fort Pitt Museum. 

¹ Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940), 162-164. See also Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905). See pages 9-19 for several period accounts of the massacre.

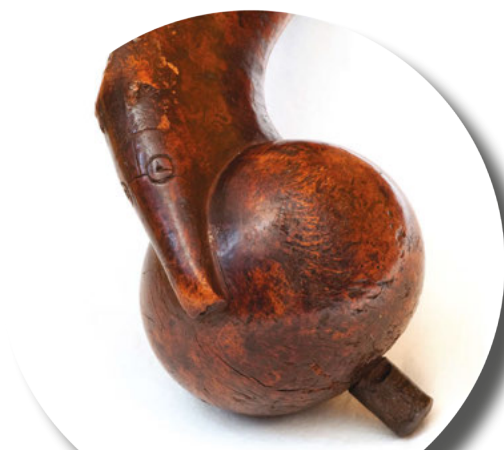
² John Bartram, Lewis Evans, and Conrad Weiser, *A Journey from Pennsylvania to Onondaga in 1743* (Barre: The Imprint Society, 1973), 37. Bartram notes that Logan's father, the Oneida chief, Shikellamy was "a Frenchman, born at Montreal and adopted by the Oneidoes [Oneidas] after being taken prisoner."

³ Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Dunmore's War*, 238-239.

⁴ In colonial America, the term *Mingo* referred to various bands of Iroquois who had migrated to the Ohio Country in the early to mid-18th century. As a political unit, they frequently joined with their regional neighbors, the Delaware, and Shawnee, and functioned more or less independently of the rest of the Six Nations.

⁵ Martin Mack, *Shamokin Diary, September 25, 1745*, Moravian Records 28/17/2B/1. Quoted in James H. Merrell, "'Shamokin' 'the very seat of the Prince of darkness': Unsettling the American Frontier" in Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredericke J. Teute, eds. *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 18.

⁶ For a brief biography of Logan the Mingo, see Francis Jennings' entry on him in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes eds., *American National Biography*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 13: 836-837. Although Jennings lists his name as James Logan, the biography is that of the man who referred to himself as "Captain John Logan" in 1774.



Logan War Club, Detail
A close-up of the head of the club shows the carved effigy of an unknown animal holding the ball in its jaws. The blunt iron spike made the lightweight weapon even more effective.

Stephen Fuller.



McKeesport Woman Flier Scores in Air Carnival

Three Pittsburgh district women



the course. There were 12 women the meet. Mrs. Amelia Earhart Putnam, coming from New York to Baltimore in an autogiro, was forced down at Willow Grove, Pa., by engine trouble and was unable to reach the field for the meet. Frank W. Hawks made a quick light from Wilmington, Del., making the trip in 22 minutes. He paid a brief visit to the field and then flew away.

Helen Richey

Numerous women from Western Pennsylvania distinguished themselves in service to the U.S. Army Air Corps Women's Air Force Service Pilots (WASP) program during World War II. A pilot log on loan from the Smithsonian Institution's National Air and Space Museum testifies to the work of one of the most prominent of these women.

McKeesport's Helen Richey was famous before she joined the WASPs. A world record holder and the first woman to pilot a commercial airliner in 1935, Helen became the first American woman to serve overseas with the British Air Transport Auxiliary, in 1942. The next year, she returned to the United States to join the WASPs. The Smithsonian's log starts around this point, documenting every flight Helen made between July 7, 1943, and December 18, 1944. The log's entries illustrate the impressive versatility of the WASP pilots.

Helen's record includes at least 14 different kinds of aircraft. For the first nine months, she mainly flew small single-engine planes such as Vultee BT-15 and Cessna Bobcat, trainer planes for both the WASPs and future combat pilots. But by the spring and summer of 1944, Helen was shuttling more advanced trainers and even some fighter planes, such as the Lockheed P-38 Lightning and the Douglas A-24 Banshee, the U.S. Army's version of the Navy's legendary Douglas Dauntless. She shuttled multiple Republic P-47 Thunderbolts from their home factory in Evansville, Indiana, to the New Jersey airfields that trained thousands of fighter pilots before sending them to England. In July 1944, Helen even flew a B-25 bomber from North American Aviation's Kansas City, Kansas, plant to Atlanta, Georgia.

The final entry in the Smithsonian's log speaks to the end of the WASP program. Helen shuttled a Fairchild PT-19 trainer from Newark, New Jersey, to nearby Readington on December 18, 1944, two days before the WASP program officially disbanded, on December 20, 1944. The log was donated to the Smithsonian in 1999. It will be on view as part of the exhibit *We Can Do It! WWII* through early January 2016.

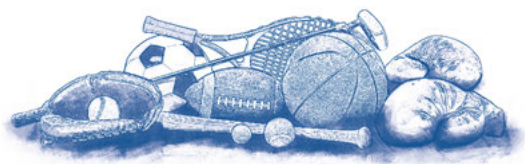
This pilot log documenting Helen Richey's service with the Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs) from July 1943 to December 1944 appears in the exhibit *We Can Do It! WWII*.

Smithsonian Institution, National Air and Space Museum.

- ⁷ *Journal of David McClure* in Russell H. Booth, Jr. ed., *The Tuscarawas Valley in Indian Days, 1750-1797* (Cambridge: Gomber House Press, 1994), 114-115.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, *Journal of John Parrish*, 154.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 305. See also Brantz Meyer, *Tah-gah-jute or, Logan and Cresap: An Historical Essay* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867), 111. The author quotes a letter from Anthony Bledsoe to Capt. William Preston, stating "There are two men in my company who say they know one Logan, a mixt breed, in the Showanoe nation."
- ¹⁰ "Declaration of William Robinson," printed in John S. Williams, ed., *The American Pioneer: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to the Objects of the Logan Historical Society* (Cincinnati: John S. Williams, Publisher, 1844), 15-16. Robinson was captured by Logan in July 1774 and adopted into his family "in the place of a warrior of the family who had been killed at Yellow Creek." Logan asked Robinson to write a note for him, "which he meant to carry and leave in some house where he should kill somebody."
- ¹¹ Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Dunmore's War*, 238-239. This refers to a raid in early October of 1774 in the vicinity of present day Bristol, Tennessee.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 138-140.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 140-142.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 209-211.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 208-210.
- ¹⁶ Excerpt of a letter from Judge Harry Innes to Thomas Jefferson, printed Williams, ed., *The American Pioneer*, 15.
- ¹⁷ "Declaration of William Robinson," printed in Williams, ed., *The American Pioneer*, 15-16. See also Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Dunmore's War*, 246-247.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 306 note.
- ¹⁹ McConnell, *A Country Between*, 275.
- ²⁰ Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Dunmore's War*, 305.
- ²¹ "Deposition of John Gibson, April 4, 1800," printed in Williams, ed., *The American Pioneer*, 18.
- ²² In addition to being publicly disseminated in colonial newspapers, Logan's speech was included in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (1781-82) and reprinted in Williams, ed., *The American Pioneer*, 10.
- ²³ Logan to George Morgan, June 20, 1776, quoted in Gregory Schaaf, *Wampum Belts & Peace Trees: George Morgan, Native Americans and Revolutionary Diplomacy* (Golden: Fulcrum Publishing, 1990), 147. "Big Knife" was a common name applied by Ohio Country Natives to Virginians.
- ²⁴ Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Dunmore's War*, 306.
- ²⁵ Donald H. Kent and Merle H. Deardorff, eds., "John Adlum on the Allegheny: Memoirs for the Year 1794, Part II," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 84, no. 4. "October 1960": 471-472.
- ²⁶ James Robertson to Col. William Preston, August 11, 1774. Wisconsin Historical Society, MSS 3QQV73.
- ²⁷ Scott Meachum, "'Markes Upon Their Clubhammers': Interpreting Pictography on Eastern War Clubs," in J.C.H. King and Christian F. Feest, eds., *Three Centuries of Woodlands Indian Art: A Collection of Essays* (Altenstadt, Germany: HZK Publishers, 2007), 67-74.

FLIGHT RECORD										FROM	TO	REMARKS	INSTRUMENT	NIGHT FLYING	SING
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6-12	UC-78	641	"	"	"	"	Chief - St. Charles		1:00						
6-16	UC-78	"	"	"	"	"	St. Charles		1:00						
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6-20	UC-78	882	"	"	"	"	St. Charles		1:00						
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6-24	C-47A	"	"	"	"	"	Chief - St. John - F. Scott								
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8-21	"	"	"	"	"	"	"								
8-27	C-47	"	P.W.	1200	OK. City	Tulsa	Paddy - O.D.		1:00						
8-27	C-47	"	P.W.	1200	Tulsa	Kansas City	"								
8-28	C-47	"	P.W.	1200	K.C.	St. Louis (West)	John Taylor - so file								

UP FRONT



WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA SPORTS MUSEUM

By Craig Britcher, Project Coordinator & Curatorial
Assistant of the Western Pennsylvania Sports Museum

Mildred Martin Allen and the Hill District's Satellites Softball Team

From 1960 to 1976, the Tri-Boro Softball League provided young women a rare opportunity for athletic competition at a time when women, especially African American women, struggled for equal rights. Mildred Allen not only helped launch the league, she coached while playing shortstop and second base for the Hill District's Satellites alongside three of her daughters. A graduate of Fifth Avenue High School, Allen competed for

school softball and volleyball teams, long before she became an organizer and coach on the softball diamond.

The Satellites were league champions in 1966 when Allen served as associate manager with her sister Beatrice Mahaffey managing and husband Thomas Allen coaching. She also served as its commissioner for many years until the league disbanded. Family time and playing softball coincided in frequent, demanding practices and traveling to area fields.

A team uniform from the 1970s symbolizes the role sports played in the Civil Rights and women's movements. Athletics became one of many ways to empower African American women seeking equal opportunities on the field and off. The United Black Front, a Hill District organization focused

on economic development, sponsored the team in 1970. The team uniform colors of red, black, and green mirror the Pan African flag and visually link the team to a larger struggle—in the Pittsburgh community and nationally—for liberation and equality. Just two years earlier, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination spurred a violent reaction in the Hill District community. Clyde Jackson founded the United Black Front to serve as a social service agency to aid victims of the riots. It also became a prime mover in the Black Construction Coalition, which developed the Pittsburgh Plan and secured more than 1,000 jobs for African Americans in the construction industry.

Just two years after wearing this uniform, the Satellites again won the league championship in 1972, the same year as Title IX's enactment. Title IX required gender equity for boys and girls in educational and athletic programs that received federal funding, changing the landscape of sport for female athletes. Mildred Allen's time on the softball diamond bridged a period of major cultural and political change—she provided African American girls from the Hill District with a place to compete while also demonstrating that all deserve equal access and opportunities, on the field and off.

The Satellites played their home games at Ammon Field on Bedford Avenue, where the community proudly rallied around them. Games could get intense with nearby rivals



The 1960 Ammon Recreation Center volleyball team. Mildred Allen is third from left.

HHC Detre L&A



Hill District Satellites. Mildred is in the second row, far right, and Beatrice is six players to the left, 1970.

HHC Detre L&A.

such as the Garfieldettes and the Homewood Orbits. Others in the league were the Speed Queens, the Vikings, and the Jets from areas outside the city such as McKeesport, Duquesne, and East Liberty.

Mildred Allen passed away in 2003 but her legacy lives on. Decades after Crawfords legend Josh Gibson played there, Ammon Field is still used by softball and youth baseball teams and was renamed Josh Gibson Field in 2008. The Josh Gibson Foundation uses it as its home field, providing academic and athletic programs for area boys and girls. 🌟

Note: The Satellites name spelling varies over the years, including the original spelling as "Satilites."



Daughter Beatrice (Allen) Harper donated her mother's collection of softball and volleyball artifacts, including this 1970 "Satellites" uniform displayed in the Western Pennsylvania Sports Museum.

HHC Collections, 2003.44.4 a,b. Photo by Liz Simpson.

UP FRONT



THOMAS & KATHERINE DETRE LIBRARY & ARCHIVES TREASURES

By Nicholas Hartley, Project Archivist

Jacob Evanson: Song Catcher

In the late 1930s, when Jacob A. Evanson joined the staff of the Pittsburgh Board of Education as special supervisor of vocal instruction, folklorists and musicologists were scouring America in search of old songs before they disappeared. The recording expeditions of father-and-son duo

John and Alan Lomax, conducted under the banner of the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress, inspired folklorists across the country to join in the effort to collect and preserve America's folk traditions.

The Jacob A. Evanson Papers attest to the excitement that these developments generated among researchers, musicians, and the general public. Included in the collection are hundreds of songs that Evanson collected and transcribed from books, periodicals, oral sources, and audio recordings from various repositories, including the Archive of American Folk Song

(now the Archive of Folk Culture). Nearly all of the songs include musical notation in addition to lyrics, while Evanson's annotations and notes provide contextual information regarding song origins and themes.

Evanson, who had taught music education at Case Western Reserve University for over a decade before moving to Pittsburgh, wanted to do more than collect Pittsburgh's folk songs: he wanted to integrate them into Pittsburgh Public Schools' musical curriculum. Until 1940, the music department was directed by Will Earhart, a nationally respected educator who



Evanson (on the right) confers with local educators while planning a high school choral performance for a meeting of the National Federation of Music Clubs.

HHC Detre L&A, Jacob A. Evanson Papers, c. 1844-1959, MSS.1011.B001.I01.



Evanson's friend, renowned folk musician Pete Seeger, transcribed this song on the back of a Lead Belly concert flyer.

HHC Detre L&A, Jacob A. Evanson Papers, c. 1844-1959, MSS.1011.B001.I01.

Music sheets.

HHC Detre L&A.

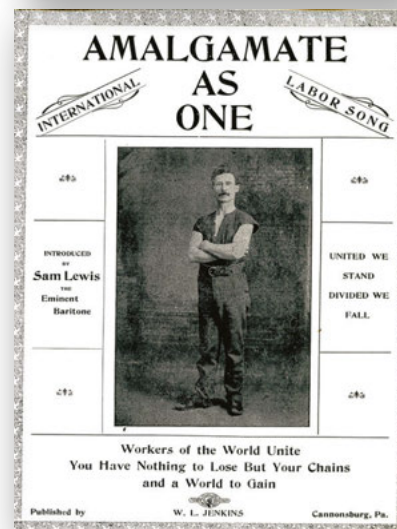
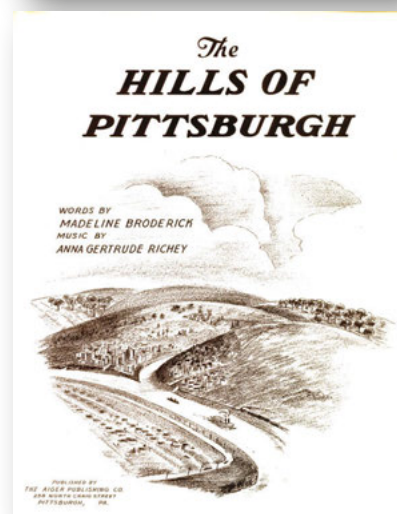
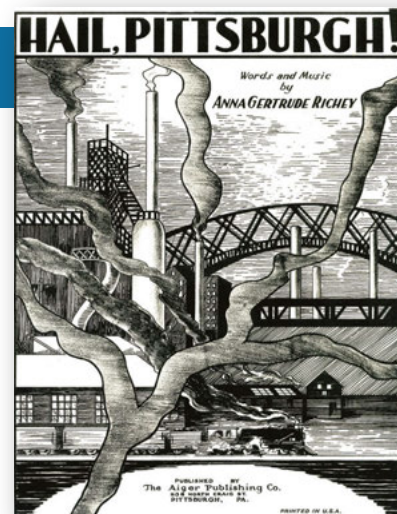
championed a curriculum that aimed to foster in his students a lifelong appreciation for classical music. While Evanson acknowledged the importance of classical European music, he felt that the curriculum should include a regional element to supplement and to contrast the works of other cultures. Regional folk songs — “songs that state the life immediately about them, or of some phase of the past of that life” — would better reflect the students’ own experiences and interests.¹

Evanson encouraged music teachers to act as “song catchers” in and out of the classroom — to record the music they heard at lunch and recess, at bus stops and on city streets. By September 1946, nearly 80 songs had been compiled and distributed to every public school in the city. This development caught the attention of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, which featured an article that month highlighting the emergent integration of folk songs into the musical curriculum of Pittsburgh Public Schools under Evanson’s supervision, calling it a “revolution.”² Songs included “General Braddock,” “At the Forks of the Ohio,” “Johnstown Flood,” and “Pittsburgh is a Great Old Town” — the last of which, according to Pete Seeger, was first conceived by Woody Guthrie in 1941 and later adapted by Alan Lomax for a radio broadcast.³

Following this exposure, Evanson decided to expand his collecting project by enlisting the help of the general public through subsequent articles and notices that encouraged readers to contribute to the collection. For over a

year he regularly received contributions from interested readers who had songs to share— songs they remembered from their youth, heard from a friend, and even songs they composed themselves. These contributions were supplemented by Evanson’s fieldwork, which consisted of house calls to Pittsburgh residents who recited songs that had been passed down from previous generations. The songs that Evanson compiled were performed before public audiences by student choirs throughout his tenure as supervisor until his retirement in the mid-1960s.

Evanson presented his research and compilations at folklore conferences and in several publications, and in 1959 he supplied the liner notes to *Vivien Richman Sings Folk Songs of West Pennsylvania*, an album issued by Smithsonian Folkways Recordings. Such a recording could not have been made without the efforts of Evanson and his many song catchers, whose trove of songs comprise the bulk of the Jacob A. Evanson Papers, available for research at the Detre Library & Archives.



1 Jacob Evanson to J.S. Duss, November 29, 1946. Jacob A. Evanson Papers, c. 1844-1959, MSS 1011, Thomas & Katherine Detre Library & Archives, Senator John Heinz History Center.

2 “‘Revolution in Pittsburgh’ And That’s No Musical Joke, Son,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, September 17, 1946.

3 Jacob A. Evanson, “Folksongs of an Industrial City,” *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 440-441.



ARCHITECTURE AROUND US

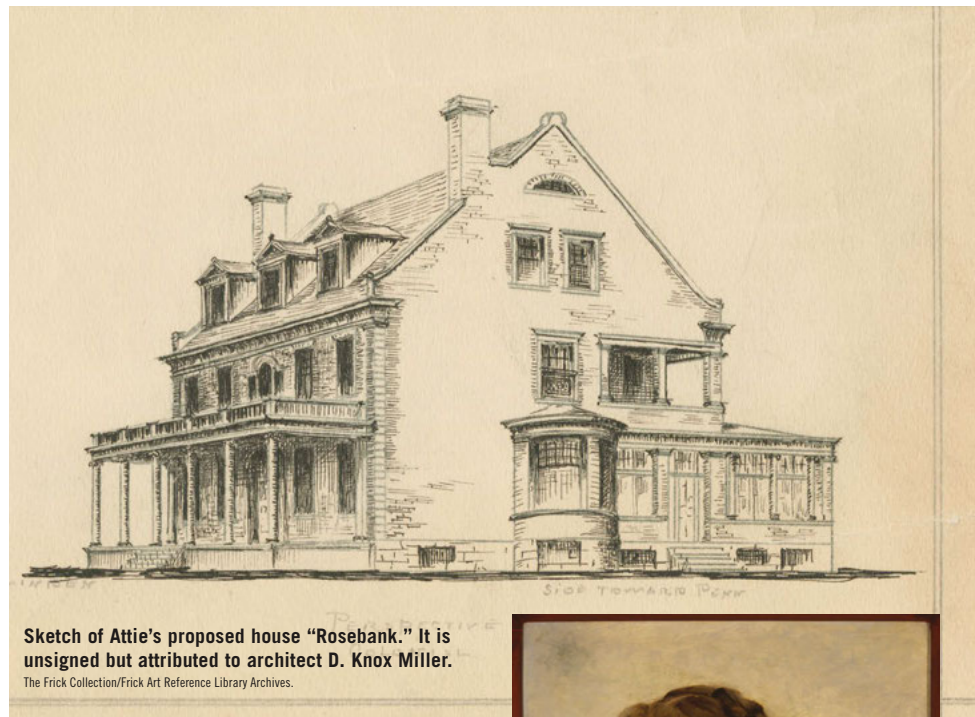
By Lu Donnelly

“Rosebank” or Attie’s House

As early as the 1840s, Boston architectural critic Arthur Gilman was writing glowingly about colonial and early federal period houses in the northeast. By the 1870s, New England architects were scouring the countryside recording surviving buildings of the late 1700s and early 1800s. These published sketches and photographs inspired new designs and, as a recent historian wrote, established “a Colonial Revival vocabulary as one of the dominant and enduring images of American architecture.”¹

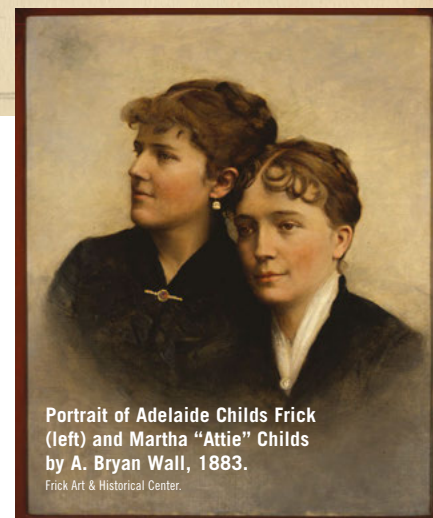
The style became even more popular in the United States after those attending the 1893 World’s Columbian Exhibition in Chicago saw the Massachusetts Building designed by the Boston architectural firm of Peabody & Stearns. They based it on the John Hancock House of 1737 on Beacon Hill, which, when it was demolished in 1863, sparked a heated debate about its preservation and prompted a local architect to make a set of measured drawings that were often copied. That house inspired many similar residences across the country including one commissioned by Harvey Childs, Jr., and designed by Peabody & Stearns in 1896, a house now used by the University of Pittsburgh’s chancellor at 718 Devonshire Street. Authors Donald Albrecht and Thomas Mellins maintain that the style offers “a reassuringly familiar sense of home and community. Additionally, it was considered a sound investment.”²

Pittsburgh’s Colonial Revival style houses have varied rooflines—from gambrel, to



hip, to gable—but each has a central entry highlighted by a small columned porch or detailed surround and a symmetrical window arrangement across the façade. They are much larger than their colonial predecessors and have all the modern conveniences of their c. 1900 time period.

What sets the house at 206 South Linden Avenue apart from the others isn’t a groundbreaking style, but the patron who commissioned it and its original resident. By 1901, Henry Clay Frick had risen to the heights of the coke and steel businesses. He had settled his dispute with Andrew Carnegie, and the Carnegie Steel Company had become a part of J.P. Morgan’s United States Steel Company. Frick and his family were spending the bulk of their time in New York City in rented space. But his wife, Adelaide Childs Frick, had roots in Pittsburgh. In fact, by 1904 three of Adelaide’s six surviving siblings lived on South Linden Avenue only blocks from H.C. Frick’s house



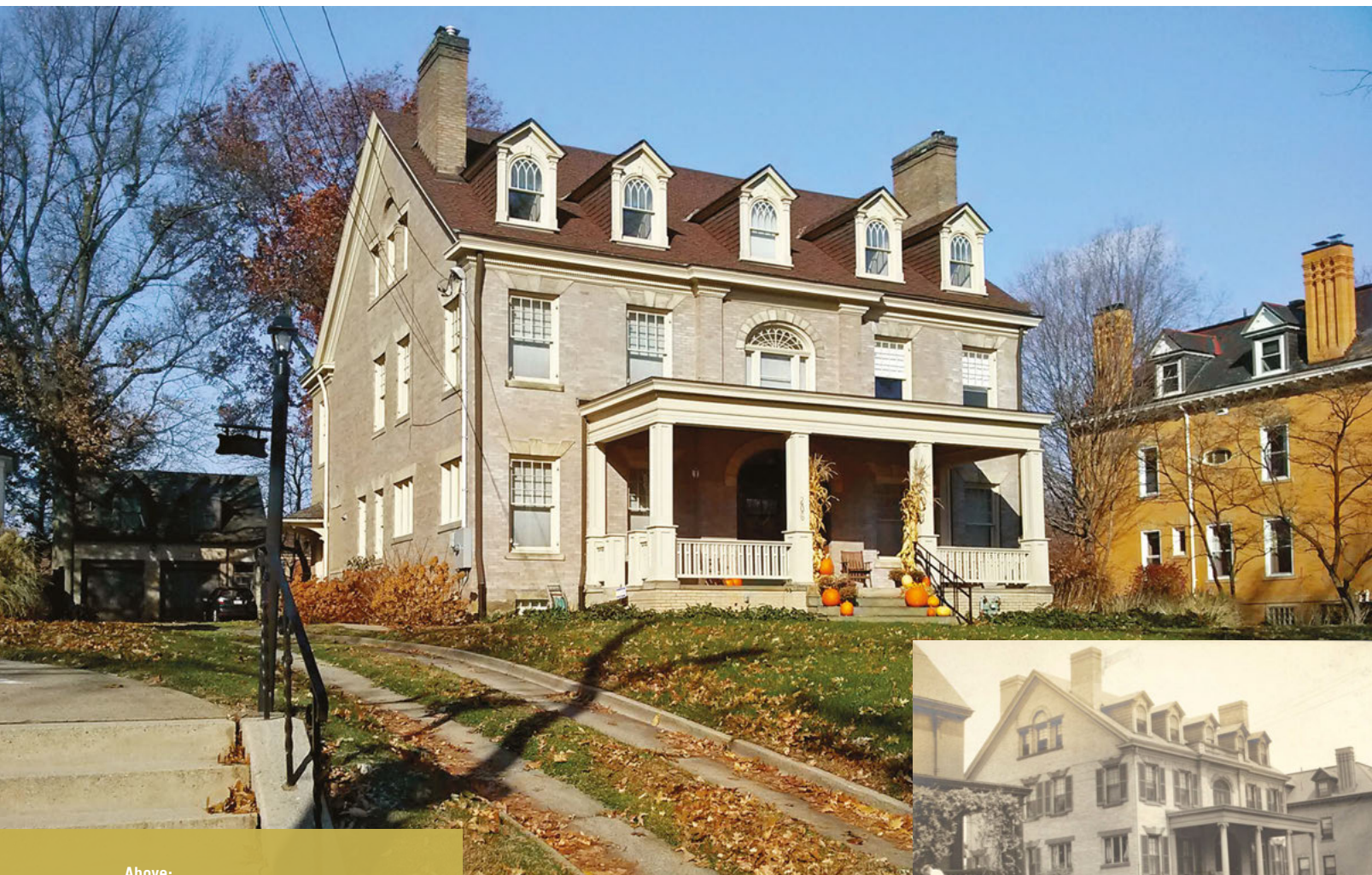
Clayton.³ For many of their married years Adelaide Frick’s older sister Martha “Attie” Childs lived with them either at Clayton or their summer home Eagle Rock in Pride’s Crossing, Massachusetts. Attie often traveled with the family and when Frick was stabbed at his downtown office in 1892, Attie was called to accompany him back to the house. She was described as “daringly independent and headstrong for a woman of her social standing at that time.”⁴ She never married, but traveled extensively and ultimately had a



**Harvey Childs, Jr., house,
718 Devonshire Street, Pittsburgh.**

Photo by Lu Donnelly.

UP FRONT



Above:
Current photo of "Rosebank," 206 S. Linden Ave. Notice the shutters and a balustrade at the roofline have been removed, plus the porch supports have been simplified and a balustrade added there.

Photo by Lu Donnelly.

Inset:
Snapshot of "Rosebank" from a Frick family album. The house on the left has been demolished while the house on the right remains.

The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives, (PS-19).



house and an electric car of her own courtesy of her brother-in-law.⁵

In 1901, Frick hired local architect D. (David) Knox Miller to design a house in the style his wife's cousin Harvey Childs, Jr., had earlier used on Devonshire Street.⁶ The Frick archives in New York have the floor plans and early sketches that illustrate the logic, symmetry, and proportion that are hallmarks of the style. An architectural historian claims that in a time of "strikes, riots and economic depressions" this style offered "rationality and clarity" but also "power ... self-assurance ... [and] good and urbane taste."⁷ The entrance

hall has a coffered ceiling and a sweeping staircase with a 15-foot-wide landing. Ceilings are 10-feet-tall and the majority of rooms have crown molding. Attie named the finished house Rosebank, as she was very fond of her garden there. The house as it was built varies from the original sketch (a recessed porch on the second floor and sun porch on the first floor were never built), but it has remained remarkably similar to Miller's original design and is a stellar example of the Colonial Revival style. ☼

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 Keith N. Morgan, ed., *Buildings of Massachusetts: Metropolitan Boston* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), p. 29.

² Donald Albrecht and Thomas Mellins, *The American Style: Colonial Revival in New York City* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2011), p. 27.

³ Adelaide Frick was one of six surviving Childs siblings, Howard (1852-1911), Martha "Attie" (1855-1914), Asa P., Jr. (1856-1932), Marshall (1858-1916), Adelaide (1859-1931), and James Asa (1865-1916). Marshall had a career in the Army, and was often stationed overseas; in the Pittsburgh Blue Books he listed Attie's house, 206 South Linden Avenue, as his address while abroad.

⁴ Martha Frick Symington Sanger, *Henry Clay Frick: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1998), pp. 89-90.

⁵ The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives, Henry Clay Frick papers, Series: Voucher Files, include a receipt for the electric car, dated December 6, 1911, a Model 95 Waverley Electric costing \$2,500, a Christmas gift from "Clay." The garage at "Rosebank" was built after the house, probably about 1911 or 1912. Thanks to Julie Ludwig, Associate Archivist.

⁶ Department of Public Safety, Bureau of Building Inspection, City of Pittsburgh, Volume 18, September 30, 1901, p. 82, "Two story plus attic (13 rooms) brick dwelling for Miss M. Childs. Builder, G. A. Cochran, for \$16,000." Frick's name is recorded in pencil beside "Miss M. Childs" crossed out.

⁷ Mark Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in their Cultural and Technological Context* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999), p. 202.



Donora Historical Society and Smog Museum

- The Donora Historical Society and Smog Museum is located in what many consider to be ground zero of the environmental movement. The museum is 25 miles south of Pittsburgh on the Monongahela River; its mission is to preserve, research, interpret, and promote Donora history through cooperative, continuing educational relationships with individuals and institutions. Dedicated to remembering the 21 people who fell victim to a smog inversion on a fateful Halloween weekend in 1948, the museum focuses on causes and effects of that smog tragedy and its impact on global environmental concerns and issues. An annual Environmental Conference with a workshop for students, teachers, and the public is held each October.
- A young Stanislaw Franciszek Musial got his start in athletics with the Polish Falcons in gymnastics and track in the 1920s. In the 1930s, he switched to baseball, leading to a legendary professional career. He earned a spot in the Hall of Fame and was forever known as Stan "The Man" Musial. Learn more about "The Man" and Donora's other favorite sons and daughters at the museum.
- Thomas Edison spent considerable time trying to solve the housing shortage for working class families, which in this area was due to the expanding steel mills. He advocated the use of concrete in housing construction, which was achieved in Donora in 1916 when 80 concrete houses were built in a planned community known as Cement City. Twice a year and by special request, Cement City Home and Walking Tours are held to recount Edison's vision from 99 years ago.
- Since 1946, the DHSSM has been telling Donora's story, in part by exhibiting the extensive collection of photographs derived from Bruce Dreisbach's glass plate negatives, and also by displaying artifacts collected by many of our original founders.
- The DHSSM is open most weekdays and every Saturday from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. or by appointment. Please call ahead for operating hours.
- For additional information visit www.donorahistoricalsociety.org or contact the museum at donorahistoricalsociety@gmail.com, or call (724) 823-0364.

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.

UP FRONT



NEIGHBORHOOD STORIES

By Bette McDevitt

Teena's Quilt Shop

A few years ago, on a trip through Amish country to the north of Pittsburgh, my colleague, a professional photographer, insisted that we stop every 10 minutes. "Just one more photo," he would plead.

I understood how he felt. It was as if we had entered another world, one without noise and overhead wires, but rather with orange buggies pulled by sleek horses making their way along two-lane roads, past white houses with blue doors and windmills alongside large white barns. Even without a camera, we want to save those images and run that reel, through our mind's eye, repeatedly.

Entering Teena's Quilt Shop west of Volant on Route 208 is a step into that world, if only in a small way. Over the last year, I have made two quilt tops and taken them to



Amish farm behind the quilt shop.



Bette and her quilt.
All photos by Bette McDevitt.

Teena Hostettler to be hand quilted. The shop is a few steps from her home, beside the barn. Behind the quilt shop is a spacious two-story home belonging to Teena's daughter; her family and children move easily between the two homes and the barn.

If Teena is not in the shop, she will come from her house when she hears a car pull into the driveway. But on a recent day, the shop was open, and there was no sign of Teena. I knocked on the open kitchen door, and called her name. I could hear the gasoline-powered washing machine running in the cellar. I went back to the quilt shop and left her a note saying that I had been there. A few days later, I received a note in the mail from Teena, apologizing for not being at home. She had been, she wrote, out chasing cows.

Teena has been quilting for more than 45 years, and operating the quilt shop for more than 20 years. If you wish to make your own quilt top, as I have done, she will send it out to one of the dozen women she calls "my quilters." It will come back to you worthy of hanging on a wall. My first quilt was completed over the winter, and came back to me with the fragrance of a wood stove. I like to think of my quilter working in a cozy, sunlit warm room.

I also like the idea of quilting bees, and Teena acknowledged that they exist, but she is not apt to attend. She prefers designing the quilt, rather than doing the handwork. She has enough to do with the quilt shop and runaway cows. Her quilters also seem to work alone; they are often widows, Teena said, who need a little income. Good quilting is judged, to Teena's way of thinking, by the number of stitches per inch. "Seven to nine is good quilting, and then of course, how the design looks." It can take from two to six months to make a quilt, and things go faster in the winter, when the women are not busy with gardening and canning.

In the shop, the quilts made by these women are discreetly layered on a large bed. When you turn back the top one, another is revealed, then another, one more exquisite than the other. There may be more than a dozen to choose from. There are no labels with the name of the quilt maker sewn in to the border, as we might do. That would go against the Amish way of not drawing attention to oneself.

My favorite Amish quilts use the colors of their clothing, blue, purple, green, deep red, and black. A large diamond in the center often sets off an Amish quilt. The use of these colors, in the hands of such creative women, brings forth dramatic designs, repeated in

Teena's Quilt Shop,

435 Quilt Shop Lane, Volant, PA 16156, can be found between New Wilmington and Volant on PA Route 208. Open Monday through Saturday, 9-5, and no credit cards, just cash or checks.



Inside Teena's Quilt Shop.

pot holders, pillow covers, and wall hangings, always made of cotton fabric. The women also make cloth dolls in Amish clothing, but with no facial features, bearing out the Biblical instruction against graven images. In respect for that restriction, visitors leave their cameras in the car.

This Old Order Amish community of 2,000 members divided into 19 church districts, settled here in the 1840s. Church services are held in the members' homes, and the district must be of a size to fit in the smallest home. If the district grows too large for that home, another church district would be formed. Pride of place is not looked upon kindly. They have remained blessedly free of commercialization, supplementing their farming income with woodworking, carpentry, quilting, and growing flowers in greenhouses. It takes some scouting to find the simple wooden signs at the end of their roads that give a clue to their skills and crafts.

Nothing seems to change in this landscape. The laundry still hangs on the line on Mondays, no matter the season. The orange buggies still brave the highways. The purple martins return to the bird apartments mounted on the same tall poles. They have not sold off their extensive holdings, and in a world where everything seems to turn to concrete, this green landscape has remained unaffected. ☼

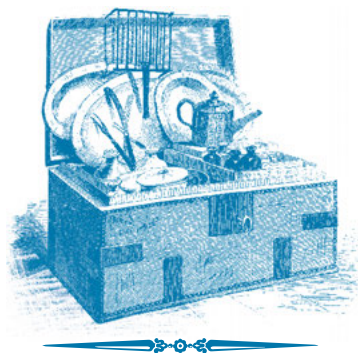
Bette McDevitt is a freelance writer and longtime contributor to *Western Pennsylvania History*.



An often-used Amish quilt design.



Bette's quilt.



CURATOR'S CORNER

By Emily Ruby, Curator

Jerry the Ice Man

Ice is having its moment due to the popular Disney movie *Frozen*. Here at the History Center, the history of ice is always at the forefront because the original building was home to the Chautauqua Lake Ice Company. Ice was critical in the days before electric refrigeration, and many an ice man delivered it door to door. The turn-of-the-century tradition faded decades ago except for one holdout: Jerry the Ice Man.

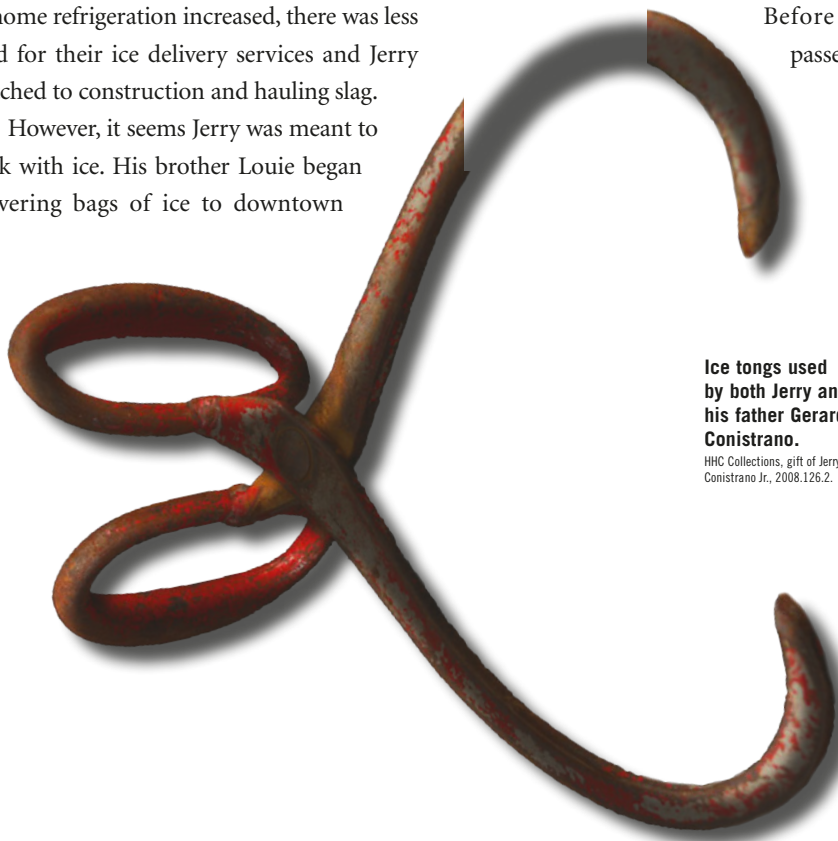
With Sinatra tunes blaring from his radio and a sign that read, "When the ice is gone, the party is over," Jerry drove his red pick-up truck throughout the streets of Pittsburgh to peddle his wares from the bed of his truck. His 50-pound bags were packed from ice machines at his family's home in Beechview. He was known for his constant smile, friendly flirting, and, of course, the Sinatra music. The sign borrowed the "party's over" tag line from an ice company in Bridgeport, Ohio, that had the wording on its bags. He had the sign made for \$140 with this same tag line and put it on his truck.

Jerry began his career by delivering ice and coal with his father, Gerardo Conistrano, and his brother Louie around the Hill District in the 1930s and '40s. Their home was right behind the original Crawford Grill. Change came to the Conistranos in the late 1950s when they were forced to move to make way for the Civic Arena and they relocated to Beechview. As home refrigeration increased, there was less need for their ice delivery services and Jerry switched to construction and hauling slag.

However, it seems Jerry was meant to work with ice. His brother Louie began delivering bags of ice to downtown

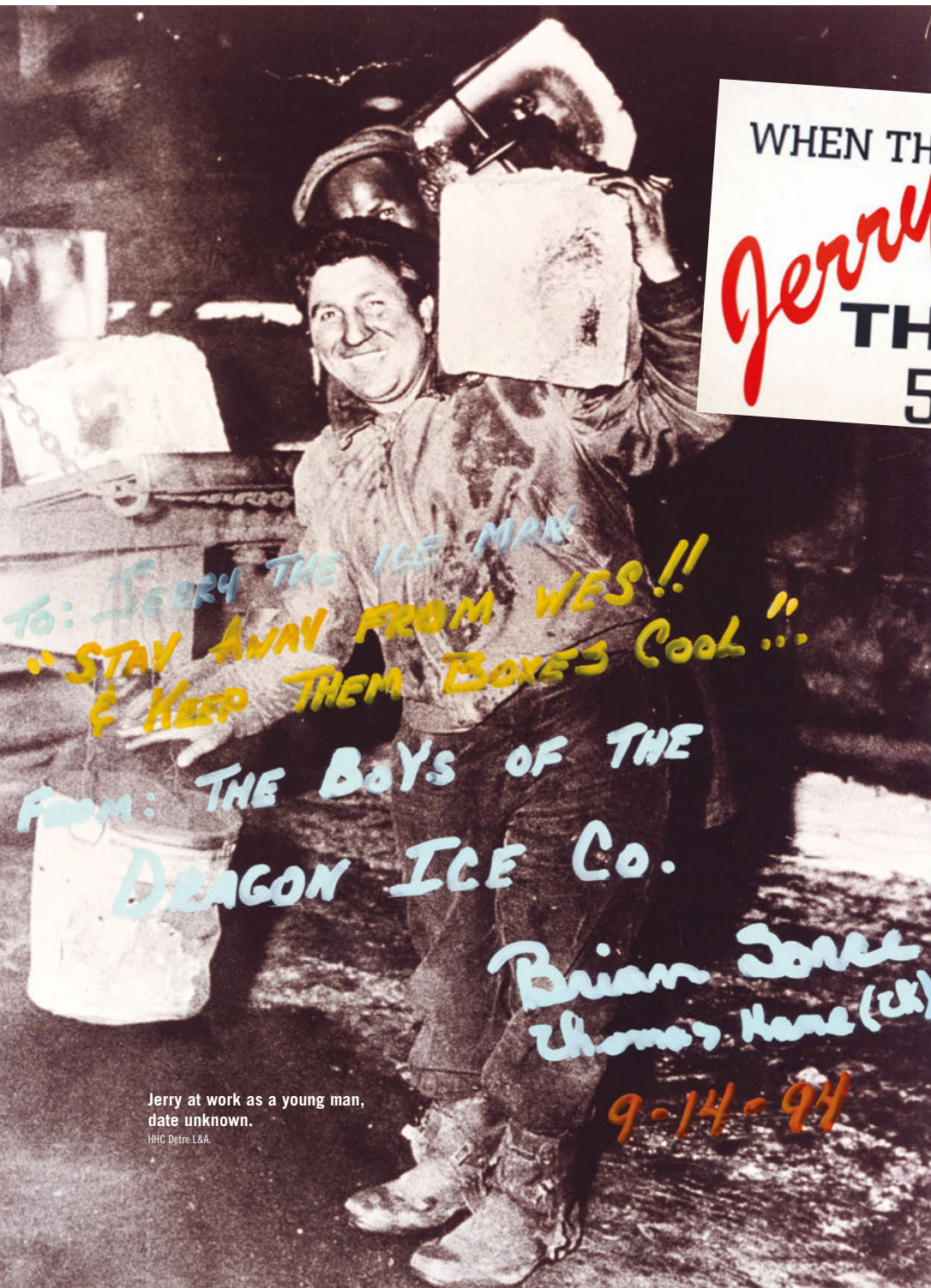
businesses in the 1960s and within a decade Jerry was full-time in the ice business again. When his brother died in 1989, Jerry took over the business. He woke up every morning at 5:00 a.m., filled his truck with bags of ice, and made his way downtown. He delivered ice to businesses throughout the city until his retirement in 2006.

Before Jerry passed away



Ice tongs used by both Jerry and his father Gerardo Conistrano.

HMC Collections, gift of Jerry Conistrano Jr., 2008.126.2.



Jerry at work as a young man,
date unknown.
HHC Detre L&A.

WHEN THE **ICE** IS GONE....
THE PARTY'S OVER
BE AMERICAN  **BUY AMERICAN**
THE ICE MAN
531-1570

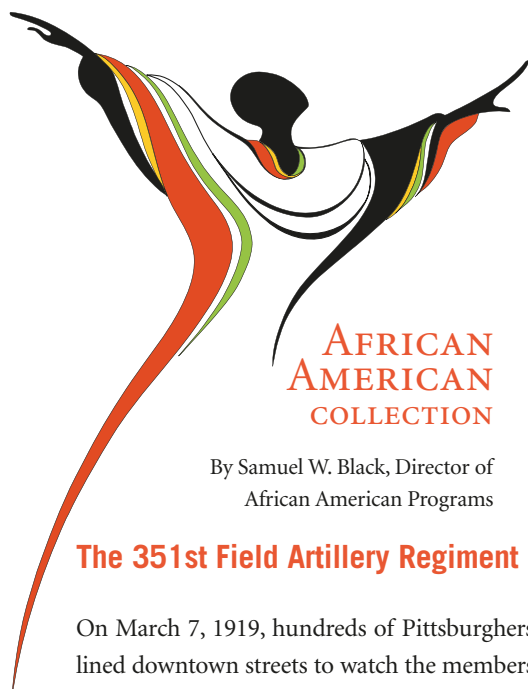
Jerry's advertising sign.

HHC Collections, gift of Jerry Conistrano Jr., 2008.126.1.

last year, a few days after his 83rd birthday, he donated a few mementoes of the family business to the History Center.

The size of the Chautauqua Lake building is a testament to the demand for ice in the growing industrial city. Large shipments of ice from northern lakes were brought to the History Center building via rail and then delivered throughout the city and beyond by wagon, rail, and ship. With demand long gone, the building that was once the center of ice delivery now houses treasured artifacts from that very industry.





By Samuel W. Black, Director of
African American Programs

The 351st Field Artillery Regiment

On March 7, 1919, hundreds of Pittsburghers lined downtown streets to watch the members of the 351st Field Artillery Regiment parade through the city. This regiment—made mostly of Pennsylvanians and largely of Pittsburghers—triumphed in World War I over the Axis overseas and racism in the military. A line of officers led some of the notable young men of Pittsburgh's African American community. Those who were aware of the sable-colored men's challenges in their nation's Army cheered them, as did others oblivious to the plight but impressed by the handsome straight-back soldiers who manned the lines of the French eastern front and held back the German advance. These were fighting men, although their commanders in basic training didn't think so.

The 351st Field Artillery Regiment was not called that in 1917 when the first wave of volunteers and enlisted men arrived at Camp Lee in Petersburg, Virginia. According to John Clark, a *Pittsburgh Courier* writer and veteran of the 351st, "There were two chapters.... One was the part Pittsburgh men played in the development of this regiment, and the other was the commissioning of colored officers in artillery for the first time in the history of

The 351st Field Artillery held a reunion in 1942, with Donald Jefferson as chairman of the planning committee. The program includes a list of the regiment's members, photos of the event (such as entertainment by Floyd Fitch's Bombardiers), and a 13-page history of the regiment penned by Sergeant John Clark, later a columnist of the *Pittsburgh Courier*. Registration was at the Hill District YMCA, and the opening business session was at the "Hill City Municipality Auditorium," but the rest of the reunion took place in South Park at The [Buffalo] Lodge. Events ended Saturday night with a Dug-Out Party at Greater Pittsburgh Lodge No. 115 on Lincoln Avenue in Pittsburgh's East End.

HHC Detre L&A 0570.32



the United States Army."¹ The first chapter reference by Clark includes the story of protest and triumph over racism in the U.S. Army. Nearly 300 Pittsburghers would be part of this historic regiment in the first wave of recruits.

The second wave of draftees included 500 men between the ages of 21 and 31 who arrived as the first contingent was transferred out. These recruits included some of the college-age Pittsburghers who would later lead the protest and become officers of historic importance. These men were assigned to the 504th and 505th service battalion. They did not carry rifles — instead they had shovels and picks, and were required to do manual labor including scrubbing floors. They were told by the white commanders that "all officers would be white, all non-commissioned officers would be white. But there might be a possibility of some very good soldier becoming a first class private."² In reaction to these conditions, 15 Pittsburghers decided to protest by writing letters, but not just to their families.

The great debate among African Americans was whether to support the war effort in light of the racist treatment of federal workers and the continual rise of racial terror in America. President Woodrow Wilson had segregated federal employees and viewed the racist film *Birth of a Nation* at the White House. *Crisis*

magazine editor W.E.B. Dubois opined that African Americans should fight in the Great War to prove their patriotism and dedication to the nation. The fight against lynching, Jim Crow, and racial violence would be set aside as ranks would be closed around the war effort. The idea was to show loyalty to the nation—their nation—during war and, in turn, white America would open up its democracy to allow full citizenship to African Americans.

The men of the 504th and 505th service battalion found out the hard way that the Army had other ideas. Camp Lee reserved "tents without floors or bedding" for African American soldiers while their white counterparts lived in barracks.³ Those 15 Pittsburgh protesters were reduced to nine but all still wanted to serve in a combat unit. The nine included John Carter Robinson, Donald Jefferson, Austin Norris, William Curtis, Ode Hall, James Haney, Guy Captain, Armour Strothers, and Henry Alfred Dillard. They knew and understood that a combat veteran stood a better chance to attain the American dream than a service veteran. After all, these were college men and law school graduates who interrupted their careers and matriculation at Pitt, Yale, and Carnegie Tech to answer the call of the draft and serve their country.

The committee decided to investigate Camp Lee and also to inform the Secretary of War Newton D. Baker of the issues exhibited at Camp Lee. Baker assigned his newly appointed special assistant for Negro Affairs, Emmett Scott, to visit Camp Lee and further report on the racist conditions there. Only earlier in the year, June 1917, did the War Department establish an African American officers program at Fort Des Moines, Iowa. "On October 14, 1917, in a historical first, the Army commissioned 639 black officers: 106 captains, 329 first lieutenants, and 204 second lieutenants."⁴

The influence of the Pittsburgh Citizens Committee not only brought Emmett Scott to Camp Lee but Vann decided it was best to send clergy to Petersburg rather than an attorney or journalist. So the Rev. Shelton H. Bishop of the Church of the Holy Rosary in Pittsburgh arrived there on November 10, 1917. Rev. Bishop investigated the claims by the Pittsburgh nine and interviewed officers and soldiers and made "promises that he would report back to the 'Home Committee' that conditions were just as bad as claimed."⁵ Within five days of Rev. Bishop's visit, 15 men, including the Pittsburgh protesters, were transferred to Camp Meade, Maryland, and assigned to the 351st Field Artillery Regiment. This marked the beginning of another historic advance: for the first time in U.S. military history, an African American artillery regiment was established.

The story does not conclude at Camp Meade. A select few, including the Pittsburgh protesters, were chosen for officers' training school and received commissions as sergeants and later lieutenants in the regiment. The 351st left Camp Meade for France on June 16, 1918. The regiment landed at Brest, France, on June 26 and proceeded to training in Montmorillon, Lathus, Vienne, and Saulge. On August 12, the regiment proceeded to a French artillery range at LaCourtine, Creuse, in central France. The 351st specialized in

firing the 6-inch or 155-millimeter shells and won honors on the range with its gun squads. Finally on October 29, 1918, the 351st attached to the 2nd U.S. Army Division and moved on to several other cities.

Between November 4 and 11, the 351st was part of the attacks at Pagny, Cheminot, Bois Fréhan, and Bois de la Côte Champey in the eastern front along the Moselle River. "The attack on Bois de la Côte and Champey was the last battle in which the 351st took part."⁶

After the armistice of November 11, 1918, the regiment reconnected with its African American lieutenants at Couterens. The delay in rejoining the officers with their artillery regiment was believed by some to be intentional

and part of the speculation that the Army was continuing to undermine the development of African American fighting men. Regardless of those circumstances, the 351st Field Artillery Regiment served the United States and the city of Pittsburgh proudly during World War I. 🌟

Logo: *Spirit Form* Freedom Corner Monument, Pittsburgh, Pa., © artist Carlos F. Peterson.

¹ John Clark, "The 351st Field Artillery History AEF 1918" in 351st Field Artillery AEF 1918: Reunion, August 20, 21, 22, 1942.

² Ibid., 11.

³ Gail Buckley, *American Patriots: The Story of Blacks in the Military From the Revolution to Desert Storm* (New York: Random House, 2001).

⁴ Ibid., 178.

⁵ Clark, 12.

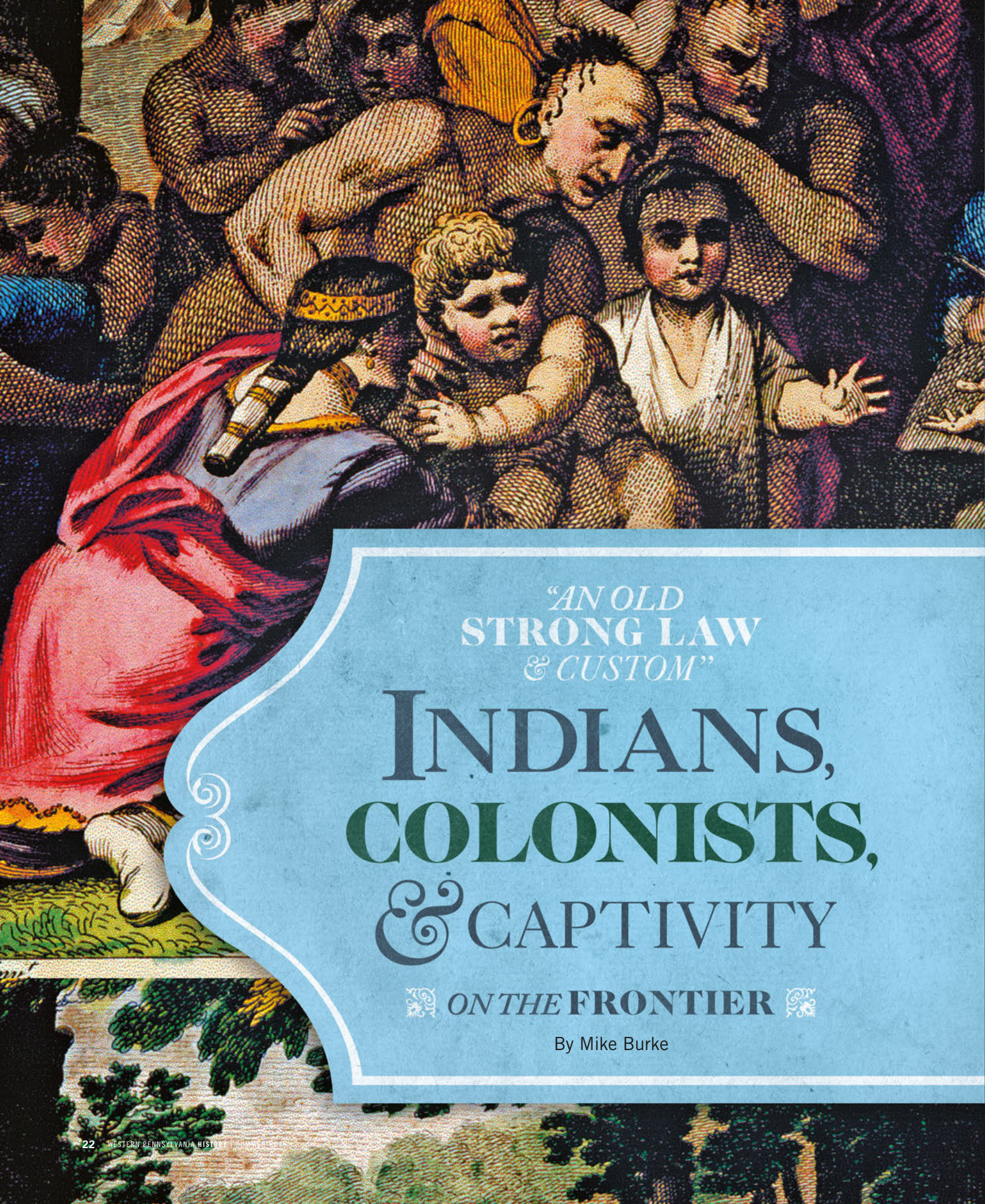
⁶ Ibid., 21.

Uniform of Donald Jefferson.
HHC Collections, gift of Ida Mae Jefferson, 95.57.1.



Lt. Donald Jefferson, one of the original members of the 351st Field Artillery. Jefferson was a graduate of Fifth Avenue High School before enlisting in 1917. After the war he completed his training at the University of Pittsburgh School of Pharmacy and owned the Lincoln Drug Store in East Liberty for 40 years.

HHC Detre L&A.



*"AN OLD
STRONG LAW
& CUSTOM"*

INDIANS, COLONISTS, & CAPTIVITY



ON THE FRONTIER



By Mike Burke

Powder Horn Showing a Female Captive, c. 1760 (Detail)

In addition to an engraved map of Canada, various forts, and sailing ships, this powder horn also illustrates a female captive and several Native warriors. The level of detail in the rendering of both the warriors and the method of binding captives indicates that the carver likely observed the scene first hand. This powder horn is displayed along with another by the same carver as part of the *Captured by Indians* exhibit.

Canadian War Museum.



In 18th-century America, tens of thousands of poor, landless immigrants and their families made the harrowing journey from Western Europe to the shores of North America. Forced by their low economic status to the fringes of colonial society, these relative newcomers made their homes along the frontier region separating Native and colonial America. As a series of bitter wars pitted English, French, and Indian peoples against each other, these border settlements became easy targets for Indian raids in which thousands of European settlers and African slaves were taken prisoner. While some individuals were killed after their capture, many were adopted into Indian communities, taking the place of deceased family members and filling a crucial void in a dwindling population.¹ In the years following their capture, some remained among their adoptive people, living out their days as Indians, while others eventually returned to the frontier settlements from which they were taken. For all captives, however, the memory of their time among the Indians remained with them for the rest of their lives. *Captured by Indians: Warfare & Assimilation on the 18th Century Frontier*, a new exhibition at the Fort Pitt Museum, explores this critical element of the frontier experience, and its enduring legacy in Euro, African, and Indian communities.

BEFORE THE MAYFLOWER

Long before the first Europeans arrived in North America, Native peoples engaged in countless wars throughout the continent.² Despite the diverse nature of those involved, many groups ascribed to a relatively standard code of warfare that had spread over vast distances and between groups without so much as a common language. Its tenets reflected a common ancestral origin, or perhaps the common influence of a once strong, but vanished people. From this unwritten protocol, the majority of tribes east of the Mississippi derived a surprisingly universal set of rules, expectations, and consequences that guided their behavior in wartime.³

In addition to killing as many of the enemy as necessary or possible, taking prisoners was among the key motivations of any conflict.⁴ Seized in the heat of battle or during a raid, the choice to take a particular prisoner might have seemed entirely random, but the circumstances of their captivity were anything but chance. Most were chosen according to their age, physical attributes, behavior, or other characteristics that their captors judged desirable. For their part, Native warriors had to be particular. While some of their prisoners were destined for ritual execution or a life of servitude, the destruction wrought by warfare,

disease, and other causes meant that they were increasingly obligated to bring back a precise number of replacements for deceased family members.⁵ Following their capture, the prisoners were bound and marched, sometimes hundreds of miles, to distant villages that eagerly awaited their arrival.

The adoption of members of rival tribes was remarkable in an era that preceded modern notions of pan-Indianism by several centuries. Indeed, many Indian peoples' names for themselves—Lenni Lenape for instance—translate to *the real, true or original people*.⁶ To pre-contact Indians, members of other tribes

Centuries prior to European colonization, Indians east of the Mississippi established an unwritten protocol for taking captives in wartime. Engraving from Joseph-Francois Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, 1724.

Private Collection.



32.

The death of a loved one through warfare, disease, or even natural causes frequently initiated the search for a captive to take their place. Nineteenth-century engraving.

Private Collection.

were often regarded as less than “full human beings,” which makes the development of the captivity ritual all the more remarkable as a model of practical adaptability.⁷ Later, when a few clusters of isolated settlement turned into a full-scale invasion from across the sea, it provided a valuable mechanism for survival.

When Europeans arrived in North America in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, clinging to survival and vastly outnumbered by Native peoples, they unwittingly became players in a struggle for power that extended centuries into the past.⁸ While their presence did not fundamentally alter existing modes of Indian warfare and captive taking, it did influence them in several important ways. First, as European settlements grew in number and pushed further west, they gradually displaced coastal Native groups and generated friction with those further inland. The wars sparked by these continual infractions in turn claimed the lives of many warriors, creating an increased demand for captives even as those who did the capturing were being killed.⁹ Second, while European settlement advanced somewhat slowly across the continent, the diseases they brought with them spread rapidly, triggering a nearly endless cycle of epidemics to which Indians bore no natural immunities.¹⁰ The devastation wrought by warfare and disease caused further tension with Europeans and drove the demand for captives to replace those lost to the destruction. Throughout the early period of colonialism, the “old strong law and custom” of captivity and adoption provided Natives with a framework well suited to incorporate the newcomers.¹¹

By the mid-18th century, both colonists and Indians could look back on a long history of warfare, disease, and retribution. As the increasing value of the North American continent set the French and British Empires on a collision course, a string of progressively



INDIAN PARENTS AT THEIR CHILDREN'S GRAVE



THE DEVASTATION WROUGHT BY WARFARE AND DISEASE CAUSED FURTHER TENSION WITH EUROPEANS AND DROVE THE DEMAND FOR CAPTIVES TO REPLACE THOSE LOST TO THE DESTRUCTION.



The ferocious Iroquois warrior in this print personified frontier settlers' fears about Indians in the late 18th century. Engraving from Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, *Encyclopedie de Voyages*, 1795.

Private Collection.



WHEN EUROPEANS ARRIVED IN NORTH AMERICA IN THE LATE 16TH AND EARLY 17TH CENTURIES, CLINGING TO SURVIVAL AND VASTLY OUTNUMBERED BY NATIVE PEOPLES, THEY UNWITTINGLY BECAME PLAYERS IN A STRUGGLE FOR POWER THAT EXTENDED CENTURIES INTO THE PAST

brutal colonial wars brought unprecedented destruction to both Indian communities and border settlements. Often pitting one group squarely against the other, the level of violence and the number of casualties transformed captivity from a facet of Native warfare to a primary motivation, at the same time establishing it as a central element of the frontier experience.¹² By the mid-1760s, there was hardly a backcountry settlement or Native village that was not in some way affected.¹³

THE FRONTIER

The continued migration of large numbers of Scots-Irish and German settlers prior to the French and Indian War created a long frontier of settlement stretching from New York to Georgia. During the French and Indian War these settlements effectively functioned as a buffer to Indian attacks on eastern settlements, a fact that many colonial legislators were content to accept without interference.¹⁴ Following Braddock's Defeat in 1755, both raiding and captive-taking accelerated at an alarming rate, with the primary recipients being the Delaware, Shawnee, and Western Seneca towns scattered throughout the Ohio Country.¹⁵ By the mid-18th century, these groups had developed a strong regional identity apart from their tribal affiliation and established dozens of multi-ethnic communities to the west of the mountains.¹⁶ Beyond the effective control of the British-allied Iroquois who claimed dominion over the region, they raided with virtual impunity absorbing hundreds if not thousands of captives from the Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland frontiers.¹⁷

A young girl named Mary Jemison was typical of those who were taken captive. Born on the sea voyage from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1743, her family settled on the frontier west of Philadelphia. In 1755, she and her family were captured by

a mixed French and Shawnee war party and marched toward Fort Duquesne at the Forks of the Ohio River. Fearing pursuit, the warriors killed and scalped the rest of Mary's family, keeping only her and a young boy as captives. Following their arrival at the French fort, she was given to two Seneca women and later adopted in a ceremony that expressed not only their joy at her arrival, but also their sadness at the loss of the great warrior, whose place she took.¹⁸

And why do we mourn [him]? Though he fell on the field of the slain, with glory he fell, and his spirit went up to the land of his fathers in war! Then why do we mourn? With transports of joy they received him, and fed him, and clothed him, and welcomed him there! Oh friends, he is happy; then dry up your tears! His spirit has seen our distress, and sent us a helper whom with great pleasure we greet. Dickewamis [Jemison's Indian name, which meant "a pretty girl, a handsome girl, or a pleasant, good thing"¹⁹] has come: then let us receive her with joy! She is handsome and pleasant! Oh! she is our sister, and gladly we welcome her here. In the place of our brother she stands in our tribe. With care we will guard her from trouble; and may she be happy till her spirit shall leave us.²⁰

In the years following her capture, Jemison, who honored the final request of her biological mother by maintaining her English name and language skills, became a beloved and accepted member of her community, marrying twice and raising several children. Despite nearly being returned to Fort Pitt during the French and Indian War, she remained with her adoptive people for the rest of her life. Ironically, her tribal identity allowed her a unique opportunity to honor the memory of her original family, which would not have been possible in white society. In accordance with the matrilineal structure of Seneca culture, her children were all known by the surname Jemison, and her descendants in Iroquoia still proudly trace their lineage to her to this day.²¹

Sketch of Mary Jemison, c. 1830

This sketch of Mary Jemison, the "White Woman of the Genesee," was made from life shortly before her death in 1833. Born of Irish parents in 1743, raised on the American frontier, and captured during childhood, her experience was typical of backcountry captives. Jemison was emblematic of the many captives who never returned to their frontier homes and families following their adoption into Native families.

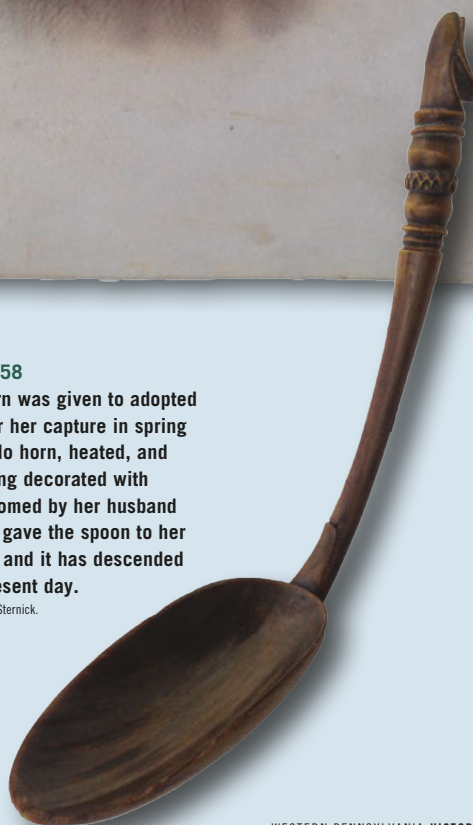
Anonymous Lender. Photo by Jaclyn Sternick.



Catharine Bard Spoon, c. 1758

This spoon made from a horn was given to adopted captive Catharine Bard after her capture in spring 1758. It was cut from buffalo horn, heated, and molded to shape before being decorated with carving and file work. Ransomed by her husband Richard in 1760, Catharine gave the spoon to her youngest daughter, Martha, and it has descended in the female line to the present day.

Private Collection of Ann Bunis. Photo by Jaclyn Sternick.



THE BRITISH ADVANCE

Though continually vulnerable to Indian attack, the settlers' prolonged exposure on the frontier ensured that each successive generation was better equipped in the art of forest warfare than the last. By the end of the French and Indian War, the western counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland supplied not only a steady stream of settlers, but legions of young men who had grown up fighting Indians on the frontier. Unlike settlers of earlier generations, these young backwoodsmen entered the forest on a more equal footing with their Native adversaries and saw little merit in passive settlement of the backcountry.²²

Following the French and Indian War and the ill-fated revolt of Great Lakes and Ohio Country tribes led by the Ottawa war chief Pontiac, an expedition was organized to reclaim all the captives taken during the previous decade. Departing from Fort Pitt in the fall of 1764, the expedition was led by Colonel Henry Bouquet and manned by soldiers of the Royal American and Highland Regiments as well as a volunteer regiment

of backwoodsmen from Pennsylvania and Virginia. Unlike the soldiers of British regiments, the volunteers were drawn directly from the frontiers and many looked forward to reclaiming family and friends from among the captives.²³

One such soldier was William Kincade, whose pregnant wife Eleanor had been taken, along with their three children, near the Calf Pasture River in Augusta County, Virginia. After enduring the murder of two of her children and a grueling march to the Delaware towns in present-day Ohio, a family history recounts that Eleanor was adopted into the family of the noted chief Tamaqua, or King Beaver.²⁴ Though their names were not mentioned, her reunion with her husband William was described in William Smith's 1765 account of the expedition:

Among the captives, a woman was brought into the camp at Muskingum, with a babe about three months old at her breast. One of the Virginia volunteers soon knew her to be his wife, who had been taken by the Indians about six months before. She was immediately delivered to her overjoyed husband. He flew with her to his tent and clothed her and his child in proper apparel.²⁵

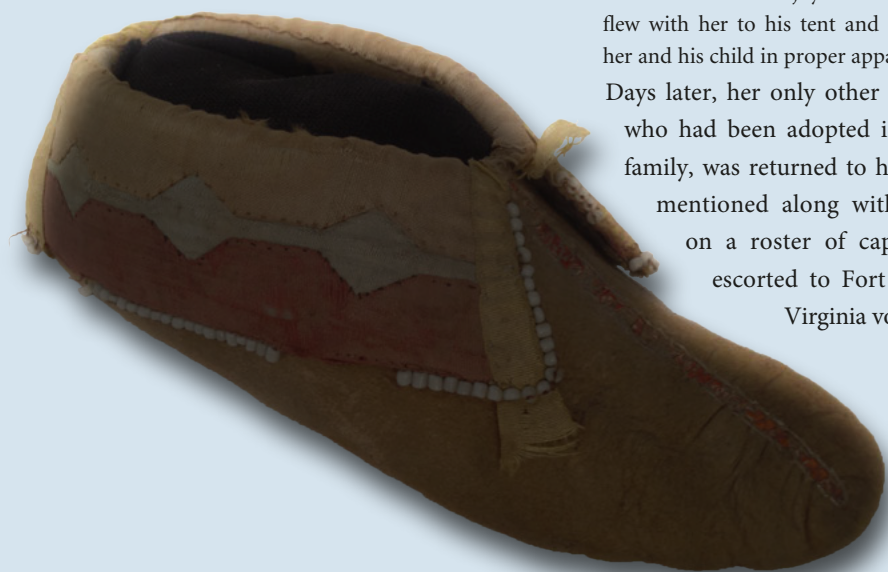
Days later, her only other living child, who had been adopted into another family, was returned to her. They are mentioned along with 21 others on a roster of captives being escorted to Fort Pitt by the Virginia volunteers.²⁶

THE BLOODY RIVER

While many frontier residents became the unfortunate victims of Indian raiding, they also ignored repeated royal mandates to remain east of the Allegheny Mountains in their aggressive settlement of the western country. Viewing Indians as an obstacle to their progress, and led by uncompromising men such as Michael Cresap and George Rogers Clark, these backwoods residents increasingly crossed borders for offensive actions against Indians.²⁷ By the spring of 1774, British authority in the West had eroded and a flood of settlers had drifted down the Ohio River from Fort Pitt to Wheeling and beyond.²⁸ Emboldened by the lack of authority in the region, rogue bands of frontiersmen began committing atrocities of their own, renewing the cycle of bloodshed that had hardly ceased for a moment during the previous two decades.²⁹

In retaliation for the massacre of Cayuga leader John Logan's family at Yellow Creek, which Charles Lee called an "impious, black piece of work," Shawnee and Mingo war parties descended on the frontiers with renewed vengeance.³⁰ The Virginians, both in Williamsburg and in the backcountry, were quick to take advantage of the situation, mounting a brief but decisive campaign known as Dunmore's War, named after the colony's royal governor.³¹ As a condition of the Shawnee defeat at the Battle of Point Pleasant in October, most of the prisoners taken since the commencement of hostilities were returned.³²

The triumph was short lived, however, as less than a year later, longstanding tensions between the British and their colonial subjects finally came to a head at the battles of Lexington and Concord. With the British now eager to attack the frontiers from their western outposts at Detroit and Niagara, the colonial American leaders at Fort Pitt soon found themselves struggling to keep the peace between the Indians and their own unruly people.³³



Child's Moccasin, Late 18th / Early 19th Century

Among the first articles captives received on the trail were deerskin moccasins, which made them more difficult to track and protected bare feet from thorns and brambles. Upon their adoption, most captives received a full complement of Native clothing, which often included more elaborately decorated footwear such as this child's moccasin adorned with beads and silk ribbon work.

Fuller Collection. Photo by Jaclyn Sternick.

THE REVOLUTION IN INDIAN COUNTRY

The years of the American Revolution witnessed not only a shift in power, but also a shift in the nature of the captivity ritual. As British and colonial forces met on the hallowed battlefields of the East, most Native groups in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes struggled to maintain neutrality before eventually siding with the British. Finding peace with the encroaching Americans to be unsustainable, the war in the West was often characterized by mixed Indian and British raids on frontier settlements to the west of the Blue Ridge Mountains and south of the Ohio River. Though captives continued to be taken and adopted throughout the war, captured white frontiersmen, particularly the hated Virginians, were often treated as enemy warriors, enduring brutal torture and death to satisfy the grief of the community. Following the massacre of 96 Christian Delawares at the Moravian mission town of Gnadenhütten in 1782, the Ohio tribes could stand no more. Subsequently defeating an American force led by Colonel William Crawford, they burned many of their prisoners, including the commander, at the stake.³⁴ According to John Slover, a former captive and guide for Crawford's army, the Great Lakes and Ohio tribes also made a pact, which reflected not only their exacerbation at the seemingly endless war, but also a fracture in the ancient ritual of captivity."

When prisoners are brought in, we are obliged to maintain them, and still some of them run away and carry tidings of our affairs to the enemy. When any of our people fall into the hands of the Rebels, they show no mercy—why then should you take any prisoners? My children, take no more prisoners of any sort—man, woman, or child.³⁵

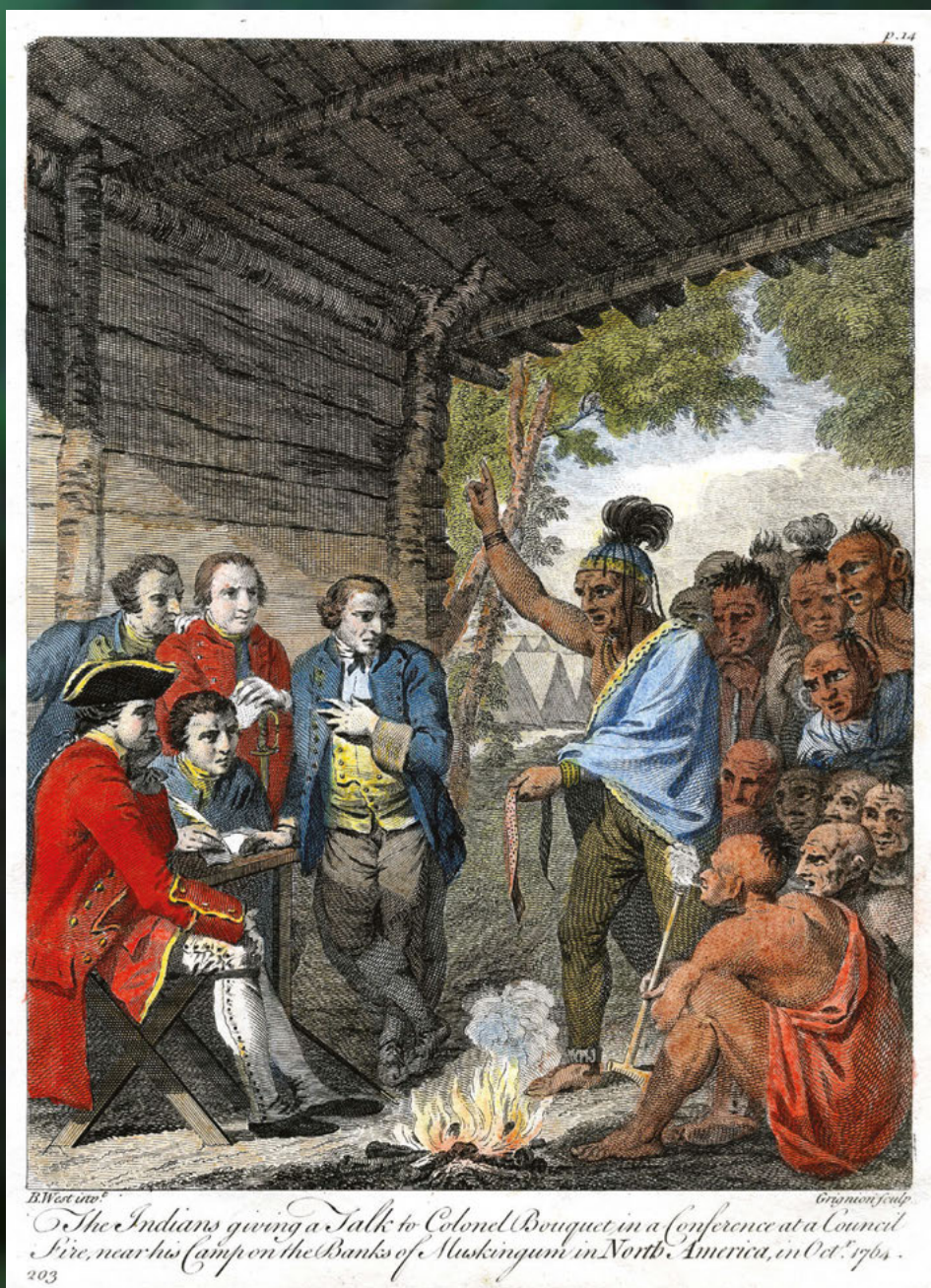
While survivors' accounts from the battle must be read with a critical eye, due to heavy editorializing by their compiler, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the sentiments are in line with Ohio and Great Lakes Indian

Benjamin West, *The Indians Delivering up the English Captives to Colonel Bouquet near his camp at the forks of Muskingum in North America in November 1764, 1765* The return of the captives to Bouquet's army was a joyous occasion for some, and one filled with sorrow for others. Those taken as children, many of whom had no memory of their English-speaking families or even their names, were once again ripped from the arms of their families to be returned to English society. The Indians too "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."

Ohio Historical Society.



AMONG THE CAPTIVES, A WOMAN WAS BROUGHT INTO THE CAMP AT MUSKINGUM, WITH A BABE...ONE OF THE VIRGINIA VOLUNTEERS SOON KNEW HER TO BE HIS WIFE.



Benjamin West, *The Indians Giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet in a conference at a Council Fire Near his Camp on the Banks of Muskingum in America, in October 1764, 1765* Forced to return all of the captives they had taken during the French and Indian War, many of whom had become beloved family members, the Indians exhorted the English to treat their returning kin with tenderness. This was one of a pair of engravings that accompanied William Smith's 1765 account of Bouquet's expedition to the Muskingum.

Private Collection.

frustration following the cold-blooded killings at Gnaddenhutten.³⁶ As the endemic cycle of raiding and retribution steadily intensified through the years of the Revolution, Indians saw fewer chances of reconciliation with Americans who had no mind for peaceful coexistence, a situation that ultimately caused them to question the continued relevance of one of their most cherished customs.

Even in the midst of a brutal war with an increasingly racial component, Indians still found desirable adoptees among their most bitter enemies. Jonathan Alder was a young man when he was captured in southwestern Virginia in 1782. Alder lived with the Indians in present-day Ohio for 13 years, gradually becoming a trusted hunter and friend to his adoptive people. An impartial observer of the latter years of the long Indian war that began in 1755, his memoir recounts his love for his Indian family and friends and sensitivity toward their plight as their country was gradually overrun with white settlers. Remaining in the area of Plain City, Ohio, through the early pioneer period, the former captive became an important mediator between his white neighbors and the Indians with whom he always identified.³⁷

Opposite (Left):

"List of Captives taken by the Indians and deliver'd to Colonel Bouquet by the Mingoes, Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots & Mohickans at Tuscarawas and Muskingum in November 1764"

Detail of a 1764 list of captives returned to Henry Bouquet showing "Eleanor Kincade" and her two children, the youngest of which was born during her time in captivity. The same list contains the names of other famous Pittsburghers including Continental Army Officer John Gibson and Thomas Smallman, for whom Smallman Street is named.

Fort Pitt Museum

Opposite (Right):

Ulery Cabin Door, c. 1775

Detail of the door of the Ulery family cabin near Ligonier, Pa. During an Indian raid, the family patriarch fired his gun through the door, wounding one of the Native warriors and saving the lives of those inside. Long after the cabin was torn down, the door was preserved in the family.

Fort Ligonier Association. Photo by Jaclyn Sternick.

In the years following the American Revolution, the few Indians remaining in the Ohio Country were gradually pushed west.³⁸ Despite their great victory over Arthur St. Clair in 1791, a united group of Great Lakes and Ohio Indians was soundly defeated by an American army under Anthony Wayne in 1794. The Treaty of Greenville the following year became, as many treaties past, another opportunity to repatriate large numbers of captives who had been taken in the previous conflicts.³⁹ Former captive Williams Wells was one of the interpreters, and among those returned was a young man named John Brickell, taken just two miles from Pittsburgh in 1791, who faced a difficult decision.⁴⁰ His elderly Indian father, Whingwy Pooshies, explained the choice to him:

My son, these are men the same color as yourself; there may be some of your kin here, or your kin may be a great way off from you; you have lived a long time with us; I call on you to say if I have not been a father to you?... If you choose to go with the people of your color, I have no right to say a word; but if you choose

to stay with me, your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it, and take your choice; and tell us as soon as you make up your mind.⁴¹

After a few moments, during which he reflected on his Indian family and friends, as well as “my people, whom I remembered,” Brickell announced his decision to leave. His heartbroken Indian father expressed his grief in words that characterized the hope he placed in his adopted son:

I have raised you—I have learned you to hunt. You are a good hunter—you have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old and cannot hunt; I thought you would be a support to my age; I leaned on you as on a staff. Now it is broken—you are going to leave me, and I have no right to say a word—but I am ruined.⁴²

After his repatriation, Brickell never saw his Indian father again, though the memory of their parting clearly haunted him. His decision to leave reflected the complexity of the captive experience and the notions of family, friendship, race, and ethnicity that it challenged. Like so many

others, Brickell carried the memory of his time as a captive with him for the rest of his life. His experience and theirs, recorded in numerous narratives, remind us that the frontier and its people often defied not only territorial boundaries, but also those between white and red, freedom and confinement, and war and peace. Through their trials and triumphs, joys and heartbreaks, they also affirm that compassion and understanding are possible, even in a world of profound cruelty and seemingly endless violence. ☀

Mike Burke is the Exhibit Specialist at the Fort Pitt Museum. He would like to acknowledge the FPM staff for their assistance in compiling the research materials used in this article and the *Captured by Indians* exhibit.

¹ Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 210.

² Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 28-29.

³ Compare the various elements of the captivity ritual among groups as diverse as the Kanawake

EVEN IN THE MIDST OF A BRUTAL WAR WITH AN INCREASINGLY RACIAL COMPONENT, INDIANS STILL FOUND DESIRABLE ADOPTEES AMONG THEIR MOST BITTER ENEMIES.

13	John Freeling...		
	<u>Females.</u>		
1	Barbara Rigar...	ditto	1758
2	Dorethy Rigar...	ditto	do:
3	Margaret Sivers...	ditto	do:
4	Elizabeth Sivers...	ditto	do:
5	Catharine Sivers...	ditto	do:
6	Mary Lancisco...	ditto	1755
7	her Child...		
8	Elizabeth Foster...	ditto	1764
9	Eleanor Kincade...	ditto	do:
10	And two children		
11			





Mather Brown, *Portrait of Major John Norton as Mohawk Chief Teyoninhokarawen*, c. 1805
John Norton, Jr., whose Cherokee father was captured by a Highland soldier during the French & Indian War, was the product of a rare instance of reverse captivity. Raised in Scotland, he joined the British Army and came to North America following the Revolution. After deserting from the army, he met and became a favorite of the Iroquois war chief Joseph Brant, eventually being adopted by the Mohawk. A man of mixed ancestry who deftly navigated cultural boundaries, he served as an interpreter and advocate of Native rights, eventually leaving Canada for the Cherokee settlements in modern-day Arkansas.

Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.



THROUGH THEIR TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS, JOYS AND HEARTBREAKS, THEY ALSO AFFIRM THAT COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING ARE POSSIBLE.

Mohawks that raided Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1704 with Great Lakes Algonquins in the 17th century, and to later captives taken by Delaware and Shawnee in the Ohio Country. See John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1994), 21-39. For Algonquin adoption rituals, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 18. For common threads in various tribes' captivity rituals see Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 151-152. For a broad comparison of 17th and 18th century captivities across colonial America, see James Axtell, "The White Indians of Colonial America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 1975): 55-88.

⁴ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, 3. Describing the siege of an Algonquin fort by Iroquois-speaking neutrals in the 1640s, White notes that the victorious neutrals "retained eight hundred captives—men, women and children." While 70 warriors were tortured and killed, many others including most of the women and children were later adopted.

⁵ Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975), 151-152.

⁶ Ives Goddard, "Delaware" Chapter in W.C. Sturdevant, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15, Bruce G. Trigger, Volume Editor (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 235-236.

⁷ Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 37.

⁸ White, *The Middle Ground*, 1-3. During the 1650s and 1660s, the Iroquois had ravaged Algonquin peoples in series of conflicts known as the Beaver Wars, taking many lives and capturing large numbers of the enemy for purposes both torture and adoption.

⁹ The spread of Anglo-European settlements along the Pennsylvania frontier is a prime example. As settlers pushed further west in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, large numbers of Delaware chose to relocate to the Ohio Country. When the French and Indian War escalated after Braddock's Defeat in 1755, the same Indians, joined by Shawnee, Western Seneca, and various French allied Natives relentlessly raided the Pennsylvania frontier, taking large numbers of captives.

¹⁰ Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 42-45.

¹¹ John J. Barsotti and William Darlington, eds., *Scoouwa: James Smith's Indian Captivity Narrative* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1978), 31.

¹² For a first person account of Indians' reasons for taking captives in the violent period just after Braddock's Defeat, see William and Elizabeth Fleming, *A narrative of the sufferings and surprizing deliverances of William and Elizabeth Fleming, who were taken captive by Capt. Jacob, commander of the Indians, who lately made the incursions on the frontiers of Pennsylvania* (Boston: Greene and Russell, 1756), 10. Accessed online at: <http://name.umd.umich.edu/N06034.0001.001>.

¹³ Ian K. Steele, *Setting All the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment and Recollection in Allegheny Country* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013). For an overview of those killed or captured within a 200-mile radius of Fort Pitt through the mid-1760s, see Table 4 on page 436.

¹⁴ Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 109.

¹⁵ James Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1999), 92-93.

¹⁶ Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires*, 52.

¹⁷ McConnell, *A Country Between*, 207-210. See also Steele, *Setting All the Captives Free*, 436.

¹⁸ Mary Jemison, narrative printed in Kathryn Derounian-Stodola, ed. *Womens' Indian Captivity Narratives* (New York: Penguin Group, 1998), 131-142.

¹⁹ Ibid., 143.

²⁰ Ibid., 142.

²¹ Ibid., 148.

²² Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940), 161.

²³ William Smith, *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in 1764* (Lewisburg: Wennawoods Publishing, 2009), 46.

²⁴ "The Families Kinkead, Stephenson, Garrett, Martin and Dunlap," by Laura Kinkead Walton. Cites a letter from John Kinkead, grandson of William Kinkead/Eleanor Guy, to his son Blackburn, Cane Spring, Ky., April 20, 1847. Family history found online at: <http://worldconnect.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=adgedge&id=I41485>.

²⁵ Smith, *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition*, 65.

²⁶ Henry Bouquet to Thomas Gage, "List of Captives taken by Indians in Augusta County, Virginia going home under the care of Col. McNeill, Volunteers. with a Return of the Necessaries delivered to them at Muskingum & Ft. Pitt," University of Michigan, Clememts Library, Gage Papers, November 30, 1764.

²⁷ Downes, *Council Fires*, 158-164.

²⁸ McConnell, *A Country Between*, 270. Virginia governor, Lord Dunmore, estimated that 10,000 settlers had entered the lands south of the Ohio.

²⁹ Downes, *Council Fires*, 158-162.

³⁰ Ibid., 164. For more on Logan's campaign of personal vengeance following his family's massacre, see "Logan's War," a column by Alan D. Gutchess in this issue.

³¹ For an overview of the campaign, see Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds. *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), ix-xxviii.

³² Ibid., see letter of Lord Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, 368-395.

³³ Downes, *Council Fires*, 179-184.

³⁴ See the account of John Slover, one of those captured with Crawford's forces, printed in Frederick Drimmer, ed., *Captured by the Indians: 15 Firsthand Accounts, 1750-1870* (New York: Dover Publications, 1961), 130-141.

³⁵ Ibid., 137

³⁶ Daniel P. Barr, "A Monster So Brutal: Simon Girty and the Degenerative Myth of the American Frontier, 1783-1900," (essaysinhistory) *The Annual Journal produced by the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia*. Accessed at: <http://www.essaysinhistory.com/articles/2012/114>.

³⁷ Larry J. Nelson, ed., *A History of Jonathan Alder: His Captivity and Life with the Indians* (Akron: The University of Akron Press, 2002).

³⁸ Colin G. Calloway, *The Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 287-288.

³⁹ Nelson, ed. *A History of Jonathan Alder*, 109-117. In his account of the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794) and Treaty of Greenville the following year, Alder gives what is essentially an Ohio Indian perspective.

⁴⁰ Paul A. Hutton, "William Wells: Frontier Scout and Indian Agent," *Indiana Magazine of History* 74 (1978): 183-222. Accessed at: <http://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/imh/article/view/10110/13931>.

⁴¹ "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity Among the Delaware Indians," in John S. Williams, ed., *The American Pioneer: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to the Objects of the Logan County Historical Society* (Cincinnati: John S. Williams, 1844), 43-56.

⁴² Ibid., 54.



**RICH
ENGLER**

IN CONCERT



**RICH
ENGLER**

IN CONCERT



**RICH
ENGLER**

IN CONCERT



**RICH
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RICH ENGLER

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RICH ENGLER

BONA FIDE PITTSBURGH
MUSIC SCENE LEGEND,
HAS LIVED A CERTIFIABLY

**ROCK & ROLL
LIFE.**

Not the kind that finds him either mobbed by legions of adoring fans or sleeping one off in a gutter near you. Instead, both on his own and as one-half of the DiCesare-Engler empire, he spent nearly 50 years bringing the world's most popular (as well as some of the most cutting-edge) music to Pittsburgh as a concert promoter. According to his count, he presented up to 5,000 shows, while also becoming co-owner of Pittsburgh's famed Stanley Theatre.

By Rob Conroy

Rich Engler's band Grains of Sand on tour in Ottawa, Canada, 1967, being driven to a concert in the Monkeemobile. From left: Bob Weiler, Rich, Terry Knoebel, Tony Pierce, Dave Darmour.

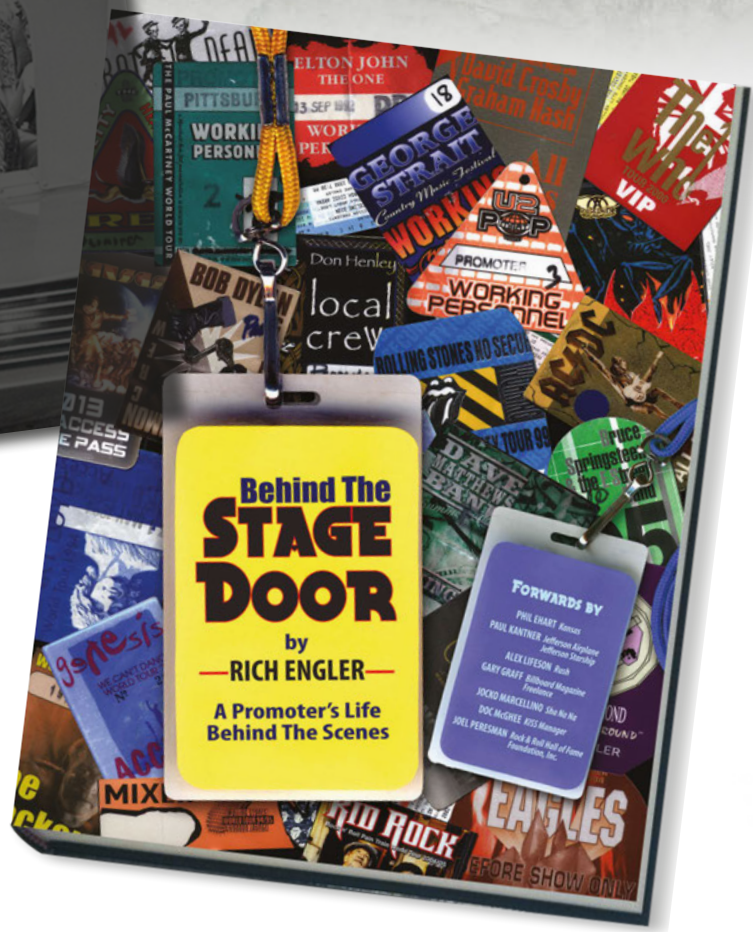
“**F**or a kid growing up in Creighton, Pennsylvania, from watching Elvis Presley’s wiggle being blotted out by a screen on *The Ed Sullivan Show* to rubbing shoulders with the superstars—it’s been quite a thrilling ride.” Creighton, Engler notes, is so small that it “still has one traffic light and they probably don’t even need that.”

Now, just over a decade after he stepped down from his position as the Regional President/CEO of Clear Channel Entertainment, Engler is both back in the promoting business and happily shedding some light on the vagaries of that ride. In December 2013, he published his first book, *Behind the Stage Door: A Promoter's Life Behind the Scenes*. The paperback chronicles the story of his life as a promoter through the most memorable—or at least the most printable—of 80 backstage stories (or “tracks” as he calls them) from all periods of his concert-promoting career. “I called the chapters ‘tracks’ because I wanted them to be like a record.”

There are not many promoters out there with the memory, experience, or storytelling ability to pull off such a project. Additionally, promoters fill a unique and oft-neglected spot in the music business, one that has to balance a sixth sense for which bands to book months in advance with an equally strong ability to anticipate what bands will want. That means catering to a band's or artist's needs, often

at a moment's notice and to great financial detriment if the requests or pre-show problems are not rectified. The book reads like a breezy collection of vignettes filled with near-disasters (a 1981 Ozzy Osbourne show at the York County Fairgrounds for which Engler's York staff had neglected to hire security), endearingly bizarre interactions (Frank Zappa proselytizing on a very personal and unpaid level for then-New York Governor Mario Cuomo's ill-fated Presidential bid), and enduring friendships with music-business professionals (Graham Nash, Huey Lewis, guitarist Alex Lifeson of Rush). Still, there's an underlying sense of Engler's hustle and genuine dedication on nearly every page.

As remarkable as Engler's journey has been, though, the fact that Engler put the whole thing together without the aid of contemporaneous diaries or notes is even more noteworthy. "These experiences are all ingrained in my brain," he says, partially because he did not fall into the trap that so many music-business professionals do. "Never took any drugs and that's how I survived. That's how I was able to be a successful businessman and remember all



these things. I have no fried cells!"

Lifetime music fan that he is, Engler did not enter the music industry as a businessman but rather as a musician playing drums in a high school band—despite being a trumpet player. As Engler tells it, the bass player for the Royals, a surf band at his high school, told him that if he played drums he could show up for the band’s Saturday practice. There was only one catch—Engler had drumsticks but did not have a drum kit. So he improvised, using whatever components he could rustle up. “My Dad’s friend had some conga drums and bongo drums and I thought I could create a makeshift set—and I borrowed a cymbal from the band room and a stand. So I show up at my first practice and the other guys go, ‘What is this?’ And I go, ‘Oh, *this* is the latest thing.’ And they said, ‘You have no bass drum!’ And I said, ‘Well, you play bass—that’s enough to carry it!’

* Quotes in this article are taken from an interview conducted by the author in March and June 2014.

When the Royals played their first wedding gig a week or two later, Engler was sufficiently impressed by the amount of money he netted—\$25 for doing something that he loved—that he convinced his father to help him finance his own drum set. Unfortunately, at first he was having trouble paying his parents back because the band leader wasn't booking many gigs, so he took matters into his own hands and asked if he could be the leader of the band so he could book shows for them—his first role in a near-promotional position. "I started getting gigs, we were playing everywhere," he says. "I kept increasing the quality of the band and we were playing and everything was good and all of the sudden February 9, 1964, came along...."

Like nearly every musician of his generation, Engler cites the Beatles' February 9, 1964, appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* as a complete game-changer for music and culture. "I'm watching this thing and I'm going 'Oh shit!'" he says. "These guys are REALLY good and these guys can REALLY sing and I never heard music LIVE—or on TV—that good EVER! In 1964, this was the real deal and I knew we were in big-ass trouble because now everybody's going to want Beatles songs and everything was going to change, so I told the guys right then: we're going start growing our hair tomorrow, no more surf songs.... Thank God for the Kinks—those [early] songs were a whole lot easier to play!"

Ringo Starr and Rich.
Rich Engler

As the Beatles' popularity grew, so did the number of garage bands and so did the dedication of Engler and his bandmates. His band, which would ultimately be named the Grains of Sand, became very successful locally, so much so that they began booking themselves at places like Geneva-on-the-Lake, Ohio, and Daytona Beach, Florida, where they went for one fateful winter in 1968. While in Florida, they gained a super-talented new guitarist for all of one day, a blonde-haired southern gent who had just left his last band, the Allman Joys, after a dust-up with his younger brother Gregg. "Duane Allman was in my band for a

day," he says. "I was just like 'Where did this guy come from?' He was playing stuff that was, like, head over heels of what we were doing, so polished and so cool and I almost talked him into coming up North, but when I told him we lived in Pittsburgh, all bets were off!" According to Engler, Allman also confided to him that he was seriously itching to get back to work with his brother, even though they had come to blows the last time they were in the same room as one another. Needless to say, within a year, the Allman Brothers released their first album and southern rock was born ... but that's another story.



Despite their success with the Grains of Sand, the expenses for such an old building continued to mount—so much so that when the Pittsburgh Cultural Trust approached Dillman's family with an offer to purchase the building and preserve it, they could not pass it up. "We never really felt that we were out in the woods because it's a business—I mean, we made money, we made a good living, but you never knew when it was going to end and the [Stanley] was expensive to operate," he says. "But we were

"Never took any drugs and that's how I survived. That's how I was able to be a successful businessman and remember all these things. I have no fried cells!"



Beach Boys and Rich.
Rich Engler

As rewarding as the musical end of the band could be, as the Grains of Sand's success grew, Engler began getting bookings for his friends' bands as well, mostly because "we couldn't play two places at once." He began collecting 10 percent commission from each show booked and gaining very valuable negotiating experience. "What I didn't know was I was honing my negotiating skills with all these sharks at these clubs who would try to beat you out of the money, saying 'Hey, you started late, you're getting less'.... I learned that I wanted my money first! One thing led to another, and the next thing I know, I have a gigantic corral of acts all depending on me for bookings, so I started putting these other bands in."

Booking bands informally worked fine for awhile, but sometime in 1969 he got a call from the musicians' union informing him that if he were to continue to book bands, he would need to get a "theatrical employment agency license." Although he initially objected to the idea, he ultimately complied and thought that if he was going to do it at all, he was going to go

into it full-time and rent an office on Walnut Street in Shadyside. "That was also the same week that I met my girlfriend and still my wife, Cindy. And I put up a sign, 'Go Attractions: A Theatrical Employment Agency.'" It was a great location with a lot of street traffic. Engler says he had more bands coming in every week and was "making a substantial amount of money with my negotiating skills."

It wasn't long before Engler got a call from a college asking if he was able to book national acts. He had not previously, but after calling management teams in New York and Los Angeles, he got a comprehensive list of acts and their going rates and took his business to a whole new level. "The guy wanted two acts," he says, "and he asked if I could produce the show. I said 'Absolutely.'" And then his gears turned. "Do you need an opening act? I asked him. Because if you do, I got this great band for you: the Grains of Sand. I wasn't just double-dipping, I was triple-dipping! So I'd sell the act to the school for \$5,000, add 10 percent to that for my commission, and my band would maybe get \$1,000, although I never took

'You have to decide what side of the stage you're going to be on—are you going to be behind stage or are you gonna be onstage?'

commission from my band—I was just happy that my band could play."

This arrangement worked out beautifully for Engler. He kept the triple-dipping arrangement at least into 1972, booking national acts in Pittsburgh and other Pennsylvania cities. One such act was Yes, then at their artistic (if not commercial) peak and touring to promote their *Close to the Edge* album; the Grains of Sand were, of course, the opening act. However, this time what had never been a problem became a problem, as Engler tells the story, since Yes arrived when Engler was onstage playing the drums. When Yes's manager found out that Engler, the promoter, was in the opening band instead of being present to cater to his band's every need, he went apoplectic. Although the show wound up going off without a hitch, Engler received a call the next morning from Yes's New York agent, one of his mentors, who was none too pleased. In fact, she could not believe he—the promoter—was playing in the opening band. "She said 'You have to decide what side of the stage you're going to be on—are you going to be behind stage or are you gonna be onstage?' I said, 'I'm going to be behind stage and I'll never play again.' She said, 'Thank you. I'll talk to you later.' I told the band the next day that I was leaving them, and I was both feet on the ground as a full-fledged promoter/booking agent at the same time."

After that Yes show, he shifted gears, focusing exclusively on promoting shows, not just in Pittsburgh but in nearby towns like Johnstown and Erie. Engler is proud of the many “firsts” he brought to Pittsburgh including—as a solo promoter—David Bowie and another act, then completely unknown to Pittsburgh, that proved to be one of the most prescient and profitable relationships into which he entered over the next 15 years. That was the band Genesis, who at that time were on their first small tour of the U.S. By this time, he had changed his business name to Command Performance Agency. “Back in 1972, I was promoting a Lou Reed show at the Alpine Ice Arena at the Forest City exit and I was working with a couple guys from Greensburg called Sideshow Productions. I booked Lou Reed, and the agent told me that I had to take this other act from England and

they were called Genesis.” He was leery, but they were cheap—“either \$500 or \$750”—and his trepidation went away when the show started. “So the show starts, Peter Gabriel walks onstage and he has the flower outfit with the big head and the big yellow petals,” he says. “And people—back then, this was the drug era, man—they were, like, totally freaked out and the band just went over like gangbusters.” He laughs at the memory, but at that point he knew he was onto something. “I knew this band was destined to superstardom and I jumped on their bandwagon. I couldn’t wait to call the next day and say, ‘Hey, when can I get Genesis back?’ And [the agent said], ‘How was Lou?’ And I said, ‘Lou was Lou and it was great, but I want Genesis again.’”

Engler had gotten in on the proverbial ground floor with an artist that gained huge commercial and, at times, critical respect.

Because of that early trust, “we did multiples at Mellon Arena, had them at the Syria Mosque and I had them at the Stanley Theatre, then the big one [in the late ’90s] at Three Rivers Stadium did 55,000 people.”

Which gets to the heart, perhaps, of why Rich Engler was (and is) a great promoter and a Pittsburgh legend. “I always tried to stay ahead of the game—my mind was always thinking about not what was popular now but what was going to be popular tomorrow or next year,” he says. “I would search all the radio and records and *Billboard* and *Cashbox* back then and the British newspapers, and find out what’s going on in Australia and Great Britain and Canada ... wherever these acts were, I always tried to stay ahead. And I still try to do that today but....” He pauses. “Today is a different world.”

But we’re getting ahead of ourselves.



“so I told the guys right then: we’re going start growing our hair tomorrow, no more surf songs.... Thank God for the Kinks—those [early] songs were a whole lot easier to play!”

Despite their success with the Stanley, expenses for such an old building continued to mount—so much so that when the Pittsburgh Cultural Trust approached DiCesare-Engler with an offer to purchase the building and preserve it, they could not pass it up. “We never really felt that we were out of the woods because it’s a business—I mean, we made money, we made a good living, but you never knew when it was going to end and the [Stanley] was expensive to operate,” he says. “But we were

Paul McCartney and Rich Engler

“And for the next 25 years, we basically ruled—little did we know what we were going to achieve.”

In late 1973, Engler got a call from Monroeville-based promoter and real estate mogul Pat DiCesare, the man who had—perhaps most famously—brought Engler’s beloved Beatles to Pittsburgh in September 1964 for their first and only appearance in this town. According to Engler, DiCesare—who has also just published a book about his promoting experiences—made the call because he recognized both Engler’s passion for the music/artists, and his ability to make deals/money. “He wanted to concentrate on real estate and was basically burned out of the music part of it and he said you seem to love what you do. I said I do—I love it every day, the negotiating and everything,” Engler says. “And Pat said this could be a good opportunity: hopefully you’ll make some money in the music side and we can parlay that into the real estate. So we shook hands and DiCesare-Engler Productions was born in the fall of ’73.”

What they achieved is easily tracked through even the most cursory glance at any newspapers between 1973 and 1998: bringing a vast variety of acts to Pittsburgh, plus nearly every concert ad from those years bears the “DiCesare-Engler” stamp. One story we’ll leave for book readers is the amazing bill of Eric Clapton, the Band, and Todd Rundgren in 1975—an amusing story he also makes quite compelling.

In addition to regularly working with the

Civic Arena and being the first promoters to book shows at both Oakland’s much-mourned Syria Mosque and at Three Rivers Stadium, the D-E team were the first to regularly utilize what was then a renovated-but-down-on-its-luck movie house in downtown’s “red light” district called the Stanley Theatre.

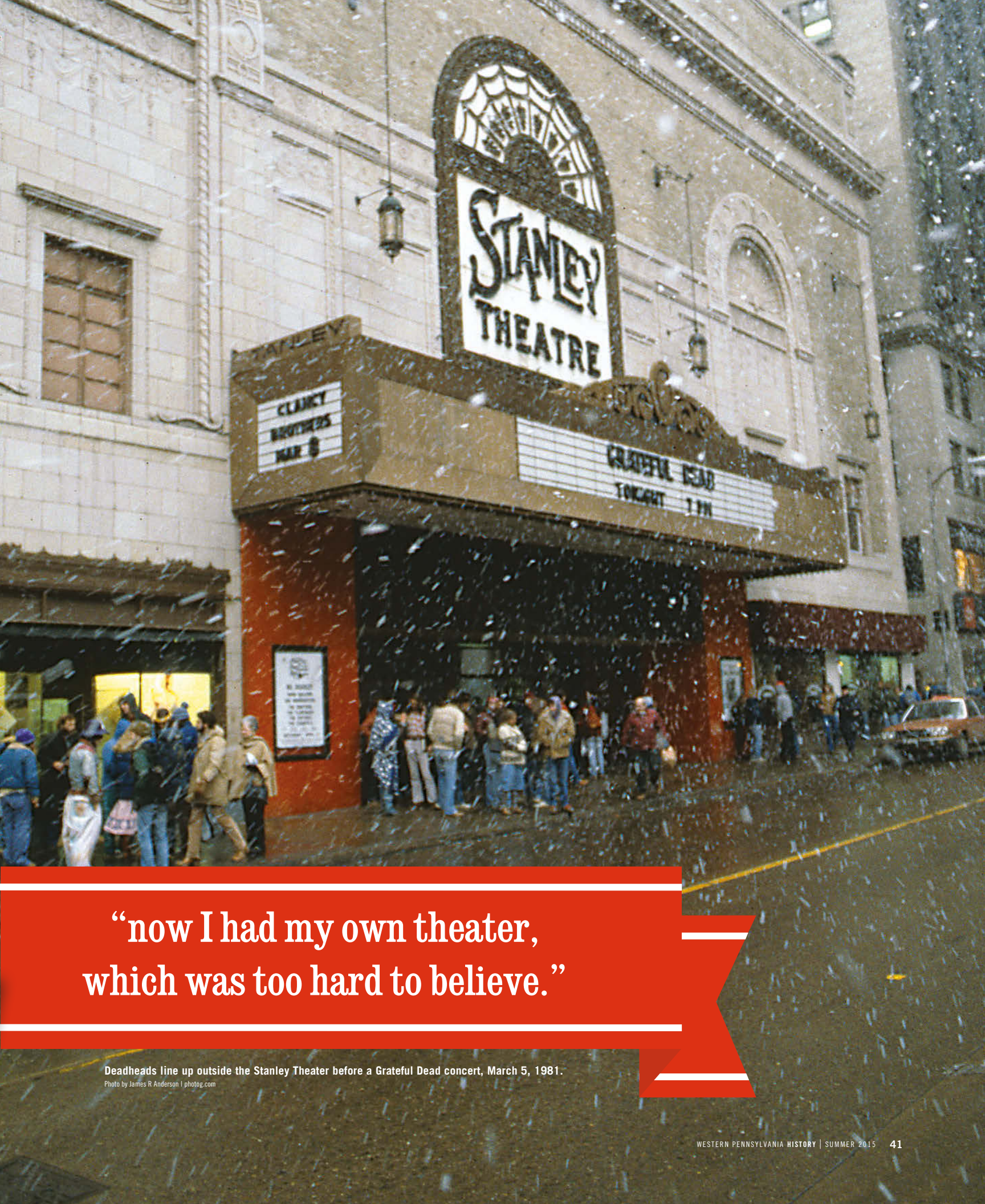
“It was a dying movie theater—with 3,500 seats, it was just too big for that” by the mid-1970s, he says. And it got to a point where every time DiCesare-Engler would put



A 1990s promotional piece for the Civic Arena highlighted its retractable roof.
HMC Detre L&A, Tom Rooney collection, 2010.0245.



Tickets from the collection of Mark Fallon

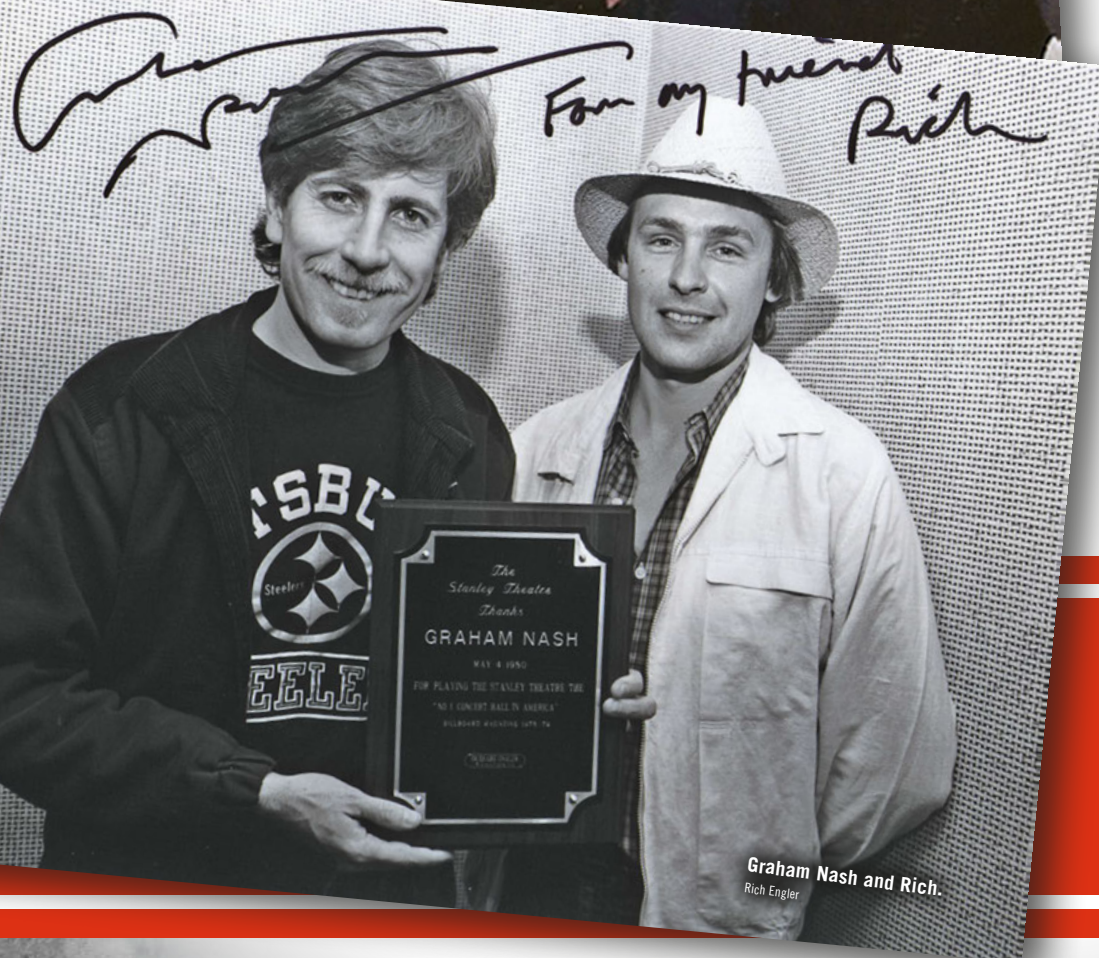
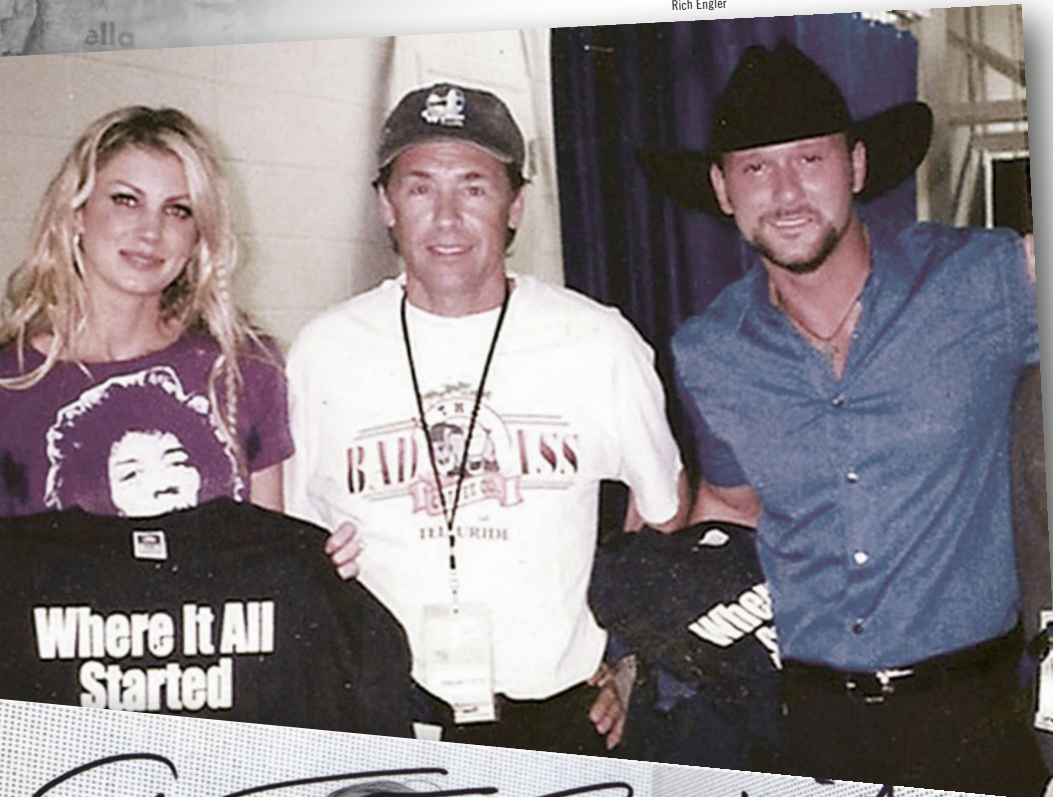


“now I had my own theater,
which was too hard to believe.”

Deadheads line up outside the Stanley Theater before a Grateful Dead concert, March 5, 1981.

Photo by James R. Anderson | photog.com

Faith Hill, Rich, and Tim McGraw.
Rich Engler



Graham Nash and Rich.
Rich Engler

on a show at the Stanley, the house manager would ask the pair what was stopping them from buying the building. Eventually, Engler says, it became an offer they couldn't refuse, and in early 1977, the team took a huge risk and purchased the aging theater. "We took a small business loan from Warner, and Pat and I put everything up," Engler says. "I had to put my house up in the mortgage, Pat had to put his house up, our cars, everything—so if we would've lost, we would've lost our lives."

As a result, Engler & Co. threw everything into making the new Stanley a success. While Engler is by nature a friendly, outgoing guy who loves all aspects of his career, he is rarely more animated than when talking about the early days of the Stanley. "We were running scared but running hot because we knew that we had a facility that we could call home," he says with a smile. "I was, like, possessed with booking. I started not only booking rock 'n' roll, but jazz (Roy Ayers, Al Jarreau), country, rhythm 'n' blues things, comedians (George Carlin, Rodney Dangerfield) ... we took it from a dying movie house to the number one theater in the country, according to *Billboard* magazine [who presented them with an award for that]. Once a couple bands started, everybody wanted to play there—word got out that this is one of the biggest theaters in the country and these guys really want to make it happen."

"Every year, we beat out Radio City Music Hall, we beat the Forum in L.A., we beat everybody—and we weren't in a race, believe me, we just wanted to pay the bills! We had a hell of a mortgage, and huge overhead—the

"Every year, we beat out Radio City Music Hall, we beat the Forum in L.A., we beat everybody"



Inside the restored Benedum.
Pittsburgh Cultural Trust.

cost of heating and cooling that building was monumental for two guys—we weren’t a big corporation, we were two guys with probably 15 employees. We never had backing and we were only as good as our last show.”

But, Engler says, buying the Stanley was “a real turning point not only for us, but for the city because after the deal was closed, we opened the door and started doing shows. Now people had a reason to stay in the city after 5 o’clock; everybody was now eating dinner in the city and going to see a show. It was like a treadmill for me because I did all the booking, I made all the deals with the acts and managers. It was quite thrilling, actually, because I not only was doing something I really loved and my life’s dream, but now I had my own theater, which was too hard to believe.”

Although DiCesare-Engler booked many noteworthy shows throughout the six years that they owned the Stanley Theatre—including the inaugural show in Prince’s eyebrow-raising 1981 “Controversy” tour (“My mouth dropped open when he came out in just women’s underwear simulating sex acts on the stage ... well, the lights were so dark, I don’t know if I should use the word ‘simulate.’ People got a real show!”)—none are as legendary as Bob Marley’s final show on September 23, 1980. Engler firmly believes that Marley, who was already sick with the cancer that took his life eight months later, knew it would be his last performance. “In my wallet, I have a photo of Bob Marley and I which was one of the last pictures of him alive with a guitar in his hand,” he says. “And he knew

in his mind that it was his last show ... and his band kinda knew. And Rita [Bob’s wife] did not want the band to come to Pittsburgh. And he looked so bad, yet performed so beautifully that night that it was amazing.”

Despite their success with the Stanley, expenses for such an old building continued to mount—so much so that when the Pittsburgh Cultural Trust approached DiCesare-Engler with an offer to purchase the building and preserve it, they could not pass it up. “We never really felt that we were out of the woods because it’s a business—I mean, we made money, we made a good living, but you never knew when it was going to end and the [Stanley] was expensive to operate,” he says. “But we were

...preserving that theater and when the Cultural Trust came along, we thought this was a great opportunity to preserve this building forever." After a \$43 million restoration, it was rechristened the Benedum Center for the Performing Arts and is now listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Plus, in typical fashion, Engler had engineered an attractive golden parachute for the company and for Pittsburgh concertgoers. While the Stanley became the preferred mid-size concert venue for Pittsburgh from 1977 to 1983, no other promoters had been using the other 3,500-seat, stately historical venue "up the street" in Oakland, the Syria Mosque, in which Engler—both as a solo promoter and in the early DiCesare-Engler days—had begun booking shows during the early 1970s. Engler saw a great opportunity as the Stanley's days were quietly (secretly, in fact) winding down, and put in a call to the Shriners who owned the Syria Mosque. "The [Syria Mosque] was sitting up there, so before we signed a deal with the Cultural Trust, I signed a deal with the Shriners to not only get exclusive rights to shows at the Mosque, but to move our offices into the Syria Mosque," he says with a grin. "I said, 'How would you like to have all of the action we have at the Stanley at the Syria Mosque?' And they said, 'For real?' I said we need a liquor license to sell beverages at adult shows and we signed the paper. It was like clockwork."

Thus began DiCesare-Engler's second golden era, which featured shows as diverse as the Ramones and Replacements to Kansas and Frank Zappa, all in a plush, intimate setting. Unfortunately, though, come 1991, the Shriners laid out other plans for the building. "We were about three years into a five-year lease that was renewable for another five years and we got a call from the Shriners asking for an emergency meeting," he explains. At the meeting, the Shriners told DiCesare-Engler that they were selling the building, and that D-E had to move. "They wrote us a check and said we had two weeks to get out. And at 12:01

Syria Mosque, c. 1955.

HHC Detre L&A, Allegheny Conference on Community Development Photographs, 1892-1981, photo by Brady Stewart Studio, MSP285.B002.F37.I01





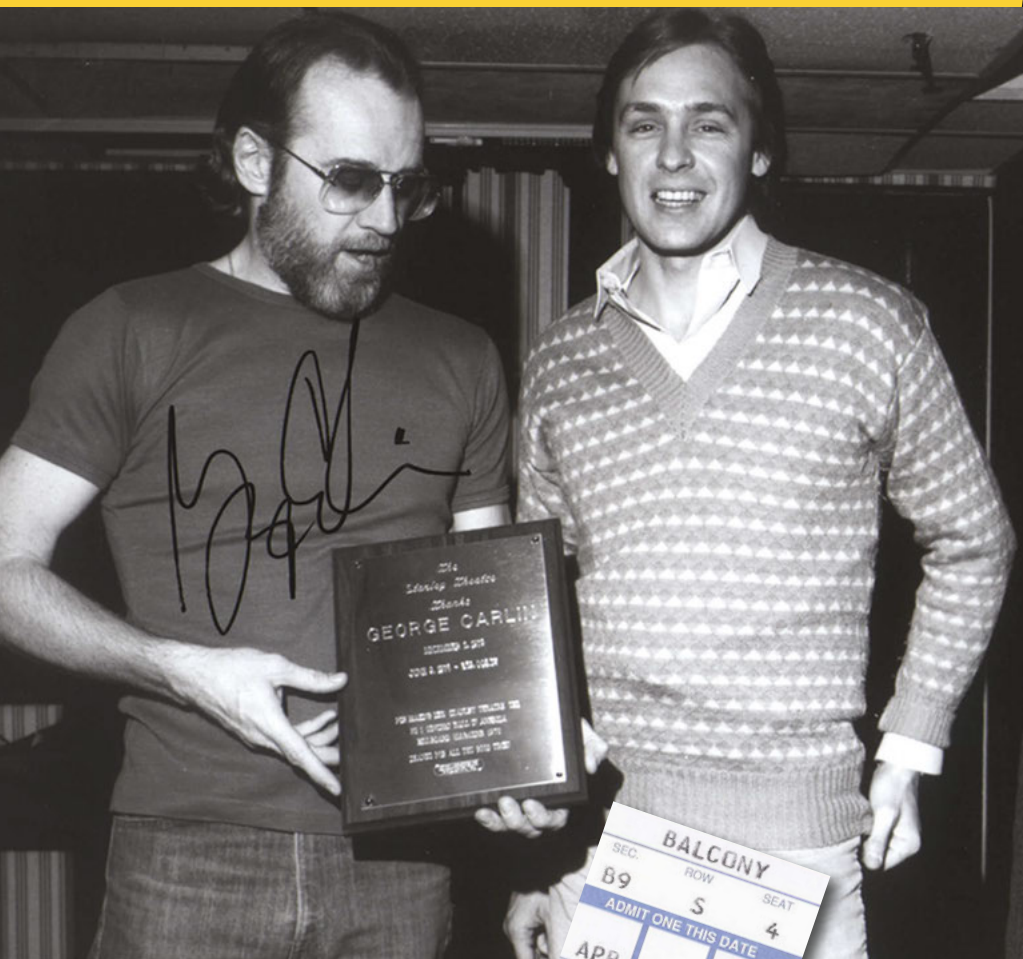
“Bands in the ’70s, ’80s, and ’90s toured to promote their record. Now they tour to make money because there isn’t any record and that’s where all their money is made.”

a.m. the day after we left, the wrecking ball hit the building. It was an ugly situation.” Since then, the site of that historic and beloved venue has served as a parking lot for the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center.

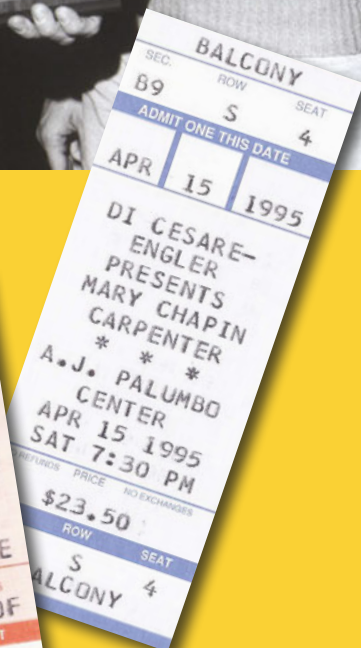
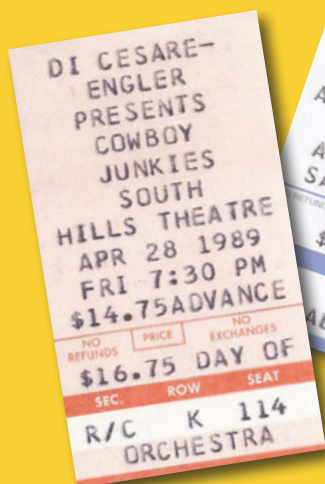
But even post-Syria Mosque, DiCesare-Engler continued to ride high—opening the A.J. Palumbo Center as a viable concert venue with Depeche Mode, the Peterson Events Center with Counting Crows, partnering in the venture that became the Star Lake Amphitheater, staging a record four stadium shows in 1994, and bringing in Bruce Springsteen for the first concert at PNC Park. Unfortunately, Engler says, the music business tide was turning as the ’90s progressed: “Everything started to change,” he says. “Bands in the ’70s, ’80s, and very very little into the ’90s toured to promote their record. Now they tour to make money because there isn’t any record and that’s where all their money is made.”

This shift placed smaller companies like DiCesare-Engler Productions—companies that no longer held a venue to call their own—in a precarious position, particularly as ticket prices skyrocketed and fewer people flocked to shows as the 1990s progressed. “Because touring became the lion’s share of their money rather than record sales, that’s where the business went crazy,” Engler says. “Their guarantees [i.e., what the artists demand as payment regardless of ticket sales] drove ticket prices to crazy heights, and it became a wild world.”

In that shifting environment, it was only a matter of time before multinational entertainment conglomerates like Clear Channel Entertainment formed and began eyeing big fish in individual markets, including Pittsburgh. By the time Clear Channel approached DiCesare-Engler in 1998 with a proposed buyout, the writing was indelibly



George Carlin and Rich.
Rich Engler

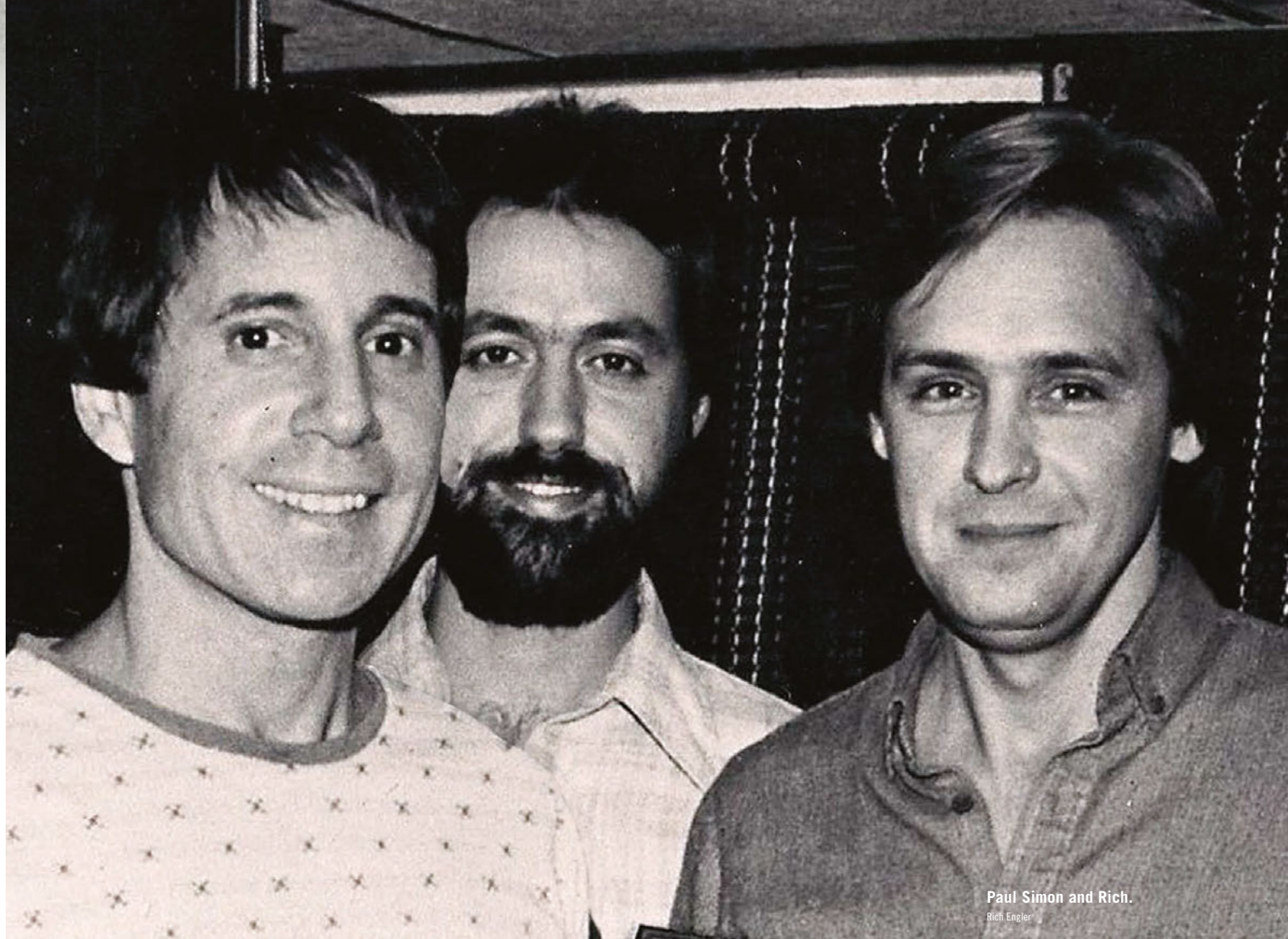


inscribed on the wall. “They bought our name, and the I.C. Light Amphitheatre (which DiCesare-Engler had built in Station Square),” he said, “If we didn’t sell, we would’ve been crushed, because it was a 600-lb gorilla that was willing to pay anything for acts and get everything and we would’ve just been outbid at everything. *And* they bought Star Lake from the Texas company that owned it. Had we owned that amphitheater in Burgettstown, we may not have sold—but not having that big piece of real estate, that was the demise.”

At that point, DiCesare and Engler parted ways after their 25-year run, with Engler continuing on with Clear Channel Entertainment as the president and CEO of this region. As Engler tells it, “When we got bought by Clear Channel Entertainment, it was a no-brainer—[Pat] was always into real estate, I was always into music, so [Clear Channel] wanted me to stay on and they said you’ll be President & CEO and Pat went his own way and continued with the real estate. We’re friends and we had a great 25 years.”

Engler stayed with Clear Channel for six years before deciding to move on. “It was much different,” he says. “At DiCesare-Engler, I made all of the deals, I negotiated all of the shows, I was on the front lines, and I made decisions in a New York second after doing some research and having a good gut feeling.” Conversely, in his position at Clear Channel, “there were countless conference calls and over and over and over the same process and it wasn’t anything that I liked or felt comfortable with. So I lived out my time with them and I parted ways in 2004.”

It’s heartening to see that Engler’s contributions to Pittsburgh music over the years have not gone unnoticed, especially these days. In addition to the surprising success of *Behind the Stage Door*—surprising



Paul Simon and Rich.
Rich Engler

because nationally published and promoted rock 'n' roll books have all but vanished from the shelves of what few bookstores remain in the U.S. and Pittsburgh—just last year Engler was the very first person inducted into the burgeoning Pittsburgh Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame, which also raised \$80,000 for cancer care. “That was absolutely amazing and humbling,” he says. “What an honor. To be first and to be recognized for my achievements it was really something. And now that I’m in, I’m going to be on the selection committee to see what’s in store and who to honor.”

He’s also back in the promoting business after nearly 10 years of silence. “In parting ways with Clear Channel, I had to sign a non-compete and a confidentiality agreement, but

that non-compete is over and I’m promoting again,” he says. “The business has changed so much in the last several years. Purchasing an act and selling it to the public was always a dangerous sport, but now you not only need to sell tickets and have a decent turnout, you need to almost have a full house every time because of the way deals are laid out and set up.”

That said, his first promoting ventures—sold-out shows by Gregg Allman, Kansas, and Gino Vanelli—have thus far been very successful and he has plans for shows at Highmark Stadium and the Oaks Theater. He’s also dipping his toes into management for the first time since the early days of DiCesare-Engler and is currently working with Wexford native and former *American*

Idol contestant Sydney Hutchco on her debut album, as well as negotiating with a current (unnamed) contestant from *The Voice*.

Although Engler is justifiably proud of his accomplishments and looking forward to the future, he has a clear-eyed view of his career and his role in the whole entertainment process. “I never really celebrated wins nor did I cry over losses, nor did I ever get too much of a high or a low after the music,” he says. “It was a business that I loved and I loved the music, but when I was at a show I hardly ever watched a show because—when you’re a promoter, there’s a lot of things that go on, so my two happiest moments were when the show started and when it ended. It’s kinda cold, but so many things can go wrong in the middle.”

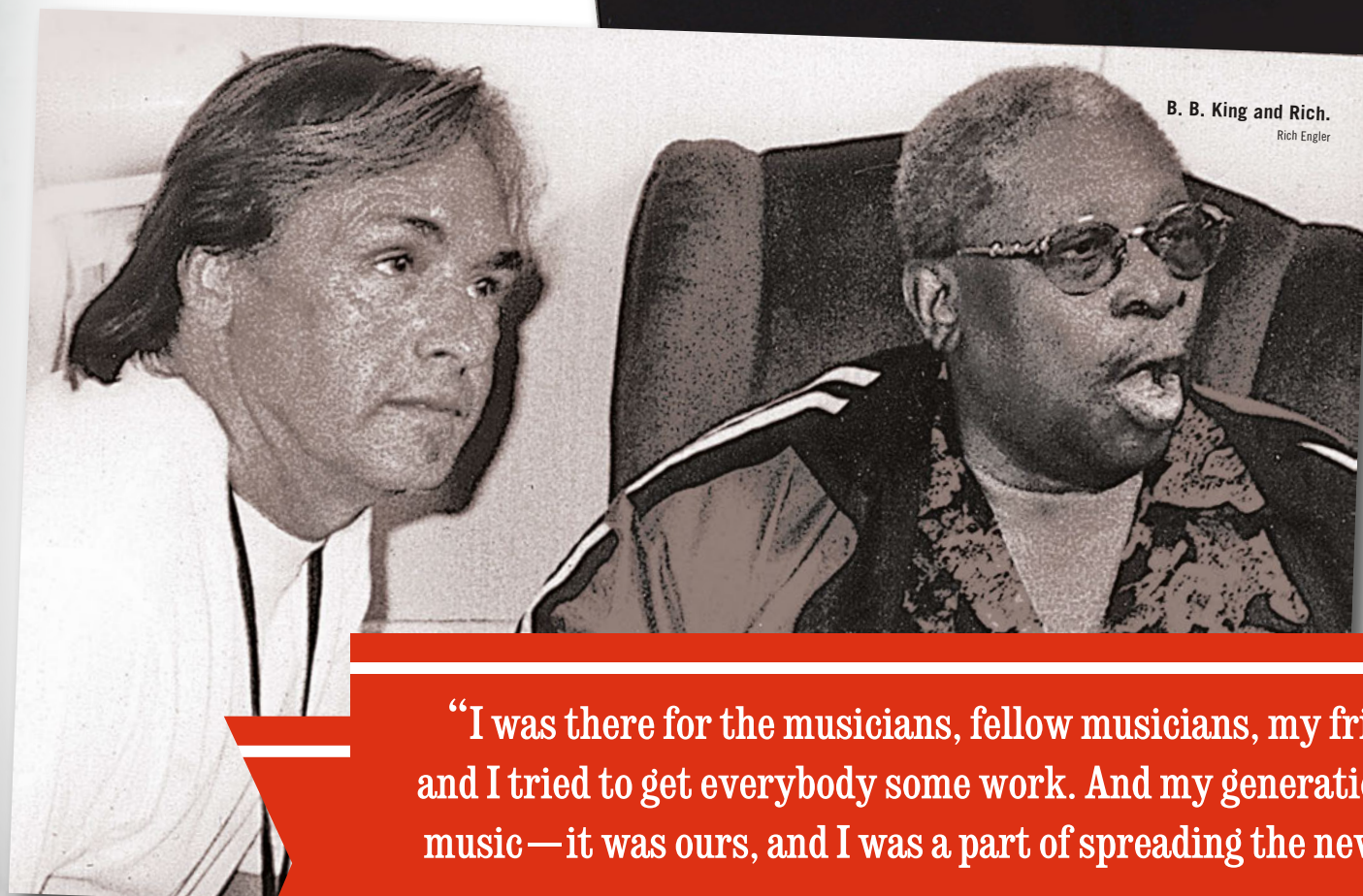
"I was there for the musicians, fellow musicians, my friends, and I tried to get everybody some work. And my generation of music—it was ours, and I was a part of spreading the news."

Rob Conroy is a Pittsburgh-based lawyer/advocate with a lifelong music obsession. He has an underused journalism background, a 10,000-strong record/CD collection, and a brain that retains incalculable minutiae about every great recording of the last century.

Autographed copies of *Behind the Stage Door: A Promoter's Life Behind the Scenes* are available at www.richengler.com or amazon.com for \$24.95 plus \$5 shipping. Contact musicworkzllc@gmail.com for enquiries about events.



Gwen Stefani and Rich.
Rich Engler



B. B. King and Rich.
Rich Engler

"I was there for the musicians, fellow musicians, my friends, and I tried to get everybody some work. And my generation of music—it was ours, and I was a part of spreading the news."

ENGLER'S PARTNER PENS A BOOK TOO

By Jennifer Sopko

Behind the glitz and glamour of the stage, the larger-than-life rock stars, and the pulsating music itself, there's a machine of agents, managers, roadies, accountants, and egos that make up every successful concert. Behind the scenes there's also the promoter trying to keep this machine running at all costs. In *Hard Days Hard Nights*, Pat DiCesare shares first-hand accounts behind bringing the biggest rock and pop concerts to Pittsburgh during his 37-year career as a promoter, many of those in partnership with Rich Engler.

Growing up in Trafford after the Great Depression, this first-generation Italian boy dreamed of a life beyond becoming a schoolteacher or working at Westinghouse Electric, like so many friends from his blue-collar generation in Western Pennsylvania. Working his way up from record store stock boy to salesman and distributor and finally promoter, DiCesare built a reputation that enabled him to sell out the Civic Arena, Three Rivers Stadium, and the Syria Mosque with the most popular musical acts in America.

Through a series of vignettes, DiCesare shares some of his most memorable stories from his career that began in the rock and roll era, when he was just a teenager bussing tables at Monroeville's Holiday House, singing Doo-Wop, and writing songs with The Penn Boys.

Highlights include his tales of trying to launch the first stadium concert with Alice Cooper at Three Rivers Stadium in the midst of Hurricane Agnes, keeping a foul-mouthed Janis Joplin show on track, and getting drenched in champagne as an angry road manager smashed two dozen bottles all over Led Zeppelin's dressing room.

However, the definitive story is how DiCesare and former partner Tim Tormey enticed The Beatles to appear at the Civic Arena in 1964 thanks to a \$5,000 loan and complete faith from his father:

Dad slid an envelope across the tablecloth to me. "What is this?" I asked. "Go on, open it," he said. Inside was a cashier's check made out to me for \$5,000. "Dad, where did you get this?" I said. "You don't have that kind of money." "I borrowed it from the credit union at work. They put a lien on the house." I felt like crying. He'd worked hard all his life and still hadn't paid off the house and now he was offering me more money than he made in a year, all the money his home was worth. What if the bartender [connection] in Brooklyn just kept the money and we never booked the Beatles?

DiCesare recently told us that he didn't want *Hard Days Hard Nights* to be just about backstage stories. "I wanted to weave in stories of my life growing up in a large, poor family and how, with the love of an immigrant father, I was able to become victorious in my efforts to overcome the odds of other well-financed, experienced promoters."

He also talks about his key influences, contacts, and partners in the music business (including Dick Clark and Rich Engler) who gave him prime opportunities, as well as the hard work and grit it took to succeed in the early days of rock concerts. Yet it was the risks like The Beatles that the self-described gambler took that gave him an edge in the business, which also included booking Sly and the Family Stone knowing that the unpredictable front man may not even show up for the show (and nearly didn't).

DiCesare toiled days and nights planning concerts, fulfilling artists' demands, and challenging theater managers who hated rock and roll while screaming fans jammed the shows he never saw himself. *Hard Days Hard Nights* takes a nostalgic look back at the rise of the modern rock concert in the days of handshake deals and intimate venues. More importantly, it tells the story of how a local kid from an immigrant family overcame inexperience and hardship to become a pioneer in Pittsburgh's music industry.

Jennifer Sopko is a Pittsburgh-based writer and historian, and author of *Ligonier Valley Vignettes: Tales from the Laurel Highlands* (History Press, 2013).



Hard Days Hard Nights: From the Beatles to the Doors to the Stones ... Insider Stories From a Legendary Concert Promoter

By Pat DiCesare
Headline Books, 2014
208 pps., B&W images
\$19.95 paperback

STRIKE OUT

A PIRATES PITCHER AT THE BATTLE OF HOMESTEAD

By Zachary L. Brodt

When the 1892 Homestead Steel Strike was over, 10 men were dead and dozens more wounded. Agents of the Pinkerton Detective Agency hired by Henry Clay Frick had attempted to land their barges at the Homestead Steel Works along the Monongahela River to protect it from

striking workers. More than 160 people were charged with crimes and Frick was the target of an assassination attempt by Alexander Berkman, an anarchist unaffiliated with the initial struggle.

One of those arrested in the wake of the labor dispute was an unlikely man: Pittsburgh Baseball Club pitcher Mark Baldwin.¹ A Homestead native, Baldwin was notorious for his fastball, wild pitches, and penchant for drinking and getting into trouble. However, his presence in the steel mill during one of the bloodiest conflicts of the American Labor Movement was a far cry

from his usual antics. A sense of community and solidarity likely motivated Baldwin to trespass onto the grounds of Andrew Carnegie's property, thus providing one of the more bizarre storylines affiliated with the newly named "Pirates" franchise.

BERKMAN: ATTEMPTS FRICK'S MURDER!



Alexander Berkman, 1892.
LoC 103849.

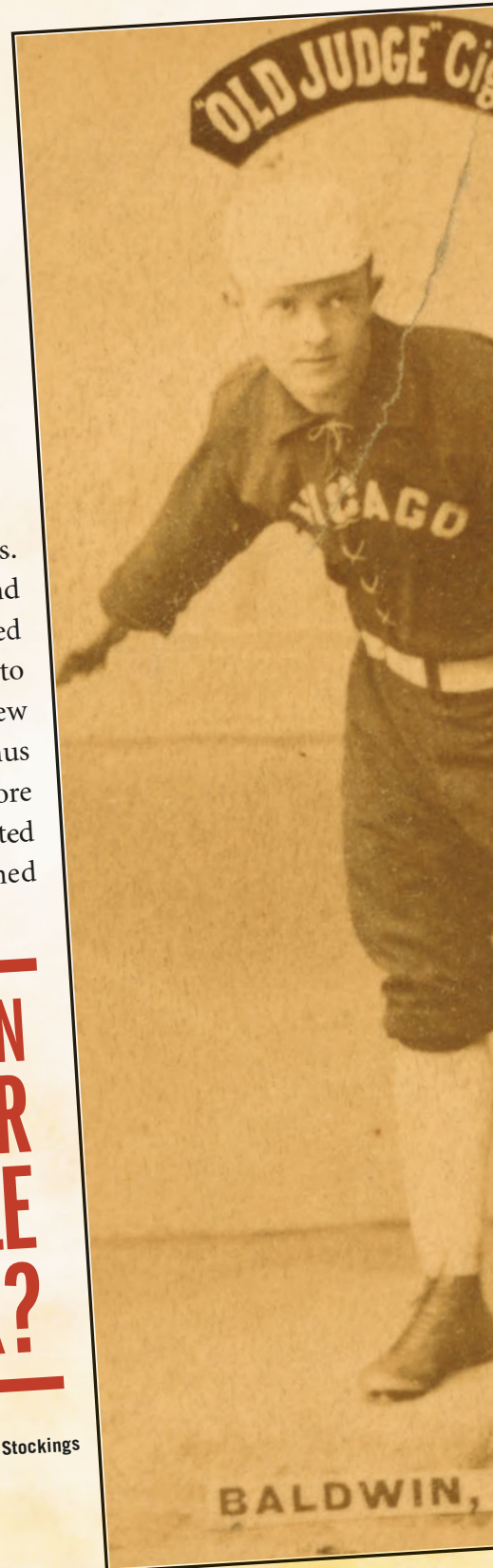
Dagger used by Berkman in his assassination attempt on Henry Clay Frick.

HHC Collections, 91.10.1.

HOMETOWN HERO OR TROUBLE MAKER?

Mark Baldwin Chicago White Stockings Baseball Card, 1887.

LoC 13163-05, no. 31.



The Homestead Strike infamously made the cover of *Harper's Weekly*, July 16, 1892.

HHC Detre L&A.



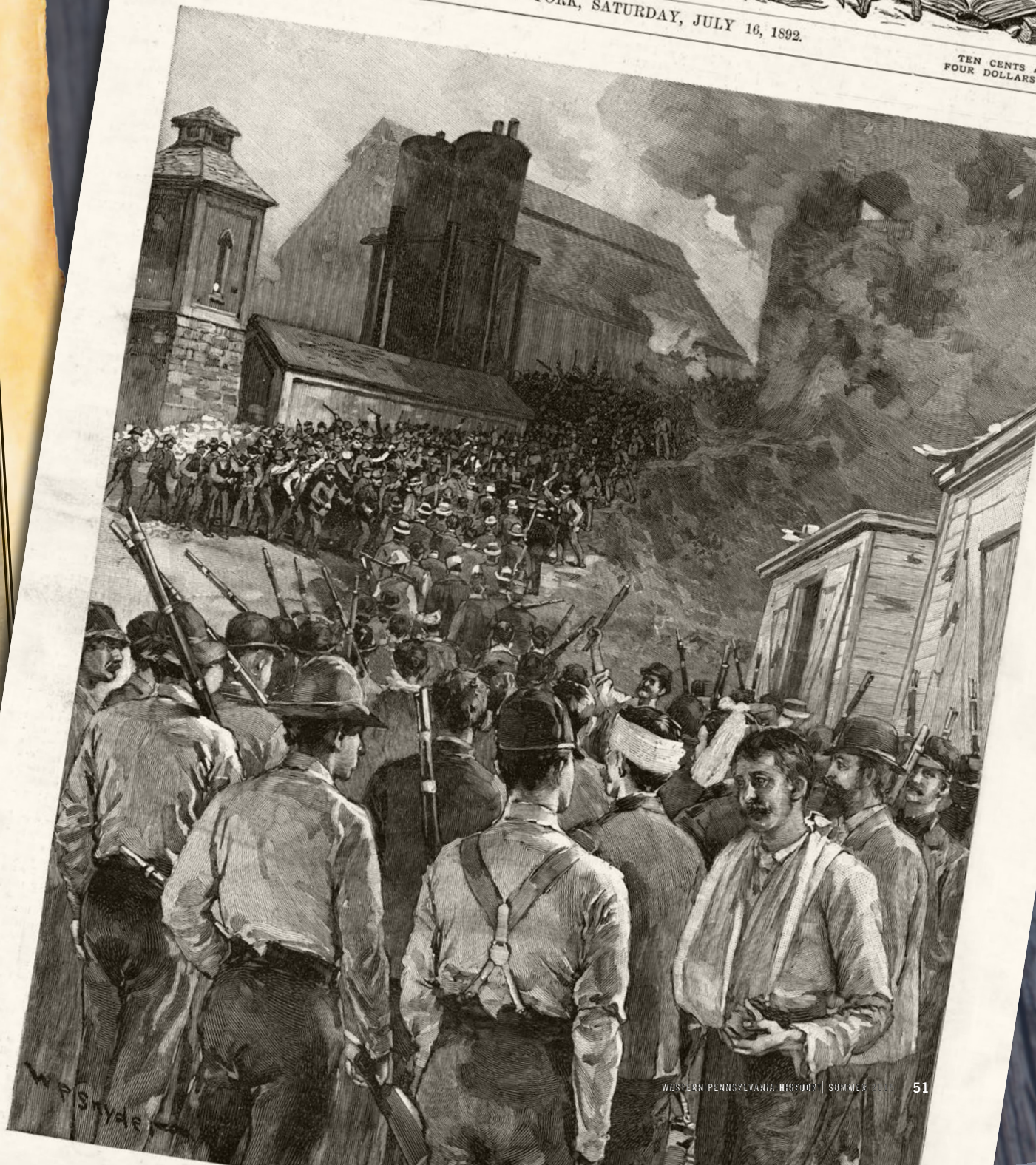
HARPER'S WEEKLY

A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1892.

TEN CENTS A
FOUR DOLLARS



W. P. Snyder

An Uprising Member of the Community

Baldwin was born in 1863 on Pittsburgh's South Side and moved with his parents to Homestead in 1872.² Both areas were highly industrialized, exposing Baldwin to the plight of workers all of his life. This included the experiences of his father, who was a nailer before entering the world of real estate and insurance sales.³ These conditions led to a tight-knit community of workers' families within the small town. After leaving Western Pennsylvania to pursue a career in baseball, Baldwin's sense of community pride and labor solidarity served as a lifelong influence.

Although he played ball in Chicago and Columbus at the start of his career, Baldwin continued to return to Homestead during the offseason and maintained ties within the community.⁴ Baldwin stayed apprised of local talent, directing White Stockings manager Cap Anson in 1888 to sign John K. Tener, who not only went on to serve as the Brotherhood of Professional Baseball Players' secretary but became governor of Pennsylvania, and while still in office, in 1913, became president of the National League.⁵ Baldwin also trained at local gymnasiums and after the 1891 season he played on the town's football team.

The events surrounding the Homestead Strike were not Baldwin's first brushes with the law or labor activism. His career in baseball led him into the perils of excess that still haunt professional athletes today, but it also led to his involvement in outlandish situations that could only occur during the formative years of professional baseball in Victorian America. As an employee during a period of heightened labor sensitivities, he was also aware of the rising importance of trade unions in protecting the interests of workers who were being exploited by those profiting from their efforts.

Baldwin officially broke into the National League with the White Stockings in

Baldwin thrived in the Players League, posting a career-best season and leading the league in games won, complete games, innings pitched, and strikeouts.

Baldwin is back row, fifth from left, in this photo of the Chicago and All-American World Tour Teams, 1888-89. Next to him is future governor John Tener. Wearing the Pittsburgh Alleghenys jersey is Fred Carroll. Second row in a suit is Albert Spalding; left of him is Cap Anson and to the right is John Montgomery Ward; below Spalding in the Detroit shirt is future Pittsburgh manager Ned Hanlon.

National Baseball Hall of Fame, image by Sydney, Tuttle & Co.



1887 after a failed attempt to add him to their roster for game five of the 1886 championship series against Chris von der Ahe's St. Louis team in the American Association.⁶ As a new player in the National League, it is likely that he was encouraged by his teammates to join the Brotherhood. Founded by John Montgomery Ward in 1885, the Brotherhood of Professional Baseball Players was the first sports labor union and represented virtually all of the National League's star players.⁷

At the conclusion of the 1888 season, White Stockings owner Albert Spalding organized a world tour to promote the game of baseball and his line of equipment. The team,

including Baldwin as its primary pitcher, played exhibition matches on five continents against a team of National League all-stars. One of his opponents was Brotherhood president Ward who, like Baldwin, was a native Pennsylvanian and former student at Pennsylvania State University. During their trip around the globe they would have had plenty of time to discuss labor issues facing ball players.⁸

With Baldwin's reputation as a wild pitcher already established, Spalding's tour provided the first glimpse at what he could do off the diamond. Once the tour left the country Baldwin was quickly caught up in the shenanigans of his fellow players and he



“partook in much of the trip’s alcohol-fed hijinks. At one point he was attacked by a monkey and bitten in the leg after parading it around the ship and feeding it pretzels and beer.”⁹ He expended all of his money before the end of the journey and borrowed extensively from Spalding, causing the owner to sue Baldwin in 1897 to recover the money. As a result of his behavior on the trip, Baldwin was released by the White Stockings upon their return to Chicago in 1889.

The American Association team in Columbus picked up Baldwin for the 1889 season. While there, he still managed to tip his cap to the struggle between the National

League owners and their players by stating that he preferred the American Association because “the salaries and treatment given the players are greater and better.”¹⁰ On November 4, 1889, the Brotherhood issued a manifesto that announced their desire to play for new ownership the following season; Baldwin and many other Brotherhood members jumped from their teams to form their own Players League. The new league was to be run as a co-operative where players and backers both governed the league and shared equally in its profits.¹¹ On November 21, Baldwin signed with Charles Addison’s Chicago Pirates, but he also played

a significant role in developing the young league off the field.¹²

Once signed by the Chicago Pirates, Baldwin set out as a recruiter to gather more men for the Players League. On November 25 he traveled to St. Louis and successfully swayed the Browns’ Yank Robinson and Joe Quinn of the Boston Beaneaters to leave their teams. During a December barnstorming tour, Baldwin also persuaded Tip O’Neill and Charles Comiskey to leave the Browns and play with him in Chicago.¹³ It is clear that Baldwin was a persuasive member of the Brotherhood who had his finger on the pulse of the labor issues of

the day, much to the ire of National League owners, particularly von der Ahe of the St. Louis American Association club, which was depleted singlehandedly by his efforts.

Baldwin thrived in the Players League, posting a career-best season and leading the league in games won, complete games, innings pitched, and strikeouts.¹⁴ The league fielded superior talent, but the costs of supporting eight brand new teams and competing for attendance took its toll. The Players League was no match for the wealth backing the established National League and it officially folded by January 1891. Players' contracts reverted back to their 1889 teams based on baseball's reserve clause and so Baldwin was once again with the American Association's Columbus nine.¹⁵ Even after the league folded, Baldwin remained involved with the Brotherhood and maintained the relationships he had within the union.

Columbus initially told Baldwin that they no longer required his services, but amid rumors that his rights were traded to Boston they quickly resigned him to their club.¹⁶ During this same period the American Association withdrew from the National Agreement, which prevented teams from stealing players in other leagues, thus leading to Baldwin's availability to sign with a National League team for the right price.¹⁷ That offer came from his hometown team — he signed with the Pittsburgh Baseball Club on March 1, 1891.

By March 3, Baldwin was en route to

St. Louis on another recruiting trip, this time to secure the services of his Players League teammate Silver King and Jack Connor. After losing three players to his recruitment efforts in 1889, von der Ahe was ready for Baldwin's visit. Claiming that King was under contract with his Browns, von der Ahe had Baldwin arrested for conspiracy on March 5. Upon his release Baldwin sued von der Ahe for false imprisonment, which led to a seven-year court battle, von der Ahe's alleged kidnapping, and his arrest at Exposition Park. By the start of the 1891 season, King had signed with Pittsburgh. That year, the entire Pittsburgh club was under scrutiny for raiding American Association teams and benefitting from the fall of the Players League; the team came to be known as the Pirates after acquiring players from several other teams under dubious circumstances. As for Baldwin's court battles, he was eventually awarded \$3,000 from the von der Ahe lawsuit.¹⁸

Conflict in the Mill

The Homestead Steel Works was two years old in 1883 when Carnegie and his associates purchased the plant with the intention of increasing their company's production. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers had organized the mill prior to its acquisition by Carnegie, Phipps and Co. and, thanks to an aggressive strike in 1889, managed to maintain its presence in the labor force with a new contract that was set to expire on July 1, 1892.

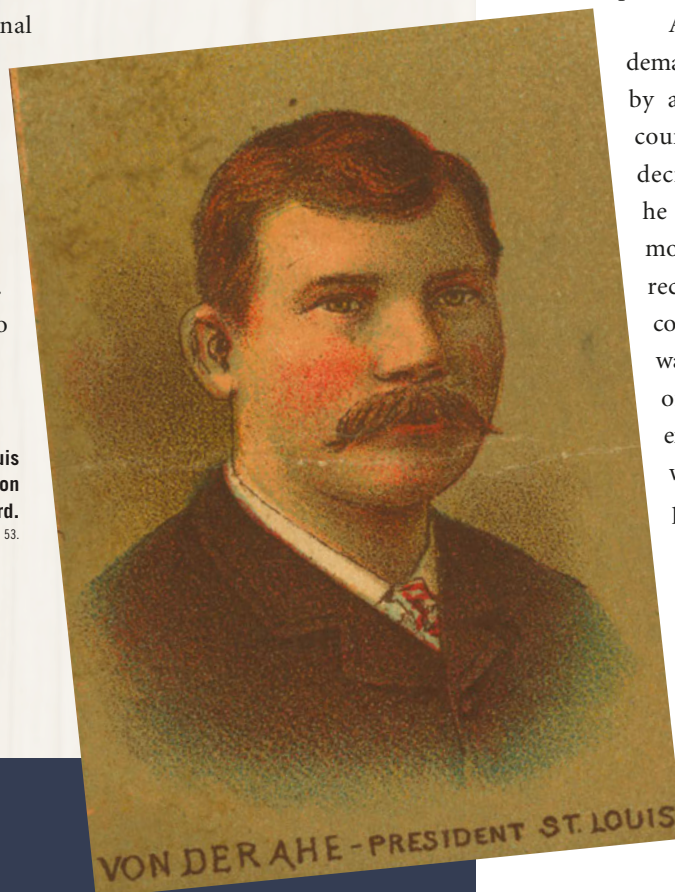
Carnegie had previously hired Frick, owner of Frick Coke Company, to run his steel operations. Frick was notoriously anti-union and his sights were focused on breaking the Amalgamated Association at Homestead because it was perceived as interfering with production and profits. Advances in technology meant that fewer skilled men were required to produce steel; without the constraints of a union contract official charge being aggravated not as handed down by Carnegie Steel Secretary F.I.F. Lovejoy. The company's lawyers claimed to the remaining workers' wages based on a new production-based rate system.

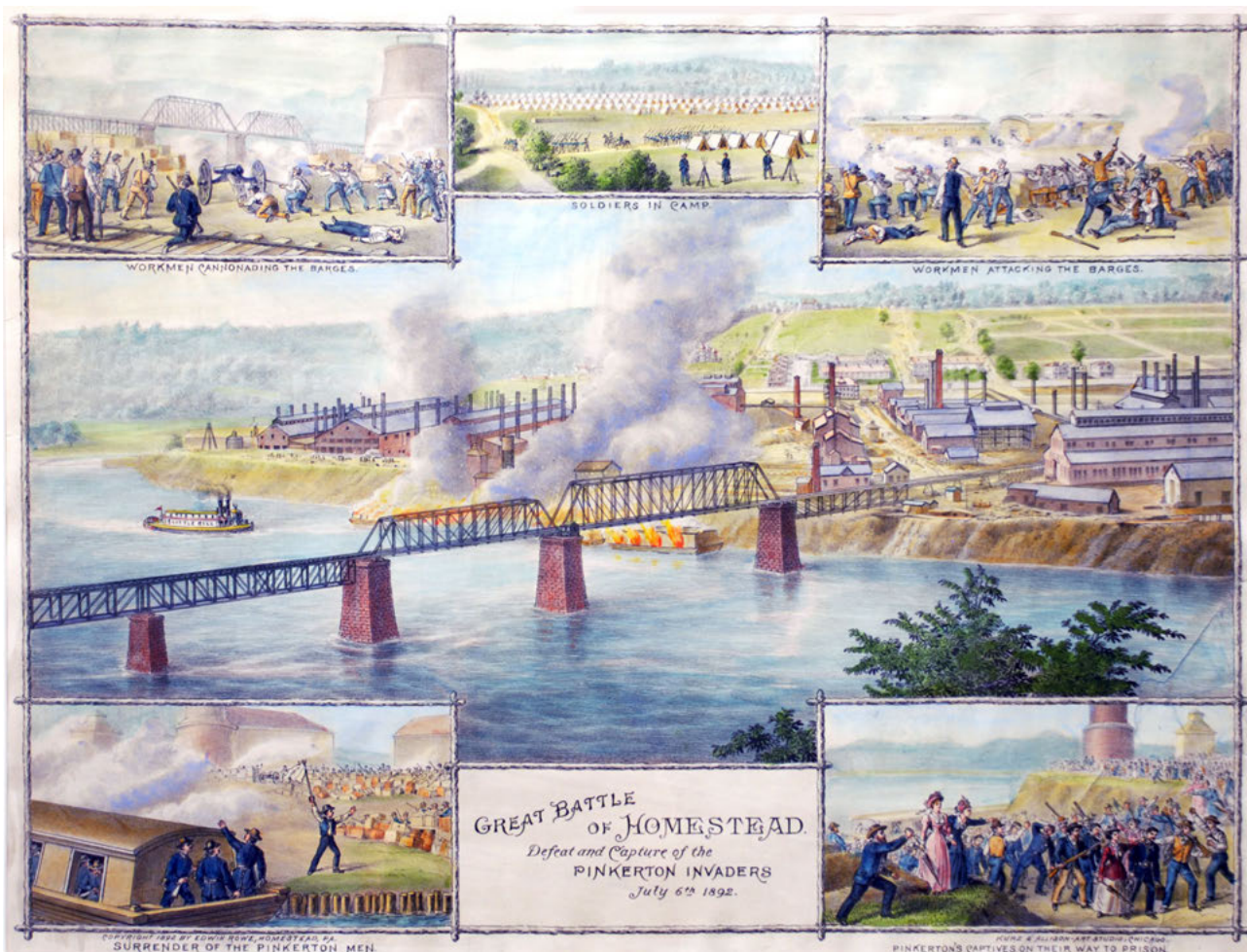
After listening to the association's demands for a wage increase, justified by a booming steel market, Frick countered with a significant wage decrease and an ultimatum that he would only negotiate for one month before the company ceased recognizing the organization. The company proclaimed the craft union was elitist, representing about 800 of the plant's 3,800 workers, and explained that the workforce as a whole would benefit from their proposal as they did at their mills in Braddock and Duquesne.

As negotiations wore on, the company increased the mill's production in anticipation of a strike. When no agreement was

Chris von der Ahe, owner of the St. Louis Browns in the American Association, on an 1887 Buchner Gold Coin card.

LoC 13163-02, no. 53.





A panel from *Great Battle of Homestead* by Edwin Rowe, 1892, Kurz & Allison.
HMC Collections, 92.29.1.

As agents attempted to disembark, a shot was fired—from which side has never been definitively determined.

reached by the last week of June, Frick began to systematically lock out employees so that by June 29 the entire mill was shut down. A tall picket fence topped with barbed wire, under construction since January, ensured that no disgruntled workers would enter the grounds. Towers with armed guards were quickly built too. For their part, the local Amalgamated Association men were set to keep the mill closed and set up picket lines with vigilant units to keep watch for any potential attempt to reopen the mill with scab labor.

With the steelworks surrounded by the company's fence and strikers, Frick devised a plan to introduce new workers onto the grounds via the Monongahela River. He had reached out to the Pinkerton Detective

Agency of Chicago and made arrangements for 300 of its men to arrive by rail at the property of Captain William Rodgers in Bellevue. From there they would board modified barges that could deliver them to the dormant mill in Homestead.

The Pinkertons arrived on the evening of July 5 and slowly made their way toward the Homestead Works. While on the barges the agents were deputized by a representative of the Allegheny County Sheriff and issued a uniform and Winchester rifle. Under the cover of darkness, the barges floated down the Monongahela River, but unbeknownst to them a watchman on the Smithfield Street Bridge in Pittsburgh spotted them and sent a telegram warning the strikers. When Captain

Rodger's tug *Little Bill* pushed the barges aground within the enclosed mill at about 4 a.m. on July 6, the Pinkertons were surprised to see an angry mob of workers and their families approaching the riverbank.

As agents attempted to disembark, a shot was fired—from which side has never been definitively determined. Chaos erupted. In the ensuing battle, three Pinkerton agents and seven workers were killed. Captain Rodgers ferried wounded men to a train station on the other side of the river and upon his return to retrieve the barges another firefight began. After outbursts throughout much of the hot July day, the Pinkertons were able to negotiate surrender around 5 p.m.; they were escorted through a gauntlet of

angry townspeople to a makeshift jail in the Homestead Opera House. Their evacuation from Homestead was negotiated around midnight and the agents were permitted to leave for Pittsburg by train.¹⁹

With the uncertainties of the battle still fresh in everyone's mind, Brotherhood President Ward and his Brooklyn team came to town for a short series against the Pirates. After arriving from Cleveland on July 9, Ward and his Brotherhood teammates visited Homestead in an act of solidarity with the strikers.²⁰ Because Homestead citizens were suspicious of any new arrivals after the incident with the Pinkertons, the players required an escort to vouch for their intentions. Baldwin, who knew many players, was the best candidate. As the *Pittsburg Dispatch* noted after he was charged with aggravated riot during the strike, Baldwin "knows almost every man, woman and child in the borough," and so an endorsement from him would carry weight within the skittish community.²¹ Also, despite his wild reputation in baseball, the *Commercial Gazette* pointed out that "he has resided at Homestead since childhood and always bore a reputation for being peaceful and law-abiding."²²

"BALDWIN BAGGED"

As expected, such a display of violence resulted in a series of investigations and criminal charges. Pennsylvania Governor Robert E. Pattison relented to the numerous pleas from the County Sheriff and sent the state militia to restore order in Homestead. The state assembly conducted an investigation as to why an outside force, the Pinkertons, was hired to do the work of local law enforcement.²³ Meanwhile, the county coroner began the arduous task of identifying and determining the cause of death of the 10 men fatally wounded in the conflict, taking witness testimony, and organizing a jury to issue a verdict that could lead to murder charges.

It is in the coroner's records that the name "M.E. Baldwin" first appears in conjunction with the Homestead Steel Strike. During the coroner's inquest into the deaths associated with the clash, Baldwin's name appeared on two undated witness lists with his occupation listed as "Base Ball Pitcher."²⁴ A *Pittsburg Press* article of August 2, 1892, stated that Baldwin was to testify for an inquest that day but he was unable to appear as the team was playing in Chicago at the time.²⁵ When the Pittsburg club arrived home on August 5, the coroner's jury had already delivered their verdict, and so

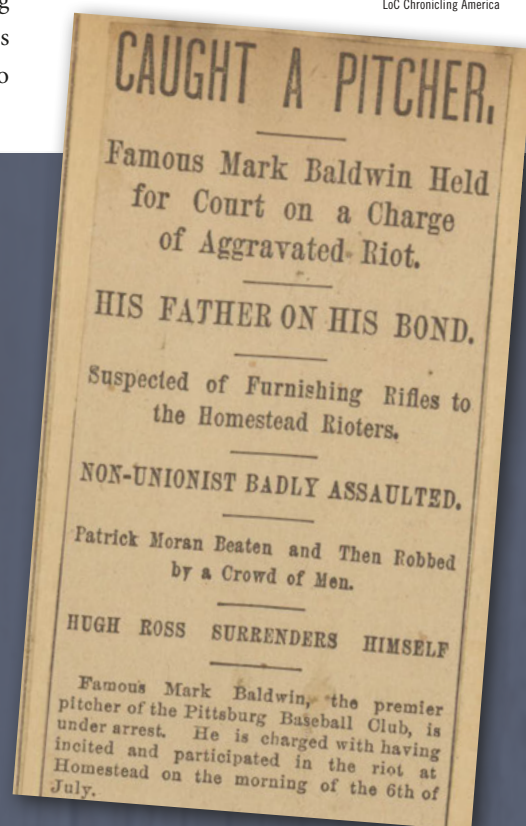
Baldwin was probably never made to testify.

During the next few weeks, though, it is likely that rumors came to light implicating Baldwin in the events at Homestead. Although he started more games than any Pittsburg pitcher during the 1892 season, he did not throw between August 25 and September 7. A note in the August 25 *Pittsburg Press* proclaimed that Baldwin was released unconditionally by the club, attributing it to his instability during games and quick temper; however, it is surely not coincidental that his name made headlines immediately after his dismissal from the Pirates, revealing the likely reason for his suspension.²⁶

official charge being aggravated riot as handed down by Carnegie Steel Secretary F.T.F. Lovejoy. The company's lawyers claimed to

"Caught a Pitcher" story in the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, September 2, 1892.
LoC Chronicling America

The pitcher never denied being on mill property during the riot, saying "he was there merely as a spectator."





HEBER McDOWELL, CORONER.

OFFICE OF CORONER OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PA.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

188

Geo. Gladwin. M. S.
 Geo. Osborn " "
 J. M. Radin " "
 A. D. Fogelman " "
 Geo. Furman " "
 A. A. McCarstin " "

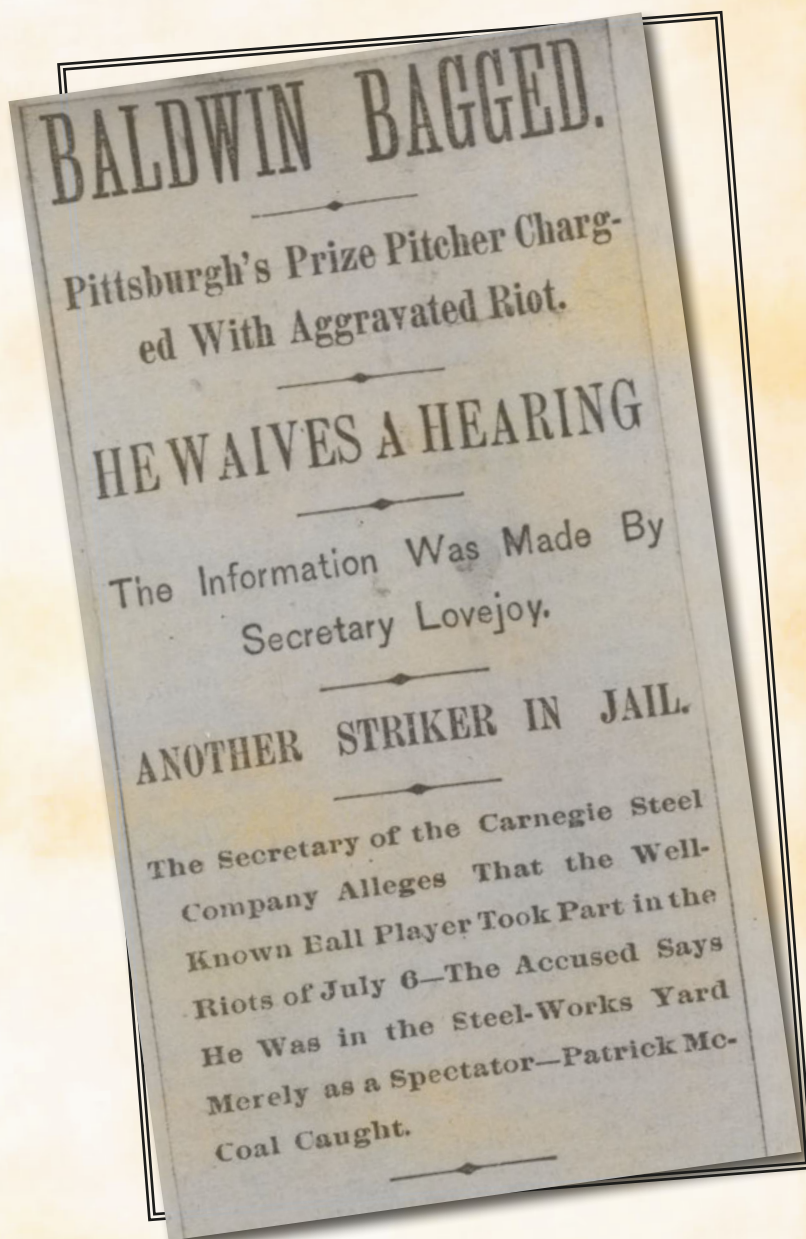
Homestead.

Chas. L. Atwood. 333. 7th am. Rollers.
 Geo. Mott. Skin dealer. Homestead.
 G. W. Cronch. Traveling man. Homestead.
 Walter Grog. Steel Worker. Inquire L. C. Sampson. U. S. Bank.
 James Murphy. Steel Mill. Row. Munkhals.
 H. G. Allen. Undertaker. Homestead.
 Geo. H. Hatcher. Sarah St. " " near Whittaker.
 Mark. Galtman. Base Ball Pitcher.
 S. K. Calthorn.
 Byron Leonard. } Plaster at Homestead.
 James Bacon.
 James Aker's son H. E. Cory for address.
 Edwin E. Best. " " " 436. 5th am
 Geo. Bridger.

WITNESSES NAME BALDWIN!

During the coroner's inquest into the deaths associated with the clash, Baldwin's name appeared on two undated witness lists with his occupation listed as "Base Ball Pitcher."

Homestead Steel Strike Coroner's Inquest
 Witness List, Allegheny County, Pa.
 University of Pittsburgh, Archives Service Center, AIS.1982.07, Coroner's
 Office Records, 1884-1976.



"Baldwin Bagged" story in the *Commercial Gazette*, September 2, 1892.
University of Pittsburgh, Archives Service Center, AIS.2002.06, Helen Clay Frick Foundation Archives, 1892-1987.

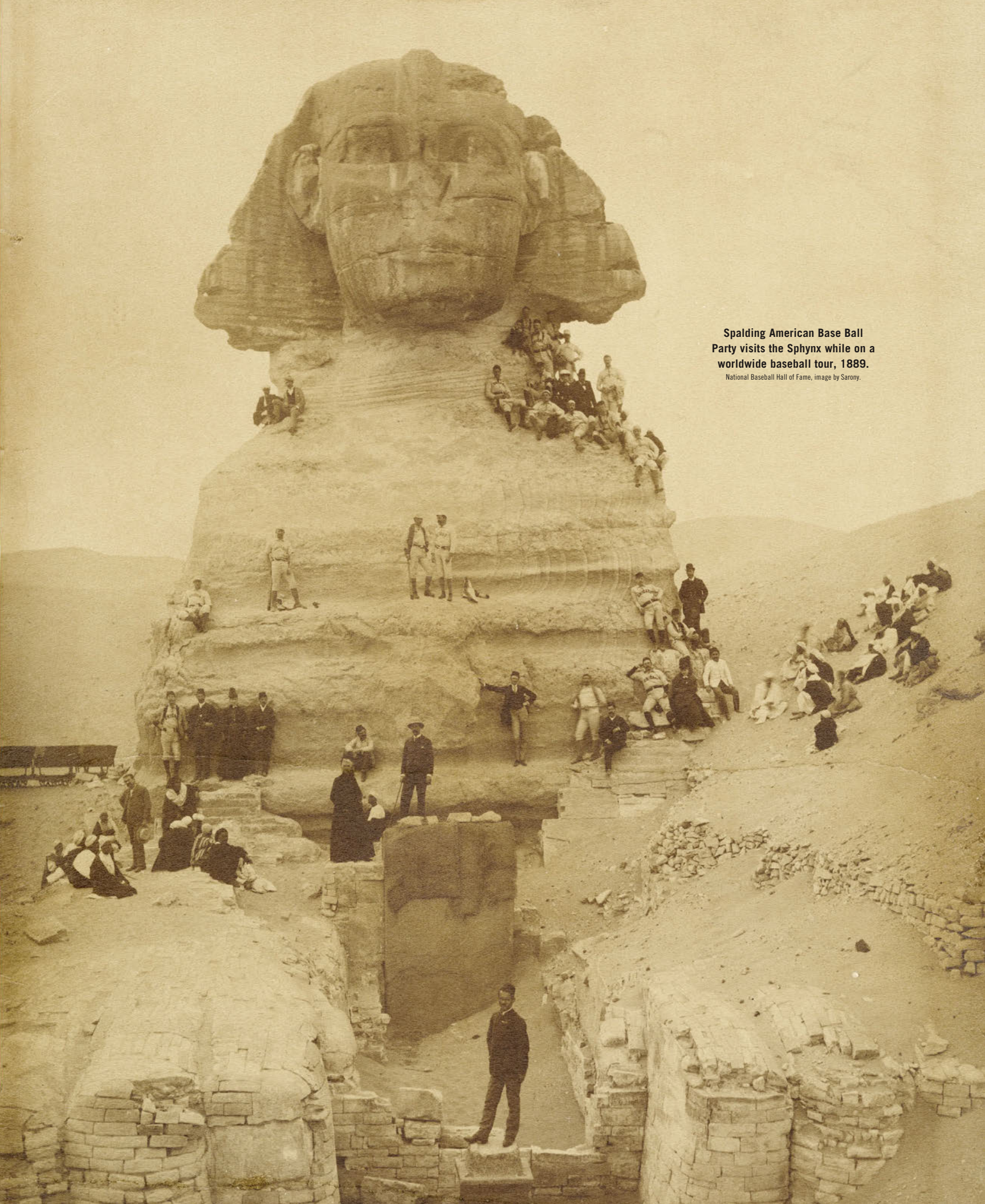
**"furnished his fellow citizens
with two Winchester rifles on the
memorable morning of the battle"**

have witnesses who saw Baldwin in the mill yard participating in the conflict. It would have been hard for him to hide because, as a native of Homestead and former Chicago White Stockings player, he was perhaps the only person present that day who would have been recognized by most of the participants.

The paper also mentioned that there were rumors he "furnished his fellow citizens with two Winchester rifles on the memorable morning of the battle," which then led to his arrest.²⁸ This rumor likely originated from the fact that Baldwin's home was searched a day or two before during an investigation for missing Pinkerton guns. During the search, agents found two Winchester rifles that he explained were his personal property that he used for hunting during excursions with his brother and team trips out west.²⁹ Rumor or not, the *Pittsburg Post* noted that the arrest of the controversial pitcher "created a great deal of commotion, and it was discussed on almost every street corner."³⁰

Baldwin's father, Frank—of the Homestead real estate firm Baldwin & Wilson and a director of the Pittsburgh Baseball Club—arrived shortly after his arrest and posted the \$2,000 for Mark's release.³¹ The pitcher never denied being on mill property during the riot, saying "he was there merely as a spectator, and when the surrender [of the Pinkertons] occurred went to his home in Homestead and in no way aided or abetted the attack on the defenseless prisoners."³² When approached by a *Pittsburg Press* reporter, Frank said that "Mark did not go to the mill until about noon and I am sure that he had nothing to do with the rioting."³³

With the majority of the firefight occurring before noon, it would seem that Baldwin was not present during the deadliest portion of the struggle; however, his presence on the scene that day is still startling considering that he was to pitch in a game that very afternoon. The sports page of the July 7 editions of several local



**Spalding American Base Ball
Party visits the Sphynx while on a
worldwide baseball tour, 1889.**
National Baseball Hall of Fame, image by Sarony.

newspapers document his spectacular first six innings, allowing only one run, followed by an eight-run seventh inning that handed the game to the Washington Senators.³⁴ Knowing his whereabouts before the game, one could guess that fatigue had set in after a busy day, but the *Dispatch* noted that “every now and again just when victory seems certain for Mark’s side when he is in the box he takes a prominent part in a chapter of blunders and shortcomings.”³⁵ It would seem that Baldwin was not so much tired as he was perhaps distracted by events unfolding blocks from his home.


With his arrest and subsequent release behind him, Baldwin rejoined the Pittsburgh club, his suspension apparently over or forgiven. When he returned to the box on September 7, the *Press* noted that “Baldy” would not remove his cap to acknowledge the fans cheering his return.³⁶ He was clearly embittered over the ordeal he had just endured, but his association with the strike had not yet come to an end. After defeating the National League leading Spiders in Cleveland, the *Press* quipped that “Baldwin may now come home and receive the congratulations of his friends.”³⁷ Instead, he was greeted with headlines listing him as a defendant along with 166 other men after a grand jury issued a true bill for aggravated riot. He was arrested once again after pitching on September 23, but was never brought to trial.³⁸

Despite all the distractions, Baldwin finished the 1892 season with a record of 26 wins and 27 losses, posting an earned run average of 3.47 in just over 440 innings pitched. He was the workhorse for the Pirates for two years, but his off-field troubles likely led to his release after just one game to start the 1893 season. He was picked up by the New York Giants where he would finish his last season in the major leagues.³⁹ Apparently Baldwin’s reputation always managed to catch up with him. While playing in the minors in 1895, the *Milwaukee Journal* noted that he was “unable to curb his appetite” for whiskey.⁴⁰

Baldwin never strayed too far from baseball’s labor issues. In 1896 his father purchased a semi-professional team in Auburn, New York, that Mark managed and ran with a few local players. The team was designed to be a co-operative much like the Players League, but as money tightened he was forced to revert to the typical salary system and the team went bankrupt by the end of the season. He was also arrested after his team played a game on a Sunday, violating Auburn’s Blue Laws.⁴¹ With his playing career at an end, Baldwin could confidently say that he did his part in advocating for players’ rights during the profession’s foundational period—and he had fun doing it.

At the conclusion of his baseball career Baldwin chose to spend the rest of his life serving the local community. In a rare and

extraordinary career change for a former ballplayer, he became a general physician and surgeon in April 1899 and opened a practice in Homestead.⁴² By 1907 he also maintained an office in downtown Pittsburgh’s Keenan Building.⁴³ He practiced medicine in the area until his death on November 10, 1929; the culmination of a life dedicated to baseball, labor, and community service.

Baldwin’s presence at the Homestead Steel Works was likely more active than that of the spectator he claimed to be. Given his reputation for being ill-tempered and his close ties to the community, it is easy to imagine him participating in the riot in some way as the Pinkertons threatened his friends and family. His role in bringing players into baseball’s first trade union also indicates that Baldwin was sensitive to labor issues and an affront to striking workers in his hometown was sure to ignite his short fuse. Despite his status as a famous baseball player, Baldwin succumbed to the same mob mentality that ensnared many of the townspeople during the conflict, but his lack of anonymity forced him to endure ramifications in the headlines and on the diamond. 

Zach Brodt is an Archivist and Records Manager at the University of Pittsburgh. He also manages the labor collections found at the University Library System’s Archives Service Center and has worked extensively with the Allegheny County Coroner’s inquest records.

“Every now and again just when victory seems certain for Mark’s side when he is in the box he takes a prominent part in a chapter of blunders and shortcomings.”

MARK BALDWIN, GREAT PITCHER IS NOW FIRST CLASS SURGEON



A cartoon from January 21, 1913, shows Baldwin's transformation from pitcher to surgeon.
Tacoma [Washington] Times, January 21, 1913, p. 2.

¹ Pittsburgh's "h" was dropped by the United States Board on Geographic Names in 1891 and was reinstated in 1911 due to the city's resistance to the spelling change. The author has attempted to use the spelling contemporary to the events described throughout the article.

² *Pittsburg Press*, September 23, 1908, Google News Archive.

³ Directory of Homestead, Munhall, Six Mile Ferry, and adjacent parts of Mifflin Township, Allegheny County, Pa., [Homestead, Pa.]: M.P. & J.R. Schooley at the Local News Office, 1891 & 1894: 33.

⁴ Brian McKenna, "Mark Baldwin," in the Society for American Baseball Research Biography Project, <http://sabr.org/bioproj/person/41f65388>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Craig Britcher, "We Are Now Pirates: The 1890 Burghers and Alleghenys," *Western Pennsylvania History*, vol. 97 no. 1 (Spring 2014): 44-53.

⁸ McKenna.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ethan Lewis, "A Structure to Last Forever: The Players' League and the Brotherhood War of 1890," <http://www.ethanlewis.org/pl/ch2.html>.

¹² McKenna.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Baseball-Reference.com.

¹⁵ Lewis. Chapter 2 contains an in-depth discussion of the Reserve Rule.

¹⁶ McKenna.

¹⁷ Britcher, 50.

¹⁸ McKenna. The award was in 1898.

¹⁹ There are many books available concerning the Homestead Steel Strike. The author relied on Arthur Burgoyne's *The Homestead Steel Strike of 1892* and the summary found on the University of Pittsburgh's Archives Service Center's *Resources on the 1892 Homestead Steel Strike @ Pitt Archives: Strike Information*, <http://pitt.libguides.com/homestead>.

²⁰ *Pittsburg Press*, July 9, 1892, Google News Archive.

²¹ *Pittsburg Dispatch*, "Caught a Pitcher," September 2, 1892, Library of Congress Chronicling America newspaper database.

²² *Commercial Gazette*, "Baldwin Bagged," September 2, 1892, Carnegie Steel Scrapbook, Box 20, Helen Clay Frick Foundation Archives, 1892-1987, AIS.2002.06, Archives Service Center, University of Pittsburgh.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Witness Lists, Box 16A, Allegheny County, Pa. Coroner's Office Records, 1884-1976, AIS.1982.07, Archives Service Center, University of Pittsburgh.

²⁵ *Pittsburg Press*, August 2, 1892, Google News Archive.

²⁶ Ibid., August 25, 1892.

²⁷ *Pittsburg Dispatch*, "Caught a Pitcher," September 2, 1892.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ *Commercial Gazette*, "Baldwin Bagged," September 2, 1892.

³⁰ *Pittsburg Post*, "Baldwin To Be Arrested," September 2, 1892, Carnegie Steel Scrapbook, Box 20, Helen Clay Frick Foundation Archives, 1892-1987, AIS.2002.06, Archives Service Center, University of Pittsburgh.

³¹ *Pittsburg Dispatch*, "Caught a Pitcher," September 2, 1892.

³² *Commercial Gazette*, "Baldwin Bagged," September 2, 1892.

³³ *Pittsburg Press*, September 2, 1892, Google News Archive.

³⁴ The most detailed account of the game comes from the *Pittsburg Dispatch*, July 7, 1892, Library of Congress Chronicling America newspaper database.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ *Pittsburg Press*, September 7, 1892, Google News Archive.

³⁷ Ibid., September 21, 1892.

³⁸ *Pittsburg Dispatch*, September 22 and 24, 1892, Library of Congress Chronicling America newspaper database.

³⁹ Baseball-Reference.com, Mark Baldwin Player Page, <http://www.baseball-reference.com/players/b/baldwma01.shtml>.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² McKenna.

⁴³ Pittsburgh and Allegheny directory, R.L. Polk & Co. [Pittsburgh, Pa.: R.L. Polk & Co. and R.L. Dudley] 1908: 159.

LEGACIES

By Elizabeth A. McMullen, Senior Development Associate

Personal legacies can take many forms including a happy family, successful business, and philanthropic activities. One legacy opportunity is through the Heinz History Center's commemorative tile program, which allows contributors to honor family and friends by placing a handsome tile bearing the name or names of the honoree(s) within the History Center, along with a written tribute. Tiles truly make the honoree a part of Western Pennsylvania history. The History Center benefits from the generosity of its supporters through these and other legacy gifts such as bequests.


Two excerpts from wonderful family tributes include:

~The family name was spelled "Ivan," but since the Slovak "I" is pronounced like an English "E" the name soon became Evan. The "s" was added in my generation. My grandfather was one of those young Eastern European men recruited by agents of Andrew Carnegie to staff his mills. My father was born on Second Avenue in the Homestead "Ward" near the High Level Bridge, hard by the Monongahela River. His father walked to work through the "Hole-in-the-Wall" on City Farm Lane, and worked 12 hour shifts. By the time my father graduated from trade school,

work was slow. He worked at a variety of odd jobs. One was at the old H.J. Heinz glass works on the North Side. These were Depression years and they made an indelible mark on him. Finally, in 1936, at the age of 22, he was hired at the Homestead Steel Works. He started out as a laborer and worked his way through a succession of jobs until, at the end, he had one of the highest job classifications in the Heat Treating and Forge Shop. He forged steel on three rotating 8 hour shifts most of his life; he forged steel on 16 hour shifts during World War II; and he forged steel with my uncles while sitting at my mother's kitchen table. ~Evans

~Andy's career with ALCOA was to have a profound effect not only on the company but on society as a whole. You could not see it coming through the dreary industrial years of the thirties, but as the country became engulfed in World War II and the industrial might of the United States was enlarged and harnessed to win that war, many of what were then called employee "benefits" that undergird our present society were born. The gearing up of existing plants to run round the clock, the demand for even more plants, more machines, more research, more everything, required

people. New and different people, the men had gone to war. How do you get the new and different people to work. Sure the patriotism was there, but they had to be trained and trained almost overnight. They had to be paid in new and imaginative ways. The United States government said "no" to salary increases — unpatriotic — too costly — for the duration of the war. "Benefits" were born. Health insurance — dental insurance — eye care — life insurance — pensions in many forms — training programs of all kinds — crafts — trades — education at all levels. What was Andy's part in all this — Andy spoke for the very vital aluminum industry along with others from steel autos, air craft, mining — the whole industrial might of the country. It was Andy and many men like him that defined the origin of "benefits," the common place, the almost taken for granted part of the economy today. ~ Anderson

For more information about leaving a legacy at the History Center through a bequest, commemorative tile, life insurance, or other gift please contact Elizabeth McMullen, Senior Development Associate at 412-454-6445 or eamcmullen@heinzhistorycenter.org 



Photos by Emma Neely.

BOOK REVIEWS



Kate M. Scott: Did She or Didn't She? A Biography

By Carole A. Briggs

Apollo: Closson Press, 2014

Paperback, 312 pp., illustrated, endnotes, index, \$35
Order at jchconline.org and insert "Scott bio" in the
subject line. Add \$4 s&h, Pa. residents add \$2.10 tax,
checks payable to JCHS.

Reviewed by David M. Neville

Kate Scott—Civil War nurse, newspaper editor, author, social reformer—lived an amazing life during some of the most stirring decades in American history. But for a number of years a perplexing question remained unanswered about this accomplished woman: did she secretly bear a child of President Lincoln's assassin John Wilkes Booth? In *Kate M. Scott, Did She or Didn't She? A Biography*, author Carole A. Briggs painstakingly investigates this assertion while fleshing out the life of the Brookville, Pennsylvania, resident.

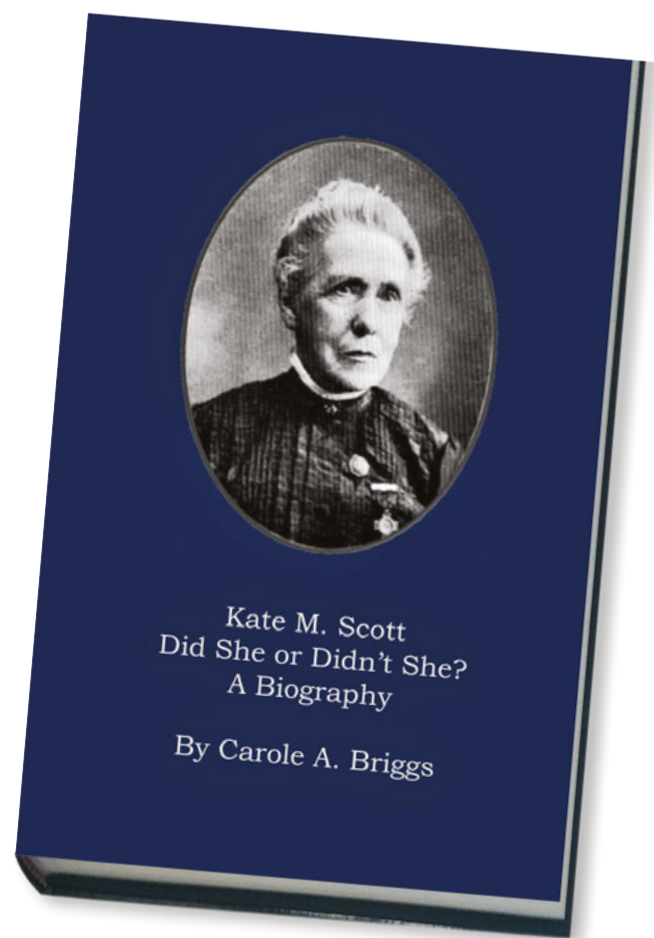
The "assertion" about Kate first surfaced in 2003 in Leonard Guttridge's and Ray Neff's book, *Dark Union: The Secret Web of Profiteers, Politicians, and Booth Conspirators That Led To Lincoln's Death*. Upon its release, *Dark Union* ignited a firestorm of condemnation within the historical community; its many tales included one that told how John Wilkes Booth escaped death at the hands of Union troops at the Garrett farm, living on the lamb

until his death in India in the 1880s. Unsurprisingly, given the controversial nature of such statements, reviews of the book were scathing with prominent Lincoln scholars, Edward Steers, Jr., and Joan Chaconas writing that "the conclusions presented in *Dark Union*, based on a collection of typed transcripts of alleged original documents that do no longer exist, cannot be accepted as having serious merit."

Mary Catherine "Kate" Scott, the subject of this new biography, was born in Ebensburg, Pa., in 1837, a daughter of John Scott, a printer by trade, who in 1859 began publishing the *Brookville Republican*, in Brookville, Jefferson County. As told by author Carole Briggs, Kate "began to learn the printing trade from her father, assisting him in the offices of the *Brookville Republican*," by which she was employed when the Civil War began in April 1861.

Like communities all across the nation, war fever swept into rural Brookville, with men flocking to join local companies that soon marched off to war. Many of these men enlisted in the 105th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry (the unit Kate Scott joined as a volunteer nurse in December 1861), while it was encamped at Camp Jamison, Virginia.

Diseases like smallpox and typhoid fever were the scourge of army camps, and Camp Jamison was no different. Although exposed on a daily basis to these contagious illnesses, Kate managed to stay healthy, enduring three months in camp with the 105th, nursing countless young men — "her boys" as she was fond of calling them. In March



BOOK REVIEWS

1862, when the 105th went on campaign, Kate's nursing duties ended; she returned to Brookville, where for the remainder of the war she served as editor of her father's newspaper, a publication supportive of the Lincoln administration.

Having narrated Kate's wartime service, author Briggs does a fine job detailing her post-war accomplishments, which include the authorship of two books: a regimental history of her beloved 105th Pennsylvania Infantry, and a comprehensive history of Jefferson County. Briggs' research also reveals that in the decades preceding Kate's death in 1911, she immersed herself in the activities of Civil War veteran associations and that in 1890 she was elected postmaster (postmistress) of Brookville, an uncommon attainment for a woman in that era.

Controversy, however, enveloped Kate's legacy nearly 100 years after her death, when she was linked to John Wilkes Booth in the aforementioned book *Dark Union*. The piece of "evidence" linking Kate to Booth, according to the authors of *Dark Union*, is a 1910 deposition to early Lincoln scholar Osborn Oldroyd in which she "admitted to bearing a child of John Wilkes Booth on December 8, 1865." It is this document that is subjected to close scrutiny — literally line-by-line — by Scott's biographer Carole Briggs in an effort to confirm its veracity.

After a thoughtful investigation by Briggs, the document's veracity is shown to be sorely lacking. The author argues "that Kate never gave this deposition to Osborn Oldroyd" and this reviewer is convinced that Carole Briggs is spot-on in her conclusions, but read it for yourself and decide. Whatever you conclude, you'll still get a very good biography of a fascinating woman who—so wrote the *Brookville Republican*—lived a life "devoted to the friends and causes she so loved." ★

David M. Neville is a military historian, the former publisher of *Military Images* magazine, and coauthor with Michael Kraus and Kenneth Turner of *The Civil War in Pennsylvania, A Photographic History* (2012).

A Colony Sprung From Hell: Pittsburgh and the Struggle for Authority on the Western Pennsylvania Frontier, 1744-1794

By Daniel P. Barr

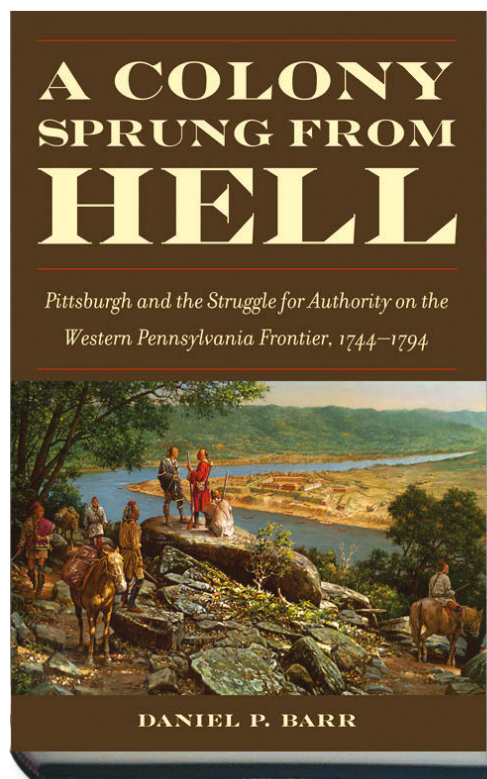
Kent State University Press, 2014

500 pps.

\$65 hardcover

Reviewed by Aaron O'Data, Duquesne University Public History program alumnus

Often at the center of discussions on livability, Pittsburgh today receives high marks for its green spaces, food scene, cultural amenities, and more. The Pittsburgh at the center of author Daniel P. Barr's book, however, was quite a different place. In the mid-1700s, American colonists from Pennsylvania and Virginia began moving to the area around the Forks of the Ohio. They brought with them hopes of economic opportunity and a unique attitude of frontier independence. Lacking any formal auspices of governance, the lawless and chaotic village that formed around the walls of Fort Pitt was described by Col. Henry Bouquet as "a colony sprung from hell for the scourge of mankind." In this book, which adapts Bouquet's description for its title, Daniel Barr explores the rich and complicated fabric



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of Pittsburgh's early history. There, British, Pennsylvanian, Virginian, and American forces fought between each other and struggled to exert authority over Pittsburgh and its surrounding region.

A Colony Sprung From Hell is broken into three sections that outline the "three discernibly different phases" of "the struggle for authority on the western Pennsylvania frontier." The first part, "Competition," outlines the rivalry between land speculators, colonial officials, and traders as they fought both to gain possession of and exert authority over the Western Pennsylvania frontier. As the struggle between these interests intensified, international conflict broke out in the form of the Seven Years War, which brought with it aggression from various Native American tribes. Familiar actors of this narrative include George Washington, who at the time was a prominent and wealthy land speculator, motivated to ensure Pittsburgh's place within the colony of Virginia for his financial benefit.

In part two, "Regulation," Barr weaves a tale of British imperial motivations to secure peace on the frontier in the post-Seven Years War colonial world. Incensed by what was perceived to be a distant government acting arbitrarily with no notion of local concerns, settlers worked to pursue economic

endeavors and maintain political autonomy.

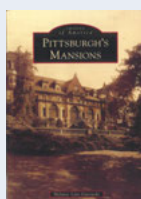
Part three, "Revolution," rounds out the book as frontier tensions came to a head leading up to, throughout, and following the American Revolution. As a center for Continental military power, Fort Pitt and its leaders consistently failed to see what Barr describes as the concerns of the local population. Commanders from the outside were unable to grasp the desire of the settlers for political autonomy based on self-interest and military protection against the Native Americans, who were simultaneously feared and hated. This final section also challenges the idea that American colonists were united behind a common ideal of nationhood against the British, as Pennsylvania and Virginia came close to declaring war on each other over control of Pittsburgh while also at war with England.

A Colony Sprung From Hell successfully brings the reader into the world of the early frontier of Western Pennsylvania. Barr both honors and explains the deep and complex issues at the heart of the founding of Pittsburgh. Readers of any background will gain an understanding and appreciation of the turbulent origins of what is now called "A most livable city."

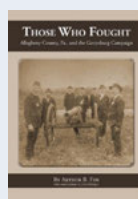


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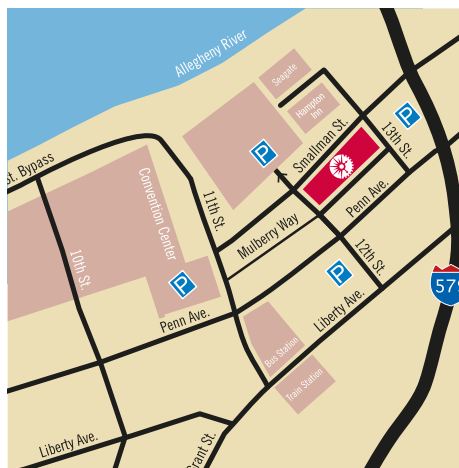
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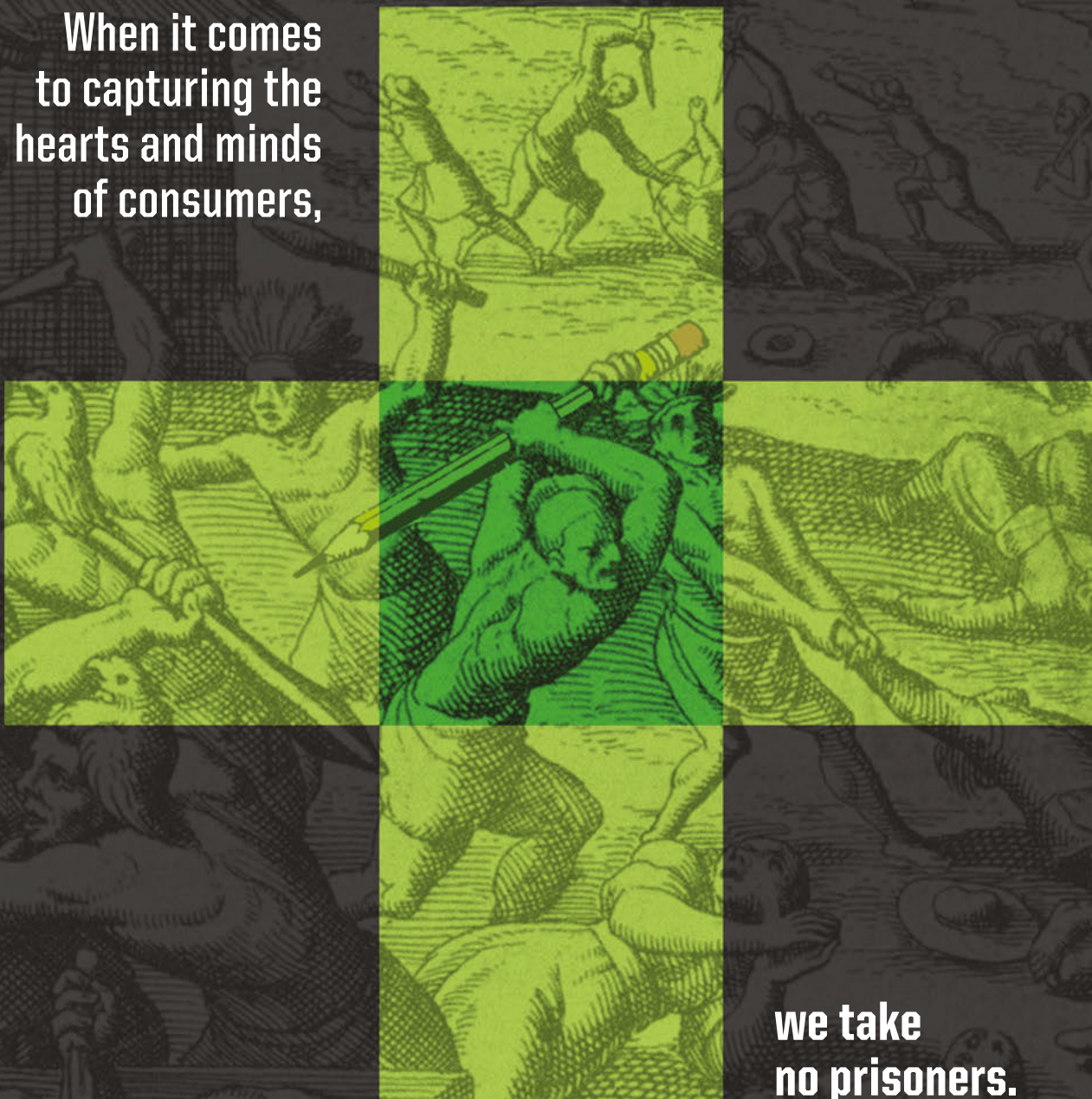
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