A Half Century of Rivalry Between Pittsburgh and Wheeling*

By F. Frank Crall

It was sometime in 1904 that the Secretary of the Wheeling Board of Trade, R. B. Naylor, paid this compliment to his larger neighbor up the Ohio: "Great cities dot this region on every hand, beginning with Pittsburgh on the north with a tonnage of 86,636,680, greater than that of London, New York, Antwerp, and Hamburgh combined; with a coal output in the immediate locality as great as that of France; with iron and steel production larger than that of Great Britain; with a steel rail output greater than that of Germany; with a pig-iron production nearly as large as that of Russia and France,—an industrial development which is the wonder of our time." ¹

Then turning his attention to his own city Mr. Naylor continued, "Coming down from Pittsburgh we find the valley lined with little Pittsburghs—we have Wheeling, the metropolis of West Virginia, and a little Pittsburgh in very truth, with great iron and steel plants, with extensive potteries, big glass houses, and a large number of manufacturing plants in many lines." ²

More than a century and a quarter had passed since the founding of both of these cities. The one had become an industrial giant, metropolis of the upper-Ohio Valley. The other had made remarkable progress too, but found its pride gratified if it could but justify the title of "A little Pittsburgh." Census statistics serve only to emphasize this giant-pigmy relationship. In 1920 Pittsburgh stood ninth among the cities of the United States with 588,343 inhabitants, whereas Wheeling with its 56,208 ranked a lowly 127th. ³ Pittsburgh had nearly eight times as many industrial establishments as Wheeling, employing over nine times as many men and women workers. Comparisons of capitalization and value of output reveal disparities as great. ⁴

Yet census returns, impressive and important as they are, do not constitute the entire measure of competitive

* Read before the Society, May 27, 1930.
power. Command of natural advantages, political influence and favors, civic pride and enterprise—these too are potent factors, and may go far toward nullifying differences in population and wealth. At all periods in the history of these two cities the differences in population, in number of dwelling houses, in commercial and industrial establishments have distinctly emphasized the superiority of Pittsburgh over its younger neighbor. Nevertheless, throughout most of the first half of the Nineteenth Century Wheeling dared to challenge the leadership of Pittsburgh and consciously sought to surpass her as the chief trade mart of the Ohio.

Trade rivalry was the "Mother" of the western communities on the Ohio. Bitter international rivalry brought the Forks of the Ohio conspicuously before the courts of Europe as a great stake in the age-old conflict between England and France. "Behind the scenes, less conspicuous, but hardly less keen and consequential was the rivalry between Virginia and Pennsylvania." This produced first the Braddock, then the Forbes Road—the failure of the expedition of the former, the success of the latter. "Time passed. The rival colonies became for a time rival states. Virginia experimented cautiously with the Wilderness Road, "with a scheme for rebuilding Braddock's Road. "and finally with the "Potowmack Company." But the new Federal Government soon called Washington, the chief promoter of Virginia enterprises, away from the narrow role he was playing in provincial Virginia, whereupon those enterprises languished, "and the Old Dominion ceased to be an aggressive factor in the competition for western prizes.

At the same moment, however, Pennsylvania ushered in the "turnpike era." Her legislature authorized the Lancaster Turnpike in 1792 "and opened the way for superior highway transportation between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Meanwhile Baltimore, the growing metropolis of the Chesapeake, was not asleep. The outlook for that city became particularly favorable when Congress by the Acts of 1802 and 1803 authorized the allocation of one-twentieth of the proceeds of the sales of public land in the new state of Ohio to the construction of a turnpike from
the Atlantic seaboard to the Ohio river, and thence westward to Indiana and Illinois. 13

Commissions appointed by President Jefferson decided to start the road at Cumberland, Maryland, 14 the western terminus of a good road leading from Baltimore. 15 The first contracts were let in 1811 16 and by 1818 the road was opened to Wheeling. 17 A community of interest between the town on the Ohio and Baltimore at once sprang up, becoming a potent contributing factor in Philadelphia’s drop from first to third place as a population and commercial center. 18

The town of Wheeling had been quietly founded in 1769 by the Zanes, dissatisfied pioneers from the country around Redstone Old Fort. 19 Washington passing down the Ohio a year later, busy looking for mill sites, made no note of the place in his diary, evidently like the Levite of old passing by on the other side, a literal possibility as an island of considerable proportions divides the river at this point. 20 Though not ushered into existence with the roll of drums and the rattle of musketry like Pittsburgh some fifteen years earlier, “Wheeling grew. It was not without certain natural advantages. It had but the one river approach to be sure, whereas Pittsburgh had three. But it was the site of an Indian crossing of the Ohio and an old Indian trail leading to the eastward, and the Indians were endowed with a dependable topographical instinct. 21 Long before the building of the National Road, emigrants seeking the Ohio, instead of taking passage at Brownsville or West Newton, began the practice of moving westward overland to Wheeling. 22 They saved distance this way and time as well. For dangerous shallows and rifts obstructed navigation between Pittsburgh and Wheeling, whereas unobstructed navigation prevailed below the latter point. It was this consideration that secured for Wheeling the Ohio crossing point on the National Road. 23

With this advantage in river navigation, with a natural land approach now traversed by a highway of the latest model of construction supported by the power of the Federal Government, Wheeling could look forward to rapid growth and intense business activity. How does Pittsburgh view the outlook? One searches in vain through the files of the Pittsburgh Gazette for some reference to the
new highway during the year 1816 when Congress made the largest appropriation for the road, and during 1817 when Wheeling was selected as the Ohio crossing point. But the serene disdain of the Pittsburgh journalist is not inpenetrable. In November, 1818, he begins to register some concern over this newly opened rival trade artery and its potential effect upon the development of a rival city.

"The worthy citizens of that little borough," writes the Gazette editor a little later, "are actually doing nothing but walking about on stilts and stroking their chins with the utmost self complacency... 'Poor Pittsburgh,' they exclaim, 'Your day is over, the sceptre of influence and wealth is to travel to us; the Cumberland Road has done the business.'"

The Pittsburgher professes himself to be "very much amused", but as a matter of fact his tone during these weeks reveals him to be very much alarmed. And well he and his fellow Pittsburgh business men may be alarmed. It was this very year that the reaction from war-stimulated prosperity struck the city in full force. War-born factories were shut down. Unemployment prevailed. To add to the local economic stringency unusual drouth prolonged the low water period beyond September well into November. In late November, the Pittsburgh editor counted 30 keel boats loaded with the fall goods which the Kentucky merchants were clamoring for, tied to the wharf waiting for a favorable rise in the river flow.

Against this background of business depression and low water in Pittsburgh the National Pike was opened to Wheeling. Added to these ominous portents from the South was an even more disconcerting spectre looming up from the North—DeWitt Clinton and his proposed canal across the state of New York. "Whenever we hear of the New York canal a kind of tremor seizes our frames," moans the Gazette editor. "Whenever we read any of Mr. Clinton's speeches or reports, we can hear old Cato's "delenda est Carthage" thundering in our ears, and not unfrequently [sic] when we are thinking of the future situation of Philadelphia does the idea of Old Sarum, the rotten borough come to us. We leave it to the 'Academy of Fine Arts' to account for the association."
"Finish the Pike," he cries—the Pennsylvania Pike, he means. 30 He scolds the apparent complacency of Philadelphia commercial interests, 31 he takes the Governor and the State Legislature to task for their failure to take hold of the Pennsylvania highway problem with vigorous determination. 32 He is utterly disgusted, and justly so, when the state officials show a disposition to take seriously the chimerical proposals of one Senator Breck involving a transcontinental water way following the Susquehanna, the Juniata, Kiskiminitas, Allegheny, Ohio, Missouri, and Columbia to the Pacific, with miraculous lifts over the Alleghenies and Rockies en route. 33

In the meanwhile the new National Road was doing great things for Wheeling. The cost of transporting merchandise from Baltimore was reduced as much as seven dollars per hundred, 34 and the time cut from nearly two months to a little more than a fortnight. 35 "Floods of traffic", "incessant streams of road conveyances," "endless trains of road wagons" 36—these are phrases which abound in the recollections of those whose memories go back to the hey-day period of the Old Pike. Statistical support of these assertions, however, is meager. A friend of the road, T. M. McKennan, speaking in Congress in 1832, presents figures for one commission house in Wheeling. In 1822 this establishment unloaded 1081 wagons averaging 3500 pounds each, and paid for carriage $90,000. On the basis of these figures the Congressman estimated the number of wagons unloaded by Wheeling's five other commission houses to be around 5000 with nearly $400,000 paid out for transportation. 37 Wheeling's Post Office had become before 1830 one of the largest distributing offices of the country. 38 Her river port was one of the most important in the country for the embarkation of emigrants and transportation of goods, and it had been designated as a port of entry. 39 Her iron foundries were attaining considerable prominence, other factories were starting up. 40 Martin in his Gazeteer of Virginia (1836), noted 113 manufacturing establishments, employing 1300 hands, and using nearly a million bushels of coal annually. 41 This same year, 1836, Wheeling was incorporated as a city. 42 At that time the city had 65 wholesale and retail stores whose annual business amounted to a million and a half. The seven com-
mission houses handled thousands of tons of merchandise paying to wagoners and boat owners nearly a quarter of a million for transportation. "Standing by themselves these statistics appear impressive.

But how about "poor Pittsburgh" whose "sceptre of commercial power" little Wheeling boasted would pass to her. When the Gazette editor lamented the possible effect of the National Road upon Pittsburgh commerce, he spoke confidently of "other interests that she (Pittsburgh) cannot be deprived of." "He referred to her manufactures. Already the place was known as the "young Manchester," the "Birmingham of America." "By 1830 she had nine foundries, eight rolling mills, nine nail factories, and seven steam engine factories, against one big general iron works in Wheeling (Agnew's), four foundries, and four steam engine factories. Wheeling had five glass houses, Pittsburgh eight. In output, employees, coal consumption, the figures for Pittsburgh by the end of the decade 1820-1830 far surpassed those of Wheeling. "

Earlier the Gazette editor had lamented the prevalence of what he called "Merchantilmania," and expressed the hope that capital would be withdrawn gradually from commerce to be reinvested in industry. "Apparently, however, Pittsburgh merchants regarded the close of the decade, 1820-1830, just as unpropitious for changing their "walk of life", as the editor would have it, as its beginning. In 1817 Pittsburgh had 109 stores of various kinds, but in 1836 there were 250. The aggregate business of these establishments totaled over eighteen and three-fourth millions of dollars. "At the same time Wheeling had less than 75 stores of all kinds whose aggregate business scarcely topped two million. "

Why had Wheeling with so much in her favor failed to make a better showing? The reasons are numerous but not far to seek. Wheeling leaders themselves complain of the lack of business alertness and enterprise, and a dearth of civic pride in growth and improvement. They envied those same characteristics so evident in Pittsburgh. "Nor did the West Virginia hinterland provide a substantial commercial background for the city, her people being of the hunting type rather than the agricultural. "Furthermore, Wheeling had justification for discontent with the "parent-
al rooftree." Virginia lagged behind her neighbors in internal improvements. Her interests were those of the plantation south rather than the industrial north. Her political leaders were cautious and conservative. It was in cautious, conservative, agricultural Virginia that Wheeling found herself—visions of commercial greatness, but no legislative aid toward their realization, for her interests were not those of her State. It was in venturesome, progressive, commercial Pennsylvania that Pittsburgh found herself—visions of commercial greatness amply urged to realization by timely state legislation, for her interests and those of her state were identical.

Potent as these factors were in restricting the growth of the Virginia city, more serious is the evidence which appears to convict the Old Pike itself of obstructing the commercial aspirations of the very localities it was expected most to benefit. Constitutional scruples and sectional rivalry constantly threatened to curtail further contributions from the Federal Treasury toward its support. Talk of surrender of the road to the States through which it passed boded no good for Wheeling, for those States had no motives justifying the expenditure of large sums to keep up a good traffic artery for that city. Particularly was this true of Pennsylvania.

Furthermore the road cost too much. The total figures reached the sum of $6,824,919, a large sum for those days. Conceivably the road was worth it, but the mounting costs of construction were an embarrassment to its Congressional advocates, heckled as they were by its Constitutional and sectional opponents.

The cost argument could have been neutralized, had the defenders of the Road been able to show a substantial and permanent traffic way. But it was in a constant state of disrepair. It was a repair or upkeep question that called forth the first Presidential veto of a bill pertaining to the road. Talk of abandonment of the section between Washington, Pennsylvania and Wheeling ran rife around 1825 because of its dilapidated condition. Historians of the road praise the fidelity of the road contractors and commend the substantial character of their bridges as evidence. But the rush to finish the road, the inexperience of the builders, evidence that "fortunes" were made
from road contracts, and the fact that much of the road had to be rebuilt from the foundation up before the States would accept its surrender in the 30's suggests a question as to the faithfulness with which the original specifications were adhered to. These points have value in this discussion, however, only in the light they throw on Wheeling's commercial problems. An imperfect transportation artery, uncertainty of her ability to hold it or keep it in adequate repair—these are conditions which would naturally deter capital from entering that city and in consequence dwarf her expansion.

It remains to touch briefly upon Wheeling's two great disappointments which came to her in the 30's. Much space has been devoted to the period 1820 to 1830 for that is the period when Wheeling made her strongest bid for commercial leadership. She failed to reach the goal to which she aspired for reasons we have noted. Nevertheless she had laid good foundations. Why could she not build on what had been started and still make a strong bid for leadership?

One of these disappointments was the successful completion of the Pennsylvania Public Works in 1834. The canals had been completed to the foot of the Alleghenies by 1830. But the Portage railroad over the Allegheny Ridge begun in 1831 carried the first canal boat over the mountains in 1834, and a new era of transportation for Pittsburgh was ushered in. By 1835 the change wrought on Wheeling business interests is perceptible, partly in the growing evidence of an "inferiority complex" pervading the editorial columns of her newspapers, partly in the frequent notices in the advertising columns of these same papers of dissolutions of partnerships involving withdrawal from New Orleans connections and the formation of new alignments with Philadelphia interests. While these moves by no means indicate changes detrimental to Wheeling, the facts do carry with them strong suggestions of increasing subordination to Pittsburgh. Before long the Ohio tobacco trade turned from Baltimore to Philadelphia, and business men in Baltimore and Wheeling alike could foresee the time rapidly approaching when the trade in all other produce would likewise turn to Philadelphia.
“Nothing can restore it to Baltimore but a railroad over the mountains,” states the *Baltimore American* in 1836."

This leads us to consider the other grievous disappointment suffered by both Wheeling and Baltimore, the failure of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to occupy its Pennsylvania Charter and build through to Brownsville and Wheeling between the years 1835 and 1840. "This failure is probably as influential as any event transpiring during these years in shaping the commercial history of Pittsburgh and the Panhandle.

There was a wide gap, however, between the sanguine hopes of Wheeling business interests, misled perhaps by equally sanguine reports of the railroad officials and their surveyors, and the realities of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad construction. "All speculation as to the termination of the road may be considered at an end. It will terminate at Wheeling and Pittsburgh provided the subscription is raised by them," thus writes a Wheeling editor confidently late in 1835. "But when this editorial comment appeared, the railhead of the Baltimore and Ohio was still a hundred miles east of the Allegheny ridge. Only eighty-one miles of line had been completed. Its "burthen cars" and passenger coaches could be carried to Point of Rocks, Maryland, by cinder-coughing "Tom Thumbs," but between that point and Harper’s Ferry the querulous Chesapeake and Ohio Canal running parallel to the railroad required the latter to use animal power. "Negotiations were just beginning to promise the elimination of this grievous handicap and the permission to build a viaduct over the canal and river at Harper’s Ferry. "Once over the Potomac the railroad could make a profitable connection with the Winchester Railroad recently opened into the rich Shenandoah Valley."

Years of discouragement were to pass before a charter was obtainable from a reluctant Virginia legislature, and the railroad could resume its construction toward Cumberland and Wheeling. "It reached the former point in 1842, " and there remained awaiting fresh supplies of capital and new charters from the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania. "The Pennsylvania Charter, much to the disgust of Pittsburgh business interests keen to prevent Wheeling securing the Ohio terminus of the Baltimore
and Ohio, was so framed as to give the Pennsylvania Railroad exclusive right-of-way into Pittsburgh providing a specified amount of capital was raised in cash, and a specified mileage was under contract by August 1st, 1847. The Pennsylvania boosters by herculean efforts met the requirements by the appointed date, so the only course left open to Governor Shunk was to declare the Baltimore and Ohio charter null and void.

Therefore, the only way left to the Baltimore and Ohio to get to its western goal was to occupy its Virginia charter and proceed to Wheeling by way of Grafton and Grave Creek. In the meantime, however, the attractiveness of Wheeling as the Ohio River terminus had dimmed remarkably. Far more to be desired was distant Cincinnati and St. Louis. But the best way to approach these points was to build directly west to Parkersburg and pass up Wheeling for the time being. No sooner was this suggested than a bitter outcry arose in the city of the Panhandle. For twenty years she had planned for, prayed for, threatened and begged for the railroad, years marked by vituperative exchanges between rival Pittsburgh and Wheeling newspapers, sometimes over the question of the railroad terminus, sometimes over the location of the Government Marine Hospital, sometimes over the construction of a highway bridge at the Virginia city. It would be interesting to consider some of these exchanges but our space will not permit. As to the railroad, on one of those rare occasions of concern with the commercial welfare of the metropolis of her western counties, Virginia refused it permission to alter its charter. President Swan bowed to the will of the Legislature and urged forward the laying of the rails to Wheeling. On January 14, 1853, a great railroad celebration was held in that city, the officials resident in Baltimore coming all the way by train to grace the occasion by their presence. Unbroken rail connections between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh over the Pennsylvania Railroad were not made until February 15, 1854, and one authority claims the first through train over this line did not enter Pittsburgh until July 18, 1858.

But this triumph over Pittsburgh came too late to be of lasting importance to the Virginia city. An exhila-
rating effect upon Wheeling trade was perceptible. "Certainly the old National Road collapsed as a commercial artery." Yet in view of the importance of trade with Cincinnati and St. Louis a more direct line was regarded as imperative. So construction of the Grafton-Parkersburg extension was begun and opened in 1857. In time through connection was effected with Cincinnati and St. Louis, and Wheeling functioned merely as a terminus of a branch line.

We have no occasion to carry this account further. Rival colonies, rival states, rival cities on the seaboard in the rough and tumble struggle for supremacy in trade with the West stimulated the growth and development of that section. These facts gave rise to rival transportation arteries, and these in turn gave strength to rival cities on the Ohio. Although the city of Pittsburgh was older and her commerce and industry more highly developed from the start, Wheeling dared to challenge the city at the Forks for commercial leadership of the Ohio Valley. The National Road for a time threatened to give Wheeling the palm. But when this transportation artery became out of date no other was forth-coming immediately to take its place, while Pittsburgh, on the other hand, could build up years of solid prosperity on the basis of her manufactures and the Pennsylvania Canal. Years went by. Pittsburgh gained, Wheeling lost. At last the railroad came, but too late. Pittsburgh got her railroad almost as soon. The sceptre of commercial power had already passed to other parts. Wheeling capital in the coming years sought more and more the field of manufacturing, and by the close of the Nineteenth Century, she is proud to be called "a little Pittsburgh."

NOTES

1. From an address before the Ohio Valley Historical Society, quoted by Hulbert, Archer Butler, The Ohio River, p. 366.
2. Ibid.
5. The movements of Pennsylvania traders are thoroughly treated by Volwiler, Albert T., George Croghan and the Westward Movement, pp. 21ff. Croghan was licensed as an Indian
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trader 1744 and 1747 (Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Series, II, 619; Colonial Records, V, 72.) Instructed by Governor Hamilton to investigate the activities of Celeron de Bienville, 1749 (Colonial Records, V, 387); Croghan’s journey to the Ohio (Colonial Records, V, 530-540).

Virginia’s activities during these years are treated in Koontz, Louis K., The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763, passim; Hening’s Statutes at Large of Virginia, VI, 258ff.

Newton, J. H., Ed., History of the Panhandle (1879), pp. 36ff., contains an unsigned account of Celeron de Bienville’s expedition representing at the time fresh examination in the government archives at Paris of both de Bienville’s original journal and that of his priest and “sailing master”, Father Bonneecamps. From similarity of phrasing the writer infers that the article in Newton was written by O. H. Marshall. See “De Celeron’s Expedition to the Ohio in 1749”. (Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, v. 29, 824-951).

Hening, op. cit., contains the legislative record of Virginia during these years indicating the support given by that colony to western trade and expansion. Also Volwiler, op. cit., and Koontz, op. cit. Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, VI, pp 3ff., contains a number of letters exchanged between Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania and Governor Dinwiddle of Virginia relative to the conflicting claims of each to the Forks of the Ohio.

Historians differ greatly upon the subject of Pennsylvania’s support of Braddock’s expedition. Parkman, Francis, Conspiracy of Pontiac, I, 80ff. and Hulbert, The Old Glade Road, passim, are quite critical of the Pennsylvania legislature, whereas Fisher, George Sydney, Pennsylvania, Colony and Commonwealth, passim, defends strongly the Assembly in every dispute with the Proprietary Governor, Robert Hunter Morris. The Colonial Records, vol. VI, contains many letters from General Braddock commenting favorably upon the services of Pennsylvanians, notably Dr. Franklin, in supplying wagons and other supplies, thus supporting the Fisher point of view.


Hening, op. cit., IV, 252f., an act authorizing a road to Fort Pitt, 1766.


Ibid., pp. 62f.


17. Ibid., p. 36.
19. Newton, op. cit., p. 60. The origin of the name "Wheeling" is somewhat clouded in confusing legends. One version has it that it is an Indian name "Weeling", meaning head. There is a tradition to the effect that a number of white pioneers were massacred in this district by Delaware Indians, who erected a pole at the mouth of what is now called Wheeling Creek, bearing the head of one of the victims as a warning to future white intruders. Another tradition, more civilized in its origin, accounts for the name by reference to the "circuitous meanderings" ("wheeling") of the creek which flows from the east into the Ohio at this point. The oldest English map of the West, it is said, contains the names Wieling Creek and Weeling Island. This map was published in 1755, fourteen years before Colonel Zane could have given the site its present name. (Paraphrased from Newton, op. cit., pp. 180-181.)
21. Ibid., p. 67.
23. Hulbert, op. cit., p. 104.—"Catfish Camp", James Williams' tavern at Washington, the first tavern in that historic town, was built in 1781, and operated eleven years for the benefit of the growing trade of pioneers who chose to embark on the Ohio at Wheeling rather than on the Monongahela at Brownsville.
27. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, XXXIII (Nov. 17, 1818), No. 53.—"... The fact is no longer to be concealed that a little more capital in Baltimore and Alexandria, and the establishment of half a dozen commission houses of respectability in Wheeling are all that is wanting to shake the prosperity of Philadelphia to its very centre. Pittsburgh would in that case be very much injured but she has other resources that she can never be deprived of. The West must depend upon her for supplies that will insure her ultimate success; every year will encrease [sic] the extent of this dependence."
30. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, XXXIII (Nov. 17, 1818), No. 53.
31. Ibid., (July 7, 1818), New Series, No. 15.
32. Ibid., (Aug. 4, 1818), No. 23.
33. Ibid., "Philadelphians begin to write about internal improvements at last, but as always the case in human nature they fly from one extreme to the other." Not satisfied with turnpikes now, complains the Pittstmrgher, they fly to canals; Absurd! "The salvation of Philadelphia, at present, is the question,
and this salvation we conceive, depends on something much more practicable, at all events, much less expensive, than digging canals through mountains and melting down rocks."

34. Ibid., (Dec. 15, 1818), No. 61. The editor is gravely disappointed because Governor William Findlay devoted but a single paragraph to "Internal Improvements" and of that paragraph only two sentences to turnpikes. He charges the Governor with being too much under the influence of Senator Breck. Continuing the Pittsburgh editor answers the canal advocate again, "Whilst we are threatened on both sides with a melancholy diminution of our trade, why should we embark on plans whose completion must be so distant, as to afford no possible chance of neutralizing the designs of Maryland and Virginia on one side, and of New York on the other? And when it is conceded that a complete turnpike through our state would actually have all the effect of rendering abortive the conspiracies of our rivals, which the most sanguine of our projectors could expect from their canals, why desert practicable measures to embark on the whole sea of experiment?"

35. First reported in the Gazette, XXXIII (Aug. 4, 1818), No. 23. See criticism of Governor Findlay's disposition to take it seriously in Note 32 above.


37. Ibid., and Searight, op. cit., p. 108.

38. Statements like this appear frequently in Searight, op. cit., (e.g., p. 16), and Newton, op. cit., (e.g., p. 175).


41. Martin, James, Gazetteer of Virginia, pp. 406ff.


43. op. cit.

44. Newton, op. cit., p. 191.

45. Martin, op. cit.

46. See note 25 above.


48. All statistics for Pittsburgh in this paragraph from Thurs- ton, op. cit., pp. 61-64; for Wheeling from Martin, op. cit., pp. 406ff.

49. Pittsburgh Gazette, XXXIII (Nov. 17, 1818), No. 53.


51. Martin, op. cit.

52. Newton, op. cit., p. 193. The writer lamenting that Wheeling is hemmed in between river and hill, adds significantly that the "enterprising citizens of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati have removed larger hills for lesser cause."

53. Ibid.

54. Martin, op. cit., pp. 87f.


56. Bruce, Robert, The National Road, p. 11.

57. For example, a speech in bitter opposition to the Cumberland Road, in the House of Representatives by James C. Mitchell, of South Carolina, on Feb. 16, 1829. Gales & Seaton edition (1829), pp. 22ff.
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59. Newton, op. cit., p. 175. Henry Clay was influential in saving the road for Wheeling thereby alienating Wellsburg, the proposed Ohio crossing point had the change gone through. Clay got nearly a unanimous vote in Wheeling and Ohio County in 1832, states this authority, whereas but one citizen of Wellsburg, a "hairbrained, eccentric individual" cast a vote for the National Republican ticket.
60. Searight, op. cit., p. 141.
61. Newton, op. cit.
62. Ibid. "A large amount of money was expended by the Government, and large fortunes were made by some of the contractors out of the proceeds."
64. Sharpless, Isaac, Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History, pp. 288f.
66. Wheeling Tri-Weekly Gazette through the year 1835.
67. Quoted by Wheeling Tri-Weekly Gazette, I (Nov. 9, 1835), No. 137.
69. Wheeling Tri-Weekly Gazette, I (Aug. 21, 1835), No. 100.
71. Wheeling Tri-Weekly Gazette, I (Sept. 14, 1835), No. 110.
72. Reizenstein, op. cit.
73. Ibid., pp. 29f; 45.
74. Ibid., p. 85.
75. Ibid., pp. 51ff.
76. Pittsburgh Daily Gazette and Advertiser (Dec. 18, 1845), No. 107. An account of a railroad mass meeting at Ebensburg in which the sense of the gathering was expressed in this quotation from the resolutions,—"If the terminus of that road were made at Wheeling, Parkersburg, or the mouth of Fish Creek, it would inflict deep and lasting injury to our interests." The issue of March 18, 1846, contains an account of a Pittsburgh railroad meeting of which the editor writes, "We believe no other subject matter whatever, unless it was akin to a revolution when men felt their religious or civil liberties were at stake—could have collected such a gathering."
78. Ibid.
80. Ibid., pp. 66ff.
81. Ibid., also Wheeling Tri-Weekly Gazette, 1835 and 1836, and Wheeling Tri-Weekly Times and Advertiser, 1838.
82. Wheeling Tri-Weekly Gazette, I (Dec. 9, 1835), No. 154. The Wheeling editor indulges himself at length in specious argument to convince Pittsburgh interests of the advantage to that city of making Brownsville rather than Connellsville the junction point for the branches respectively to Wheeling and Pittsburgh. But the distance and topography decidedly favored the Connellsville junction.
83. This controversy was carried on during the month of January, 1838, between the Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor and the Wheeling Tri-Weekly Times and Advertiser, just after a Govern-
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The Merit Commission had favored Wheeling as the location for the proposed hospital. The following is typical of the Wheeling editor's reaction to Pittsburgh criticisms:

Taking umbrage at the "slanderous remarks of the Visitor upon our city", he accused the Pittsburgh editor of objecting to no other place but Wheeling, which place "is intolerable in his jaundiced eyes". Why shouldn't the Marine Hospital be located in Wheeling, challenged the Times editor. The months of August and September were the heavy malarial months. Yet these were the very months when Pittsburgh could not be reached save by a painful journey over land. (Jan. 11, 1838, No. 5).

"We have tried to avoid collision with the editors or people of Pittsburgh", sighed the Times' editor a few days later, "but there is a point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue, and that point the people of Pittsburgh, their representative in Congress, and their editors have now passed. They seem determined that the basest, most sordid and selfish passions in the hearts of man shall every day rise with the smoke of their earthly Pandemonium, and offend the nostrils of heaven and excite the contempt of man. Can it be that there is anything in the air at Pittsburgh creating meanness, jealousy, envy, fear of rivalry—or it is a fact, as has been sometimes supposed, that the alloy and dross of the whole habitable globe has centered itself there?" (Jan. 23, 1838, No. 10).

84. A controversy, beginning 1835, and continuing bitterly for over twenty years, involving not only editorial outbursts, but also court injunctions and adverse Supreme Court decisions. But at last through the intervention of the State of Virginia a favorable Congressional enactment was secured, and the bridge, after being rebuilt once on account of destruction by storm, was finally opened to traffic, 1856. Newton, op. cit., p. 193.


86. Ibid.


88. Shotter, op. cit., p. 35. The Pennsylvania Railroad had built its line to the foot of the Alleghenies on each side, but transportation of goods over 35 miles of mountain terrain was effected via the old Portage Railroad, a combination of inclined planes and connecting rail lines, completed in 1834. The Pennsylvania completed its own mountain division, February 15, 1854. A year later the new state-owned and operated Portage Railroad, eliminating the inclined planes, was opened only to be sold to the Pennsylvania Railroad, 1857, and dismantled the following year. Ibid., p. 46.

90. McGregor, James C., The Disruption of Virginia, pp. 22f.
91. Bruce, op. cit., p. 12.
92. Reizenstein, op. cit., p. 69.
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*McMaster, John Bach.* *A History of the People of the United States.*
Rivalry Between Pittsburgh and Wheeling


II. Books and Monographs treating some special phase of national, sectional, or local history


Hall, Granvill Davisson. The Rending of Virginia. Chicago, 1902.


-------------, The Ohio River. G. P. Putnams Sons, N. Y., 1906.

-------------, The Old Glade (Forbes') Road. (Historic Highways Series, vol. 5). The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, 1903.

-------------, The Old National Road. T. J. Herr Press, Columbus, Ohio, 1901.


Rivalry Between Pittsburgh and Wheeling


Miller, Mrs. Carroll. The Romance of the National Pike. Pittsburgh.


Searight, Thomas B. The Old Pike. Unióntown, Pa., 1894.


Thurston, George H. Pittsburgh and Allegheny in the Centennial Year. A. A. Anderson & Son, Pittsburgh, 1876.

Van Voorhis, John S. The Old and New Monongahela. Pittsburgh, 1893.

