

COLONEL STEPHEN BAYARD, HIS WIFE, AND THEIR TOWN¹

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FIRST, AS to the name: It is not properly pronounced as its spelling would indicate. The first vowel in the first syllable is superfluous, and the syllable is identical in pronunciation with the words "by" or "buy." This fact needs to be emphasized, for there is wide disposition in this generation to err in this particular. This is heard daily in the pronunciation of the name of a prominent residential street in Pittsburgh's Oakland district, though the street was named for descendants of the subjects of this paper; and other uses of the name perpetuate the same error. The town of Elizabeth has its Bayard Street and its Stephen Bayard Lodge of Masons, but it is not uncommon to hear these designations mispronounced even by residents on Bayard Street and members of Stephen Bayard Lodge.

The writer has been familiar from very early life with members of the family who are descendants of Stephen Bayard and has interrogated those bearing the name whose descent is from Peter Bayard, brother of Stephen, as well as that eminent representative of the Delaware branch of the family, Thomas F. Bayard, when he was secretary of state in President Cleveland's cabinet. Without exception these people have agreed in pronouncing the name as given above, and in this they are in entire agreement with all the principal American lexicographers in their rendition of the name as Anglicized.

¹ Read at a meeting of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on October 30, 1934. Mr. Wiley is the author of *Sim Greene and Tom the Tinker's Men*, a novel of the Whisky Insurrection; a pamphlet entitled *The Whisky Insurrection; a General View*; and numerous historical articles. He is a resident of Elizabeth and for many years was the editor of the *Elizabeth Herald*. Ed.

The Bayards are of French origin and can be traced back under that patronymic into the fifteenth century. The family is even older than that; for, under the name "Terrail," it had many generations of fighters in the wars of France. Bayard was the name of the family *château* in Dauphiné, about six miles from Grenoble, and there, in 1475, was born Pierre du Terrail, widely known in history as the Chevalier Bayard, "the knight without fear and without reproach." His numerous biographers agree that he was the first of the line to use the appellation of the family home for the family name, and this practice was followed from that time. But the name cannot be said to have come down directly from him, for his biographers are in substantial agreement that he lived and died a bachelor; the more frank among them, however, give the information that he was the father of three daughters, the offspring of as many different mothers. It would seem that in that day a man could have such an experience and remain a knight "without reproach." It is recorded to his credit, however, that he saw to it that these daughters had proper care and upbringing.²

Through many generations the Bayard family held a proud place in the French nobility, having its ancestral castle, its coat of arms, and its representatives who played their parts in the stirring doings of the time.³ But in the course of years misfortunes came to it by reason of the religious dissensions that arose. The Bayards were stalwart Protestants and were made to feel the stiff opposition of the ruling house. This tyranny, imposed with varying degrees of rigor for more than a century, had its result in driving Huguenots to the estimated number of one hundred thousand from the country. Like many of the Pilgrims of Britain, under like compulsion, a considerable number found refuge in the Netherlands, and the Bayards established themselves there many years before the culmination of the later persecution in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.⁴

² Samuel Shellabarger, *The Chevalier Bayard, a Study in Fading Chivalry*, 10, 115-118 (New York and London, c1928).

³ The part played by the Bayard family in French history is described in Shellabarger, *The Chevalier Bayard*.

⁴ James G. Wilson, "Colonel John Bayard (1738-1807) and the Bayard Family of America," in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 16:49 (April, 1885).

This expatriation led to the injection of a potent Dutch strain into the blood of the Bayard family and to the planting of the American branch, which was destined to play an important part in the future history of the land beyond the sea, where its representatives have attained to high place in war, statesmanship, diplomacy, the learned professions, and mercantile pursuits. The Dutch connection was established through a double alliance with the Holland family of Stuyvesant: the dynamic Peter Stuyvesant, who was to become the last Dutch governor at New Amsterdam, took for his wife Judith Bayard, noted for beauty and strength of character, and her brother Samuel married Peter's stately sister, Anna.⁵ On the same ship that conveyed Peter and his wife to the new land early in 1647, went his then widowed sister and her children, Petrus, Balthazar, Nicholas, and Catherine Bayard. From the three sons descended the American Bayards, long potent in New York, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, and now, with descendants of other names by marriage, widely scattered.⁶ In view of the fact that this family in its blood combined the bold determination of the Stuyvesants and the chivalrous courage of the Bayards, it is not a matter for wonder that its scions should accomplish notable things in a new country with its opportunities.

It is with the eldest of Samuel Bayard's three sons, Petrus, and his descendants that this history is particularly concerned. Petrus became a man of wealth and consequence and, like many of his line, he was deeply religious. He became a member of the Labadist sect, which was apparently the pioneer of American ventures that have sought to found and maintain communal societies, such as the Shakers and the Economites. The Labadists secured a large tract of land between the Elk and Bohemia rivers in Cecil County, Maryland, and Petrus Bayard bought adjoining lands and cast his lot with them. All this land was part of a great grant on which one Augustine Herman, a native of Prague and the original patentee, bestowed the name Bohemia in memory of his native land. He had secured the tract in 1663 from Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord

⁵ James G. Wilson, "Judge Bayard's London Diary of 1795-96," in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 23:6 n. (January, 1892); Margherita A. Hamm, *Famous Families of New York, Historical and Biographical Sketches*, 2:153 (New York, 1902).

⁶ Wilson, in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 16:50.

Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, and his possession was confirmed by the son and successor of that nobleman in 1682. Colonization by the religious sect does not seem to have made much progress, and it was not long before Petrus Bayard sold out his holdings there and returned to New York, where he later died.⁷

The eldest son of Petrus was Samuel Bayard, whose wife, Elizabeth Sluyter, brought him into possession of a portion of the territory his father had formerly owned in the Bohemia Manor area. This branch of the Bayard family continued its residence there for a number of generations. Samuel Bayard's son Samuel married Fransina Maulden. That the younger Samuel's mind was deeply molded in spiritual things is evidenced in the following entry made by him in opening the record of his family: "Samuel Bayard, His Book. . . . Memorandum that I was married to my Spouse, Fransina the 3^d day of July, in the year of our Lord 1729. O Lord Omnipotent Great &c holy preserver of all mankind, who did first institute marriage, and made it such an excellent and holy ordinance that it mystically resembles the union of Christ and his Church, grant unto us thy Holy Spirit that we may so behave ourselves in the many changes &c."⁸

Stephen Bayard, the eighth of Samuel's twelve children, was born on the paternal estate on January 23, 1744.⁹ Practically nothing has been found concerning his boyhood and the education he received, but the few records in his own handwriting that have been preserved show that he wrote legibly and fluently. One account that has been much quoted by later writers asserts that he "was brought up by his uncle, John Bayard, in Philadelphia," but the source of the information is not revealed.¹⁰ The statement is evidently an error; Stephen's father had but two

⁷ Charles P. Mallery, *Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor; Their Homes and Their Graves*, 10, 31-33, 48 (Historical Society of Delaware, *Papers*, no. 7, in *Historical and Biographical Papers*, vol. 1—Wilmington, 1888); *History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania*, 2:97 (Chicago, 1889).

⁸ A copy of this document is to be found in the manuscript volume of notes gathered by Charles P. Mallery known as "Historical Collection of Bohemia Manor, 1660-1916," 86 (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore).

⁹ Mallery, "Historical Collection," 88.

¹⁰ *Pennsylvania Archives*, fifth series, 3:311.

brothers, Peter and James, so there was no John Bayard of that generation to be his uncle.¹¹ It is well established, however, that at the outbreak of the Revolution Stephen was associated with his cousin, John Bayard, in business in Philadelphia. This was the Colonel John Bayard of the Revolution, who later became eminent in public life. As he was only four years older than Stephen, he could not well have "brought him up." He was married at the time of Stephen's business association with him, and there is evidence that Stephen was an inmate of his home. Nothing has been found to indicate the time of Stephen's removal to Philadelphia or the circumstances attending the event. But the implications of the life he lived, the impressions that he made on others, and the few records that he left justify the inference that he had good home training and an education that was better than the time and the opportunities generally afforded.

Always zealous in patriotism and eager to promote the best interests of his native land, Stephen Bayard was alive to the gravity of the situation when relations with the mother country became strained. In the troubled days before the declaration of war he is found to have been associated with the Philadelphia Council of Safety, of which Benjamin Franklin was chairman and Robert Morris secretary.¹² Early in the struggle he offered his services and was largely instrumental in raising a company, of which he was made captain and which became part of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion. His command was made up of young men of rich families and of high social standing, a circumstance that gave it the popular designation of the "Silk Stocking Company," and that incidentally suggests its commander's position in the community at the time. His commission as captain was dated June 5, 1776, and, as his command at once became a part of St. Clair's expedition to Quebec, he saw active service very early. Doubtless this assignment was doubly grat-

¹¹ Mallery, *Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor*, 57.

¹² *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 10: 372, 374. The minutes of the council for October 18, 1775, show that Dr. John Keasley had been charged with endeavoring "to procure British Troops to invade this and the other Colonies in a Hostile manner," and, having been arrested and jailed, had asked for the services of a clerk to assist him in settling his private affairs while he was in confinement. On October 20 the council appointed Stephen Bayard to act in this capacity and at the same time to protect the interests of the colony.

ifying to the young captain, for it brought him into association with a relative, General Arthur St. Clair, who in 1760, in Boston, had married Phoebe Bayard, a descendant of Balthazar, one of the Bayards who had arrived in America with Peter Stuyvesant.¹³

Early in 1777 the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, recruited in western Pennsylvania the year before, had to be reorganized. It was placed in the Second Brigade of General Anthony Wayne's Pennsylvania Division, and Stephen Bayard was commissioned its major.¹⁴ In this capacity he participated in the skirmish at Bound Brook, New Jersey, and later in the year was with Washington in the battle of Brandywine, where he was wounded. An interesting sidelight on his experience in this engagement is afforded by a deposition of Lieutenant Gabriel Peterson, which reads as follows: "I was near Col. Bayard at the battle of Brandywine, when he was struck down by a cannon ball, that broke a rifle gun of Sergt. Wyatt and his shoulder, and then struck Col. Bayard on the head and shoulder, and tumbled him over on the ground for near two rods. Deponent helped him up on his feet—he was frantic, and seemed much hurt, but being much engaged at that time deponent could not render him any assistance."¹⁵ Evidently the force of the missile was largely spent when it made its final contact; otherwise there would have been no occasion for the present sketch. Peterson came out of the war a captain, and in after years he and Bayard were neighbors in the valley of the Monongahela. No doubt when these two old soldiers forgathered on muster days they had interesting reminiscences to exchange of the fighting days in the seventies and eighties. Peterson in his deposition speaks of his friend as Colonel Bayard, and that title was appropriate when the declaration was made, but it was not until some days after his wounding that Bayard was commissioned lieutenant colonel of

¹³ John N. Boucher, ed., *A Century and a Half of Pittsburgh and Her People*, 1:199 (New York, 1908); Consul W. Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 408 n. (Madison, Wis., 1882); *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 10:92; Ruth Ayres, in the *Pittsburgh Press*, December 4, 1930, p. 44; Wilson, in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 16:62 n.

¹⁴ Edgar W. Hassler, *Old Westmoreland: A History of Western Pennsylvania during the Revolution*, 65 (Pittsburgh, 1900).

¹⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives*, fifth series, 3:309, 312.

the Eighth. This promotion came when he was recuperating from the effects of his wound and was an appropriate recognition of his gallantry in action.

The Eighth was with Washington in the terrible experiences at Valley Forge through the winter of 1777-78, but in the summer of the latter year it was ordered to Fort Pitt. There and in expeditions sent out from the fort Bayard saw most of his remaining military service, which was eventful in various ways and had important influence in shaping the course of his future life and activities. He served at Fort Pitt under Colonel Daniel Brodhead, Colonel Richard Butler, and Brigadier General William Irvine. Among his earliest activities there was his participation in McIntosh's expedition against the Ohio Indians.¹⁶

The present writer counts himself fortunate in having enjoyed personal acquaintance with Edgar Wakefield Hassler, author of *Old Westmoreland* and other highly esteemed contributions to western Pennsylvania history. When the writer was collecting material for a romance in which Colonel Bayard is made to figure prominently,¹⁷ he applied to Mr. Hassler for such information as he might have concerning the military career of Bayard. A courteous reply was received a very short time before Mr. Hassler's sudden death, and, as the information contributed by him covers the ground admirably, two paragraphs from it will be inserted here:

In August, 1778, the Eight Regiment was sent to Fort Pitt, and Bayard was one of the officers who participated in the treaty with the Delaware chiefs at Fort Pitt in September, 1778. He spent much of the ensuing winter in the East, but returned to Fort Pitt in May, 1779. In June, 1779, Brodhead sent Bayard, with 120 men, to Kittanning, where he built Fort Armstrong. He participated in the expedition against the Seneca Indians on the upper Allegheny in the fall of that year. In January, 1781, Lieutenant-Colonel Bayard was transferred to the roll of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, although remaining at Fort Pitt.

On December 2, 1781, Brigadier-General William Irvine, who had just taken command of Fort Pitt, wrote to Washington: "I have reformed the re-

¹⁶ *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 6: 556, 564; Boucher, *A Century and a Half of Pittsburgh*, 1: 199.

¹⁷ Richard T. Wiley, *Sim Greene and Tom the Tinker's Men, a Narrative of the Whisky Insurrection* (Philadelphia, 1907).

mains of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment into two companies and call them a Detachment of the Pennsylvania Line, to be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bayard." These two companies were commanded by Captains John Clark and Samuel Brady. During the absence of General Irvine from Fort Pitt in the spring of 1782, Bayard was in command of the Fort. On January 1, 1783, he was assigned to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, of which Richard Butler was colonel. Irvine went East in the spring of 1783, leaving Bayard in command of Fort Pitt again. During this time it became his duty to furnish ammunition to the rangers and militia of Washington County, which was harassed by unusual depredations. Bayard was in command of Fort Pitt at the close of the Revolution.¹⁸

Irvine's reference to "the remains of the Eighth Regiment" is a reminder that as the war continued the regiment was decimated by the toll of battle and by disease, the gradual expiration of terms of service of its members, the transfers of units to other commands in other places as demanded by the exigencies of the struggle, and in some cases, it must be admitted, by desertions. But in the meantime its membership had been kept up in some measure by recruits, selected largely in and around Pittsburgh.¹⁹

This Eighth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line is closely tied up in another way with the history with which this sketch is concerned. There is much of the heroic and the tragic in the record of its activities. The aligning of many tribes of Indians with the enemy at the beginning of the war left the western border exposed to the menace of these savage foes. It was not long until they became more than a menace and were making serious inroads on the settlements. As a defense against them the Eighth Regiment was formed in the western counties. It was distinctly a Pennsylvania organization, but it is interesting to note that at the time of its formation distinctly Virginia military organizations were recruited in the same territory; for this region was then claimed by the colonial

¹⁸ Mr. Hassler's painstaking care in documenting his published writings leads to the acceptance of this material without further search for authorities, though many are well known to the writer and are readily accessible. Two of Bayard's commissions, one as lieutenant colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment dated June 30, 1779, and signed by John Jay, and the other as lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment dated March 22, 1781, and signed by Samuel Huntington, president of the Continental Congress, are in the possession of Ralph Bayard Baldrige of Pittsburgh.

¹⁹ Boucher, *A Century and a Half of Pittsburgh*, 1: 156.

jurisdictions of both Pennsylvania and Virginia. Indeed Virginia's was the dominating control at the outbreak of the Revolution. The regiment was formed in 1776 and consisted of eight companies, with its commissioned officers. Seven of the companies were raised in Westmoreland County, as then constituted, and one in Bedford County. Its commander was Colonel Aeneas Mackay of Pittsburgh, who had come to America in the sixties as an officer in the Eighteenth Foot, Royal Irish Regiment. He remained in America and continued to serve with the king's forces for some time, during part of which he was stationed in Fort Pitt as commissary. Later he was engaged in Indian trading, with his base at Pittsburgh. In the controversy between the colonies he cast his lot with the Pennsylvania authorities, and he was commissioned a justice for Westmoreland County, which then comprised practically all of the present southwestern Pennsylvania. This brought him into conflict with Virginia authority, which more than once took violent form.²⁰

The new regiment was assembled and most of it was stationed at Kittanning, but it was almost devoid of the things needed for effective employment in the field. In December, 1776, the exigencies of the struggle in the East became such that the Eighth was ordered to march to reinforce the sorely pressed fighters there. The order met with a storm of protest in the western country, on the ground that this regiment was formed for defense of the border. But it is for the soldier to obey, and in January, 1777, the entire command was concentrated and the march to the East began.²¹ The winter was of great severity and the rough mountain roads were covered with deep snow. The little army was poorly equipped with clothing and almost devoid of means of shelter, and food supplies ran low more than once. In the suffering endured from exposure and scarcity of food, the march was fairly comparable with the movement of Arnold's men through the New England woods, the tramp of George Rogers Clark's little force against Fort Vincennes, or the experiences of the troops of Washington in the winter quarters at Valley Forge. But historians of the Revolution have given this passage

²⁰ Hassler, *Old Westmoreland*, 7, 25, 26, 64 n., 66; Boucher, *A Century and a Half of Pittsburgh*, 1: 156.

²¹ Hassler, *Old Westmoreland*, 26.

little attention or passed it by entirely. Death took its heavy toll from the ranks in that march of weary weeks, and there were some desertions. The death losses on the way and within two weeks after the arrival of the regiment in New Jersey numbered more than fifty men, and among the victims were Colonel Mackay and Lieutenant Colonel George Wilson.²² These losses led to the reorganization of the regiment, largely under new officers, and at this time Stephen Bayard became its major.

When Colonel Mackay departed with his command for the East he left his wife and two children in his home in Pittsburgh. There Colonel Bayard became acquainted with them in the following year. The daughter, Elizabeth, was born in Fort Pitt in 1767, when her father was an officer of the British army there.²³ Various writers in earlier years have averred that she was the first white child born at the fort, but this assertion is open to serious doubt. Colonel James Burd's census of Pittsburgh in 1760 reported fourteen male and eighteen female children.²⁴ It may be, however, that no child was actually born in the fort until 1767. At any event Elizabeth, her brother Samuel, and their widowed mother made up the family when Bayard came to know them. Elizabeth was sixteen years of age when the war closed.

Colonel Bayard had served in the army during the entire seven years of the war. In 1783 Congress gave him the full rank of colonel by brevet.²⁵ He had been so impressed with the western Pennsylvania region that at the end of the war he decided to cast his lot there. He promptly wound up such business connections as he still had in Philadelphia and made his way back to Pittsburgh. In this decision he was not alone; for at about the same time a number of other army officers were lured to settle in Pittsburgh by the apparent opportunities of the western country. Their arrival brought a touch of refinement to the little settlement at the junction of the rivers, theretofore made up largely of such

²² *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 5:93; second series, 10:641-643.

²³ Interview with John B. Bayard in the *Elizabeth Herald*, November 12, 1886.

²⁴ *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 7:422.

²⁵ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*, 92 (Washington, 1914). When the country was again involved in war with Great Britain in 1812, President Madison offered Bayard a commission as major general, but he felt constrained to decline it because of age and infirmity. Boucher, *A Century and a Half of Pittsburgh*, 1:199.

rough frontiersmen as the average trappers, traders, and boatmen of the time. Several families whose representatives became leaders in the community in the years following had their beginnings thus, and the Bayard family was one of them.²⁶

Major Isaac Craig had also been an officer at Fort Pitt during the Revolution, and he and Bayard came together over the mountains soon after the declaration of peace and promptly formed a partnership for the promotion of various activities. These included real estate and mercantile operations and, a little later, were widened to include, in association with three Philadelphia partners, sawmill, distillery, and salt-making operations on an extensive scale, with branches established at various points. Among the earliest of the Bayard and Craig operations was the purchase of the first land sold within the present Pittsburgh limits—about three acres lying between Fort Pitt and the Allegheny River. This transaction was made on January 23, 1784, but four months later, when the agent of the Penns laid out the Pittsburgh town plot, Bayard and Craig were induced to surrender title to this tract and to take in exchange for it thirty-two lots fronting on Penn and Liberty Streets, as they were designated in the plot, near the site of the present Pennsylvania Station.²⁷

Bayard made various land investments for himself within the limits of what is now Greater Pittsburgh and in different parts of the surrounding section. River bottom lands along the Allegheny and property in the hills adjoining, within the present Pittsburgh, were among important Bayard holdings of the first and second generations, and these included much of the district known today as "The Strip." In this region was Pittsburgh's earliest suburban village, long known and still remembered by old residents as Bayardstown. The one hundred-acre farm of Colonel Bayard's son George became, in 1844, the beautiful Allegheny Cemetery.²⁸ Among other investments it is revealed that Bayard bought

²⁶ Bayard interview in the *Elizabeth Herald*, November 12, 1886; Howard M. Jenkins, ed., *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal*, 2:547 (Philadelphia, 1903).

²⁷ Bayard interview in the *Elizabeth Herald*, November 12, 1886; Neville B. Craig, *The History of Pittsburgh*, 181, 188, 292, 293 (Pittsburgh, 1851).

²⁸ Annie C. Miller, *Chronicles of Families, Houses and Estates of Pittsburgh and Its Environs*, 39 (Pittsburgh, 1927); Bayard interview in the *Elizabeth Herald*, November 12, 1886.

"3229 acres lying on both Sides of Braddock Road taking in part of Bigg Seweeckly confiscated as the property of Alexander Ross . . . for £2250 to be paid in Certificates he being the best & highest bidder at the said Sale for the Same."²⁹

It cannot be known with certainty, but it is an interesting matter for speculation, just which was the stronger lure for the bachelor army officer in deciding to return to the border land of the West—the prospect of lucrative business ventures there or the vision of a fair-haired lass, then seventeen, associated with his remembrance of the place. Certain it is that, when established as a citizen at the scene of his activities in military service, he wooed and won Elizabeth Mackay for his bride.³⁰ The marriage date has not been ascertained, but it must have been late in 1786 or in 1787. The tax list of Pitt Township in 1786 lists Stephen Bayard as single, but late in the year 1787 he and his wife figured as patentees in a land grant. Notwithstanding the fact that Bayard was more than a score of years his wife's senior, all the evidence at hand warrants the conclusion that this was a union of mutual and continuing affection and felicity. The only reference that has been found to any other affair of the heart on the part of the gallant soldier is contained in a letter written by Colonel John Gibson from Fort Pitt in January, 1782, to General Irvine, who was in Carlisle, which reads: "I shall be happy to hear from you by every opportunity and especially if the match between Mrs. Callender and Colonel Bayard is broken off." Nothing has been found to establish the identity of Mrs. Callender, evidently not a resident of Pittsburgh, or to indicate just how much of a basis there may have been for this bit of barracks gossip.³¹

Colonel Bayard's prominence among the denizens of Pittsburgh in the few years of his residence there after the war is indicated by his activities in various fields. He was one of the founders and an official member of the First Presbyterian Church. When the project of providing a public market for Pittsburgh was broached, a mass meeting of citizens, called for the purpose of considering the proposal, designated Bayard a member of a committee of three to handle the matter, and the town's

²⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, sixth series, 13: 33.

³⁰ Bayard interview in the *Elizabeth Herald*, November 12, 1886.

³¹ Butterfield, *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 350.

first market house was erected at Market and Second Streets on the plan submitted by this committee. In 1787 Bayard was one of the incorporators and a trustee of the Pittsburgh Academy, later to become the Western University of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pittsburgh.³² Thus he is revealed as a busy man of affairs, active in commercial and civic life and in the promotion of the religious and educational interests of his community.

But his residence in Pittsburgh was not of many years, and the change not only in his habitation but also in the direction of his activities was a result of his marriage to Elizabeth Mackay. When the Penn proprietaries, after their purchase of western Pennsylvania lands from the Iroquois in 1768, opened an office in Philadelphia in the following spring for the sale of part of these lands, one of the claims filed on the first day was that of Donald Munro for a tract on the east side of the Monongahela River, a little more than twenty miles above its mouth. A warrant was issued to Munro, and three months later his claim was bought by Colonel Aeneas Mackay. In a survey of this tract it was found that it contained 331½ acres and the usual allowances. There was some occupation of the ground in the years following, but, as was the case with hosts of others in that time, the formality of payment to the proprietaries was deferred by Mackay. He died intestate. His widow married again at about the time her daughter was wed,³³ and this portion of the estate descended to the son and daughter. On December 21, 1787, a patent for the Munro tract was issued to Samuel Mackay and Stephen Bayard and his wife, in consideration of fifty-seven pounds and fifteen shillings paid by them in to the office of the receiver general.³⁴

Even before the title to the tract was thus securely vested in the three persons named, a movement had been set on foot for its utilization in the establishment of the first town, after Pittsburgh, in what in the year fol-

³² *History of Allegheny County*, 1: 294 (1889); *Pittsburgh Gazette*, March 10, 1787; *Boucher, A Century and a Half of Pittsburgh*, 2: 295; Sarah H. Killikelly, *The History of Pittsburgh, Its Rise and Progress*, 102 (Pittsburgh, 1906).

³³ Bayard interview in the *Elizabeth Herald*, November 12, 1886. Mrs. Mackay married George Adams of Pittsburgh. Before her first marriage she was Mary Burling of Burling Slip, New York.

³⁴ Details of the transactions recorded in this paragraph were supplied by records in the department of internal affairs at Harrisburg.

lowing was to become Allegheny County. This project was announced in the advertising columns of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia newspapers. Colonel Bayard, who plainly was the prime mover in the enterprise, was a firm believer in the efficacy of printer's ink for the stimulation of his projects, and the advertising columns of the newspapers available to him, notably the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, bear testimony to his conviction. Indeed those ancient files afford the best and in numerous cases the only source material for his activities in the next few years. His newspaper advertising was practically continuous for several years and forms a basis for a *résumé* of his undertakings and achievements in that time.

The location on the Monongahela had been known for a number of years as the New Store because of some mercantile operations carried on there, details of which are shrouded in uncertainty.³⁵ The earliest announcement of the new town project, so far as the available records reveal, was made in November, 1787. This was in an advertisement of Stephen Bayard and Samuel Mackay, proprietors, which set forth that: "A TOWN will be laid out next Spring at that well known place called NEW STORE. This beautiful farm . . . is so well known to the inhabitants on this side the mountains, that a description of it to them, would be superfluous; but for the information and benefit of those who live on the other side the hills," the various claims and attractions of the place were set forth in glowing terms. Information was presented concerning its location on the Monongahela River, between Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville) and Pittsburgh; and statements were made to the effect that it was in the center of a rich, thickly settled, and well-cultivated country, abounding in clay, stone, coal, and timber, well-watered and healthful, and that the "great road from the lower counties" (those comprising the southern tier, east of Westmoreland County), led directly through it to Washington and Wheeling. Further announcement was made that the ground would be laid out regularly in lots "and for the encouragement and speedy settlement thereof, 20 of said lots will be given to the first settlers, viz. one to each of them for ever, they paying for the same only two shillings, sterling, per ann. The remaining lots will be sold at a low price." It was also stated that the proprietors were about

³⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, 9: 55.

to erect a sawmill on the site, "where every material for building may be had at a very reasonable rate. Artists of all kinds, particularly boat builders, carpenters, joiners, masons, blacksmiths, are especially invited, and will find it their interest in settling at this place." It was added: "Adventure[r]s that are moving to this country with an intent of going down the Ohio, may also know that at the New Store they may be accommodated with boats of every dimension at a short notice and on reasonable terms, where provisions may also be had and stores to keep them safe." Thus it appears that the industry that was to make the place famous had its beginnings with the origin of the town.³⁶

Only a few weeks later, much short of the "next spring" of the earlier announcement, it was advertised that "from the importunity of friends and those who would wish to have lots and begin immediately to build thereon; the proprietors are induced to have the town laid out much sooner than was first proposed. Elizabeth-Town on the Monongahela (formerly the New Store) is now regularly laid out into lots 60 by 120 feet, with sundry out-lots of nearly the same dimensions."³⁷ Conditions of sale and the requirements made of those awarded free lots followed. In this advertisement appears the first mention that has been found of the town's new name, given it in honor of Colonel Bayard's wife. It continued to be known as Elizabeth Town for forty-seven years, after which it was incorporated as a borough and its name was shortened to Elizabeth, the title that it still proudly bears.

Beginning with the spring of 1788 all announcements concerning the enterprises being considered at the new site were made over the single signature of Stephen Bayard, proprietor. The reason for this change was the accidental death of Samuel Mackay, brother of Mrs. Bayard, in his twenty-second year. In the notices of his death in the local press high tribute was paid to his excellent qualities.³⁸ Colonel Bayard was conducting a general store at the town that spring and advertised "a variety of Dry Goods, Hardware, and Groceries, which will be sold CHEAP on the following terms, viz. Groceries such as rum, sugar,

³⁶ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, November, 10, 1787.

³⁷ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, December 22, 1787.

³⁸ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, March 15, 1788.

tea, coffee, chocolate, indigo, alspice, ginger, pepper, candles, and soap, CASH only; for Dry Goods and Hardware, country produce will be taken, such as wheat, rye, corn, oats, flour, pork, bacon, beef, butter, eggs, and whiskey, at market price." Interesting it is to note that rum headed the list of groceries, while whiskey was so ordinary a country product that it was listed last. The availability of choice town lots was also stressed in this advertisement with the injunction that, as they were going rapidly, those who would become settlers should get their applications in speedily. Deeds for lots sold would be made out within two weeks. Boat building facilities had been enhanced by the importation of four skilled workmen from Philadelphia, and the sawmill was nearing completion.³⁹

The new town at once became important in the movement of settlers on their way to establish themselves on the lands farther west. Here was one of the chief points at which the toilsome land journey ended and from which the migrating families, with their possessions, were floated on the waters of the rivers to their homes of the future. In every announcement concerning the place it was emphasized that here was where the "Great Road" from the East reached the Monongahela. The building of boats for the moving of the emigrants and the business of outfitting and provisioning them became the chief activities of the place. Colonel Bayard was in command of these operations and he continued to supervise them through the last years of the century and the earlier years of the one that followed, when gradually, as age crept on for the old warrior and builder, his activities were taken over by others.

It is not a part of the plan of this article to follow the history of the town that stands as a monument to Colonel Bayard and his wife. That is another story and one not devoid of interest, for the place successively became the greatest in the United States in the building of steamboat hulls and a center for extensive mining and shipping of bituminous coal.⁴⁰ It is now an important industrial and residential town, the center of a rich farming and dairying region. In the year 1934 the centennial

³⁹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 19, 1788.

⁴⁰ *Pittsburgh Business Directory for the Year 1837*, 250 (Pittsburgh, 1837); steamboat enrollment register for the period 1835-55, in the custodian's office in the Federal Building, Pittsburgh. *Elizabeth Herald*, January 23, 1885; April 6, 1888.

anniversary of its incorporation as a borough was celebrated with a parade, pageantry, and a river demonstration so notable that it attracted national attention.⁴¹

Colonel Bayard's last years were lived in Elizabeth. Soon after his establishment there he withdrew from the business connections earlier formed in Pittsburgh and devoted himself to the promotion of the activities set on foot in the new field of endeavor. But he still retained some contacts outside the little town. One such was his membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, formed by Revolutionary officers soon after the fighting ceased. There is evidence also that he retained a connection with the reserve organization of the federal army for a number of years after the end of hostilities with the British.⁴² The Bayard home in Elizabeth was a substantial two-story structure of hewn logs, at the eastern corner of Water and Mill Streets. It was demolished by a hurricane in 1830. Evidence remains that its appointments were in fine taste and of real elegance for the time.⁴³

If portraits of Colonel Bayard were ever painted, none seems to have survived the years. When the present writer was on his quest for information concerning him, an earnest search for pictures was made without success. None of the descendants interviewed had knowledge of any portrait of the colonel or of his wife, and persistent advertising failed of result. But at that time two of his granddaughters, the Misses Mary and Susan Bayard were living, advanced in years, in a fine old house at Shady Avenue and Walnut Street in Pittsburgh, which their father, John B. Bayard, had built as a summer home in the country in 1835.⁴⁴ He was the third son of Colonel Stephen Bayard and lived to a very old age. His recollections of his parents were vivid and had often been recounted to his daughters. When they were interviewed, only a few years after the

⁴¹ Accounts of the celebration are in Pittsburgh newspapers, July 1-5, 1934. See also *ante*, 17:148, 215, 305.

⁴² *History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania*, 187 (Philadelphia, 1876); "Fac-simile of the Original Subscription of the Members of the 'Society of the Cincinnati,' Penn'a Line, 1783," in *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, vol. 11, appendix; *Pennsylvania Archives*, sixth series, 4:12.

⁴³ James McKown, in the *Elizabeth Herald*, November 4, 1887. F. K. Fawcett of Washington, Pennsylvania, a descendant of Bayard, has some fine specimens of the furniture and silver used in the Bayard home.

⁴⁴ Ayres, in the *Pittsburgh Press*, December 4, 1930, p. 44.

death of their father, they were able to remember many details. They pictured the old soldier as a man short in stature, neat in his personal appearance, very careful in the matter of correct attire, kind and courtly in his bearing, and devout in religious belief and observance. His wife was described as slender in build, light as to complexion and hair, very pretty, and most gracious in her manner. Married in her young womanhood, she was the mother of nine children. Though so much younger than her husband, she preceded him in death by nearly three years, at the age of forty-five. Her interment was in a public burying ground in Elizabeth, set apart by the proprietors when the town was laid out.⁴⁵ This cemetery has long since ceased to be used for burials, and knowledge of the location of Mrs. Bayard's grave has been lost. It has been said of her that she was the daughter of a colonel, the wife of a colonel, and the mother of a colonel—Aeneas Mackay, Stephen Bayard, and George A. Bayard.⁴⁶ It may be added that she was the grandmother of a general—Brigadier General James A. Ekin, of the United States Army, who served during the Civil War.

The last thing written by the colonel that has been preserved is a letter that he wrote two years before his death and a few months after the death of his wife to his nephew, Samuel Bayard. This nephew was the son of Stephen's brother Peter, who had acquired a farm near Waynesburg in Greene County. The colonel's letter is in reply to one giving him news of the death of two of his sisters in Maryland, and it is written in a firm and legible hand. It gives an interesting picture of the Bayard family at the time and so well sets forth some characteristics of its author that parts of it are worth quoting: "I had not heard of the death of my sisters before; I mourn on the occasion, but not as without hope. They lived a pious life, and no doubt are enjoying a blessed immortality, which is promised to the righteous after death. . . . Your Aunt's death and my infirmities prevented me from coming to see you before now. Your cousins Susan and Polly, all I have at home now, are anxious to see you. . . . My children all live in Pittsburgh except Susan, Polly and Ross."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ David E. Bayard, in the *Elizabeth Herald*, November 18, 1887. The author of this article was the son of John B. Bayard and the grandson of Stephen Bayard.

⁴⁶ Miller, *Chronicles*, 39.

⁴⁷ The letter is in the possession of Edwin S. Bayard of Pittsburgh, who also furnished the data contained in this paragraph.

Colonel Bayard died suddenly on December 13, 1815, while he was temporarily in Pittsburgh visiting among his children. The cause of his death was probably in the nature of a stroke of paralysis. In a serious condition and realizing that the end was near, he said, "Thank God, I am prepared." The following notice of his death appeared in a contemporary newspaper:

DIED,—ON Wednesday night, the 13th inst., Col. STEPHEN BAYARD, in the 67th year of his age. Col. BAYARD was among the first that entered the service of his country at the commencement of the revolutionary war, and continued in the army until the Independence of the United States was acknowledged by G. Britain, and the army disbanded. During this eventful period, he was always considered brave and meritorious, and was much esteemed by his brother officers.

Since 1783, Col. BAYARD has resided in this place and the neighborhood, and has always sustained the character of an upright and honest man; a pious and devoted christian. He has left a family of several children to deplore the loss of an affectionate and tender parent.⁴⁸

Colonel Bayard was buried in the yard of the First Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh. But many years after the time of his burial, when the ground was cleared for the erection of a store building on the site and the remains of those interred there were deposited under the towers of the present church building,⁴⁹ no grave was found that could be identified with certainty as that of Colonel Stephen Bayard. Though neither his grave nor that of his wife are now known, and no pictures of them are extant, the founders of Elizabeth will be remembered and cherished as long as the town continues to have an existence.

⁴⁸ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, December 23, 1815. Information on the circumstances of Bayard's death was furnished by the Misses Mary and Susan Bayard. The statement in the *Gazette* that he died at the age of sixty-seven is an error, according to Mallery, "Historical Collection," 88, in which the date of his birth appears as 1744. It might be presumed that the newspaper's information came from members of his family then in Pittsburgh, and this assumption seems to be borne out by a letter written by John B. Bayard, Stephen's son, to Isaac Craig on November 13, 1876, quoted in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 10:646, wherein it is said that "Lt. Col. Stephen Bayard, was born in Maryland in 1748."

⁴⁹ Stephen Quinon, in the *Pittsburgh Times*, June 28, 1895.