
THE CREATION OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

by John Caldwell



THERE appeared, in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of September 9, 1786, a letter addressed "To the Electors of Westmoreland County" setting forth some of the problems for residents of the western part of Pennsylvania. Its author especially expressed the wish that "a law will be enacted" to permit the use, as payment on land warrants, of certificates (in lieu of cash) issued to discharged soldiers or to farmers and merchants who had sold materials to the government during the Revolutionary War. Of specifically local interest, the letter stated:

I conceive it to be a public good to this country that the town of Pittsburgh be encouraged, that it be made a borough, that it have a seat of justice, that it have a school endowed in it....

It is natural for those who have an object at heart to be disposed to put a hand to accomplish it. From this cause it has happened that the writer of these thoughts has reflected with himself what it would be in his power to do in this special crisis.

He thinks it may be convenient for him to serve during the ensuing year as a representative in the assembly, and as he resides in Westmoreland would offer himself for that county. An attention to the business of his profession renders it inconvenient for him to take the time to converse personally with individuals on this subject, or to write to any to inform them of his being thus disposed to offer himself; he takes a mode not usual, viz. to signify it in the *Gazette*. It became necessary for him by some means to give this notice, as he has heretofore said to those who did him the honor to mention him as one who might be of service in the assembly at this time, that he did not then conceive that he could make it convenient. If after this declaration it should happen that he is not elected, there is no harm done, he will be perfectly satisfied. — H.H.

BRACKENRIDGE¹

This announcement probably occasioned considerable discussion in Westmoreland County, for Brackenridge was perhaps the leading lawyer in Pittsburgh and a well known character throughout the region. The *Gazette* was the first newspaper in Western Pennsylvania; Brackenridge had assisted in its establishment and was one of its earliest contributors.² The issue for September 9 was the seventh published.

Brackenridge was to have an important voice in the politics of Western Pennsylvania's early development, but later, when he reneged on his commitment to ensure that certificates could be used in paying for land warrants, he touched off a feud with William Findley, probably the most accomplished politician west of the Allegheny Mountains. By attacking Findley and his allies in the General Assembly, Brackenridge created a situation which made it impossible for him to realize his goal of creating a new county — a goal that historians have credited him — erroneously

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— with having achieved. Pittsburgh was to become the seat of justice of a new county, but not while Hugh Henry Brackenridge was a member of the legislature. In fact, legislation creating the county was enacted *despite* his involvement.

Brackenridge was born in Scotland in 1748, five years before his father, a poor farmer, emigrated to America. The family settled in “the Barrrens” area of Lancaster County, Pa. Christened Hugh Montgomery Breckenridge, as a young man he changed the spelling of his family name to Brackenridge because he thought that his father was spelling it incorrectly, and in 1781 changed his middle name to Henry. In addition to attending a country school, he was tutored in Greek and Latin by a local Presbyterian minister, and after teaching in a free school at Gunpowder Falls, Maryland, for three years, he matriculated in 1768 at the College of New Jersey in Princeton, where he was a classmate of Philip Freneau and James Madison. After receiving his bachelor of arts degree in 1771, he became master of an academy at Back Creek, Maryland. Although he was never ordained, he served briefly during the Revolution as an army chaplain. He left the Army in 1778 to go to Philadelphia, where he established the *United States Magazine*; when it failed, he went to Annapolis, where he studied law under Samuel Chase. Upon returning to Philadelphia, he was admitted to the bar in 1780. Deciding that there were already too many lawyers in Philadelphia, Brackenridge moved in 1781 to the small frontier town of Pittsburgh.³

In 1786, Pittsburgh was still part of Westmoreland County, the last county established under the proprietary government of the Penn family. It had been set up in 1773⁴ to include everything west of Bedford County. Although it soon had settlers, particularly Scotch-Irish and German farmers, it remained almost totally rural. By 1786, two other counties, Washington (1781) and Fayette (1783), had been formed along the southern edge of Westmoreland’s original area.

This western area had been opened up during the French and Indian War when Forbes’ road was cut in 1758 as an attack route in the British campaign against Fort Duquesne. After Bouquet’s victory over the Indians at Bushy Run in 1763, further settlement was discouraged by the Proclamation Line, which was intended to keep the western Indians and settlers separated. By 1769, after the Treaty at Fort Stanwix, settlement picked up again but, except for a few houses clustered around Fort Ligonier and a slightly larger community around Fort Pitt, there were no centers of population. The law forming the county provided that the courts should be held at the home of Robert Hanna, who kept a tavern about midway between Pittsburgh and Fort Ligonier, and for want of a better place, the courts and their records were kept there for the next 13 years. A small fort was also constructed at Hanna’s Town and it served as a point of refuge until 1782, when the little village was attacked and burned by a raiding party of Indians and British. The Forbes Road had remained the principal route between Pittsburgh and the East but a relocation was begun in 1785 that would make it run three miles south of Hanna’s Town. A new village, named Newtown by Christopher Trouby, one of its developers, had been planted on the hills about midway between

Fort Ligonier and Pittsburgh on the route of the new road. A commission appointed by the legislature in 1784 to locate and erect county buildings for Westmoreland County recommended in favor of locating the seat of justice in Newtown, but its report was attacked both by petitions and by minority commission members. A new commission appointed the next year reported in January 1786 also in favor of making Newtown the county town.⁵ This would have eliminated both Hanna’s Town and Pittsburgh from consideration, but by the fall of 1786 the General Assembly had not as yet made a final decision on a site.

Brackenridge was not suggesting that Pittsburgh be made the county town for Westmoreland, but rather that a new county be established. In a series of articles, “Observations on the Country at the Head of the Ohio River...,” published prior to stating his candidacy, he wrote: “[I]t would not be convenient to make this town the seat of justice for the county of Westmoreland.”⁶

The Pennsylvania constitution adopted in 1776 required that a new General Assembly be elected every year. In the election held on October 10, 1786, William Findley, John Barr, and Hugh Henry Brackenridge⁷ were elected to represent Westmoreland County in the 11th General Assembly, which was to convene in the State House in Philadelphia on October 25, 1786.

William Findley was a Scotch-Irishman who had emigrated to Pennsylvania from Ulster in 1763 and settled in the Cumberland Valley, where he taught school for a while and then took up farming and practiced his trade as a weaver. He took an active part in the Revolution both in a civilian and militia capacity. In 1776, he mustered with the Cumberland Associators as a private and was with the contingents that were sent to Perth Amboy, N.J., to support Washington’s defense of New York. Returning home, he was active in local political and militia affairs. He refused election to the convention that drew up the constitution of 1776 but later served as a Cumberland County assessor.⁸ In 1778, he again saw active service as a captain in Colonel Frederick Watts’ battalion, when the Cumberland County militia was mustered and posted to the command of Brigadier General John Lacey to the north of British-occupied Philadelphia. There, on May 1, 1778, he participated in the Battle of the Crooked Billet.⁹

In January 1783, Findley moved his family to Westmoreland County, settling along the Loyalhanna Creek in what is now Latrobe’s sixth ward. Later that year, he was elected to the first Council of Censors, and in the following years to the 9th and 10th general assemblies.¹⁰

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James Barr resided in Derry Township, to which he had emigrated prior to the organization of Westmoreland County. He had been a member of the convention which drew up the Constitution of 1776 and afterwards served as a justice of the peace. This was his first election to the General Assembly.¹¹



THE legislature met annually in three sessions. The 11th General Assembly met from October 25, 1786, to December 30, 1786, then again from February 20, 1787, to March 29, 1787, and finally from September 5, 1787, to September 29, 1787. Although there were no organized parties in the modern sense, there were two identifiable factions, the Constitutionals, who supported the radically democratic Constitution, and the Republicans, who wished to replace it. Many of the former were Westerners and most of the latter Easterners. The Pennsylvania constitution had been drawn up in 1776 when the conservative leaders of the province, reluctant to declare independence, had been displaced by more their radical fellows. The document called for officials to swear loyalty to the state and its constitution, established virtual universal manhood suffrage, and established a unique amending process that called for its review every seven years by a Council of Censors consisting of two men from each county. The Supreme Executive Council, one man elected from each county, replaced a single governor as executive. Both of these councils gave a disproportionate representation to the less populous western counties.

Assemblymen lived at various places throughout Philadelphia, but many from the far western counties stayed at Alexander Boyd's lodging house on Sixth Street between Arch and Market streets. Brackenridge chose to live in the old Indian Queen Tavern¹² on the southeast corner of Market and Fourth.¹³

During the first session, Brackenridge had alienated Findley and most of the western members by changing sides on the question of the state receiving certificates in payment from settlers on public land. In his original statement regarding his availability for election, and as a member of the committee which reported favorably on the measure, Brackenridge had supported such payment. However, on the floor of the House he spoke against the report and voted not to accept it. At this session, he also voted with the Eastern banking interests in their campaign to restore the charter of the Bank of North America.

He was, however, successful in introducing his plan to create a new county by dividing Washington and Westmoreland. On November 30, 1786, a favorable committee report was brought forward, supported by William Findley, and it was ordered that a bill be brought in for the division of the counties.¹⁴ The boundaries of the new counties as they appeared in this bill took in the area west of the Allegheny River and north of the Ohio, but the rest was drawn rather tightly around Pittsburgh. The text of this act was printed in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* on January 13, 1787.¹⁵

The boundaries stated in the act elicited a response from many residents, and on February 15 a petition with 841 signatures forwarded to the legislature suggested that the area was too small and that the boundaries should be considerably expanded.¹⁶

At the end of the first session, most of the western members returned to their homes. Brackenridge, pleading that foul weather made it impossible for him to cross the Susquehanna River, did not. But he did send to the *Pittsburgh Gazette* an account of his actions during the assembly's first session, including an explanation of his reasons for not supporting the bill to receive certificates in payment for land purchases. This was published on January 6, 1787.¹⁷

Findley, who had managed to get back to Westmoreland County, took Brackenridge to task in the pages of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of February 10 for his "pompous account ... of last session," specifically for reneging on the commitments he had made in his election statement, and for voting against the interests of his constituents. "When a gentleman," Findley wrote, "makes a prey of the peoples [sic] confidence, betrays their interests, and trifles with his own solemn professions, he may expect the people to look upon him with indignation, and treat him with contempt." Findley then related that when Brackenridge was asked how he would reconcile his vote against accepting certificates in payment with his pre-election commitments, "he replied, that the people were all fools, and by putting a few lines in the newspapers [as Brackenridge had done in the *Gazette* for January 6th] he would easily reconcile them to his views."¹⁸ This touched off a war in the newspaper between Brackenridge and Findley that raged throughout the rest of the political year.

From April 21 through June 9, Brackenridge wrote nine articles "To the INHABITANTS of the Western County" in which he attacked Findley. Beginning on July 21 and running through September 22, Findley replied with eight articles of his own ("Observations upon the Address of H. H. Brackenridge"). Interspersed with these in August were two replies from Brackenridge entitled "Notes on the Observations of William Findley." Throughout this exchange, Findley always referred to his opponent as Mr. Brackenridge. On the other hand, Brackenridge, in his August articles, did not refrain from ridicule and vituperation: he resents having his "reputation gnawed upon ... by vermin such as our author"; he questions the paternity of Findley's children; and he lampoons the idea of an Irish weaver thinking himself qualified to serve in the Pennsylvania General Assembly.¹⁹

During that summer, Brackenridge also engaged in an exchange of articles with the Reverend Samuel Barr. The point of contention was whether a congregation to be chartered in Pittsburgh was to be denominated as "Christian," as Brackenridge desired, or as "Presbyterian," which Reverend Barr preferred. This also led to the use of some heated language, with Brackenridge making some references to the morals of the Reverend Barr and calling him "a haughty, imperious, arrogant, self-conceited, ignorant, impudent man."²⁰



AT Brackenridge's request, the General Assembly made the consideration of the bill to establish the new county the order of the day for Friday, September 14. On September 13, Robert Whitehill of Cumberland County, one of the leaders of the Constitutionalist party, presented a petition from one Lewis Cassleman. Brackenridge and Thomas Fitzsimons, of Philadelphia, claiming that the petition was libelous, attacked Whitehill for presenting it and accused him of libel for having done so. Whitehill defended a member's obligation to present petitions, but Brackenridge and Fitzsimons persisted and in the ensuing exchange Whitehill became very irritated with Brackenridge. Findley intervened, helping to smooth feathers on both sides.²¹

When the bill for erecting the new county came before the General Assembly the next day, Robert Whitehill led the fight against it. On the motion for taking it up by paragraphs before voting on it, he rose and stated:

Before the House agree to take up this bill by paragraphs, I think something should be done to show the propriety or necessity of passing it before we go on further with it. I believe the House is well informed, that it would be highly imprudent to give their vote in favor of this, or any other measure, for which they cannot conceive the reason, nor understand the necessity; and that, because it is destructive of all good government I say, if there exists no necessity for the measure, it is not prudent to go on with it; as it, on the contrary, tends to the damage of the people, not only in the counties particularly interested, but to those of the state generally. I know of no necessity there is for cutting up the two counties, nor any convenience it will be of to the petitioners; but we are sure it will be a burthen....

He went on to assert that there were not enough "taxables" in the area to support the expenses of a separate county; that the support of their elected representatives in the General Assembly and the Supreme Executive Council would be a drain on the rest of the state; that it was too late in the session to draw boundaries and inform the electors; and that no advantage to the people in the area had been offered.²²

Brackenridge responded that it was inconvenient for the residents to have to go to Hanna's Town for county business and though it might be premature, sooner or later Pittsburgh would be made a county town: people had expected it would be the seat of justice for Washington County.²³

Alexander Wright of Washington County said that the bill was unnecessary and that there were not enough taxable people in the area to justify creation of a new county. He was supported in this by John M'Dowell, another member from Washington County. Brackenridge replied that they could draw the boundary to include enough "taxables," but that Wright and M'Dowell did not want the division because it was against their interest, since Washington County would lose representation. John Flanneken,

a third assemblyman from Washington County, then also spoke against the measure.²⁴

Robert Whitehill, taking the floor again, asserted that "this business was begun by a member of the House, and did not originate with the people." The argument of convenience, he said, was mere supposition and the division was both premature and too late.²⁵

When William Findley was asked for input on the subject, he replied that it was not too late to act on the bill before the next election because it was a small area and the people could be informed. His assessment was that because it was a generally poor area that had been depopulated during the war, people were just beginning to move back, and the new road was a help in this regard. Considering the manner in which the measure had been brought forward, he would not say how he would vote on the bill "but most people in the area think they are not ripe for division." Brackenridge's previous ally, Fitzsimmons of Philadelphia, expressed disappointment that Findley did not give more precise information. Findley replied that he could speak only for Westmoreland County, that the bill "would take off two hundred and thirty-nine resident taxables; [and]... a proportionate number of other itinerant freemen, perhaps about ninety." He then asked: "Was not this decided enough?"²⁶

The question on taking the bill up by paragraphs was called, and approved 33 to 25. A majority of those who voted to reject were Constitutionalist allies of Robert Whitehill. Other than the vote of Brackenridge himself and a few votes from York County, the bill received no support from west of the Susquehanna River. William Findley and James Barr voted against the measure.²⁷

Having lost the support of the western members, offended the Constitutionalist leadership, and not having as much support among his friends in the east as he thought he had, Brackenridge had not been able to bring about the creation of a new county in the area surrounding Pittsburgh.

During the following week, the Constitutional Convention, which had been meeting on the first floor of the Pennsylvania State House through the summer of 1787, adjourned and a battle opened in the General Assembly on providing for a convention to consider the proposed new constitution. The fate of the new western county was postponed for another time.



ON October 9, when Westmoreland County voters elected representatives to the 12th General Assembly, Findley and Barr were returned as assemblymen; Brackenridge, although he stood for election, was not. John Irwin of Huntington Township was elected in his stead.²⁸ Brackenridge had proved himself to be a poor politician. The Scotch-Irish in this western area, to whom Presbyterianism was an important and serious subject, were not likely to support an assemblyman who worked against establishing a Presbyterian congregation and attacked a respected Presbyterian minister. His ridicule of Findley as a weaver who sought to rise

above his station was a slight to all seeking to better themselves in this upwardly mobile society. To characterize as a fool a man who had been elected to statewide office in four consecutive elections was an attack on the intelligence of everyone who had voted for him. And, of course, to actively support the Bank of North America, which had refused loans to western farmers, and to oppose the receipt of certificates in payment of land warrants, went directly against western interests.

All of Brackenridge's most notorious actions represented very poor politics in Western Pennsylvania during the fall of 1787. This was demonstrated again on November 6, when the election was held to choose Westmoreland's representatives in the convention to debate the ratification of the newly proposed national constitution. Brackenridge, who offered himself as a candidate,²⁹ and who had in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* supported the adoption of the new frame of government, again failed to be elected. Findley had opposed the proposed new constitution,³⁰ and he, William Todd, and John Beard were chosen to represent Westmoreland in the ratifying convention.³¹



ON November 20, 1787, in the first session of the new assembly, a petition was presented "from a Committee chosen by the inhabitants of Pittsburg and the neighboring country ... praying that parts of the counties of Westmoreland and Washington may be erected into a new county." The petition was referred to a committee consisting of eastern and western members in about equal numbers, including William Findley and John Irwin; John M'Dowell from Washington County; and Theophilus Philips from Fayette County.³² On November 27, the committee reported favorably to the General Assembly, which then voted to postpone action on the report.³³ It was not until the second session, on March 20, 1788, on a motion by John Irwin, that the same committee was appointed to bring in a bill "to erect part of the counties of Westmoreland and Washington, into a separate county, comprehending the town of Pittsburg."³⁴ This committee reported a bill on March 27.³⁵ During the third session, on September 20, the General Assembly took up consideration of the bill as reported by the committee, and the House spent a long time debating and amending the bill from the committee. Although action on the final bill was again postponed, it was during that day's work that the name "Allegheny" was assigned to the new county.³⁶ Two days later, the bill was again debated, passed, and ordered to be engrossed. It then passed on a simple voice vote.³⁷ On September 24, 1788, Speaker Thomas Mifflin signed the bill, and Allegheny County was officially created.³⁸ Of the 33 members who had voted against the formation of the new county in 1787, 24 were members of the present assembly; but none of them raised any objections. It would seem that the Constitutional-

ists in the previous assembly, led by Robert Whitehill, had been more concerned with putting Hugh Henry Brackenridge in his place than they had been with preventing the formation of a new county.

News of the creation of Allegheny County was announced in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* on October 4, 1788:

By a gentleman who arrived here on Sunday last from Philadelphia, we received the very pleasing account of the division of part of the counties of Westmoreland and Washington into a separate county, by the name of Allegheny, comprehending the town of Pittsburgh. We have not as yet received a particular account of the boundaries, but expect to obtain them for our next publication.³⁹

In its next issue, that of October 11, the *Gazette* published without comment the text of the act creating Allegheny County.

The bill that was passed differed from that proposed by Brackenridge in the previous assembly. It took in more territory around Pittsburgh and therefore included a larger population. The boundaries proposed in the bill of 1787 would have run from the mouth of Flaherty's Run on the Ohio River south to near present Bridgeville, then directly east to the mouth of the Youghiogheny River. This would have excluded most of present Moon, Findlay, North Fayette, and South Fayette townships on the west, and, on the south, all of the area between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. From the mouth of the Youghiogheny, it would have proceeded down the Monongahela to Turtle Creek "and thence down the middle of the said [creek] to the most westerly branch there ... thence up the middle of the said branch to the head thereof, thence to the head of Plumb run and down the middle of the said run, to the middle of the Allegany river."⁴⁰ This eastern boundary would have cut off most of present North Versailles and Plum townships. The bill passed in 1788 drew the eastern boundary from "the mouth of Crawford's run [on the Youghiogheny] thence by a strait line to the mouth of Brush creek, on Turtle creek; thence up Turtle creek to the main fork thereof, thence by a northly line until it strikes [Pucketa] creek thence down the said creek to the Allegheny river." The southern line ran to the mouth of Perry's Mill Run on the Monongahela, up that river for more than 10 miles, then across to the mouth of Sewickley Creek on the Youghiogheny. It thus enlarged the area included to the south and the east.⁴¹

In what may have been intended as a further slight of Brackenridge, the 1788 bill creating Allegheny County did not designate Pittsburgh as the seat of justice, but instead authorized the county "to make choice of any of the lots set apart for public buildings in the reserved tract opposite to the town of Pittsburgh, and thereon to erect a Court-House and prison sufficient to accommodate the public business of the county."⁴² This would have placed the county seat across the Allegheny River in the proposed new town of Allegheny. However, "the citizens of Pittsburgh protested so vigorously that the provision was repealed, and the county buildings were erected in Pittsburgh."⁴³



GEORGE E. Kelly, in 1938, edited for the Allegheny County Sesquicentennial Committee a series of articles published as *Allegheny County, A Sesqui-Centennial Review, 1788-1938*. The book has as its frontispiece a picture of “Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge, Father of Allegheny County.”⁴⁴ In this volume, two of the finest historians of Western Pennsylvania, Leland D. Baldwin and Russell J. Ferguson, also credit Brackenridge with founding the county.⁴⁵ Solon and Elizabeth Buck, in *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania*, write: “At the sessions of this assembly [the eleventh] in 1786 and 1787, Brackenridge pushed through his bill for the organization of Allegheny County...”⁴⁶

But it is curious that Brackenridge should be called the “Father of Allegheny County.” Neither in the bill that he supported, nor in any of his remarks on the floor of the Assembly, did he ever refer to the “new county” as Allegheny. Although Brackenridge pressed the idea of creating a new county, and defended it in the assembly, he was unable to bring the idea to fruition. Quite the opposite is true. It was his arrogant and intemperate behavior in the 11th General Assembly that caused efforts to create the county in 1787 to fail. And when the 12th General Assembly did act in 1788, it did so without the assistance of Hugh Henry Brackenridge. ☀

Notes

¹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1786.

² Claude Milton Newlin, *The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge* (Princeton, 1932), 71.

³ Newlin, 1-59.

⁴ George Dallas Albert, ed., *History of the County of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, with Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia, 1882 [reprint Apollo, Pa., 1991]).

⁵ Roland M. Baumann, “The Removal of the Westmoreland County Seat to Newtown (Greensburg), in 1784-1786,” *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 60 (July 1977), 277-89.

⁶ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Aug. 26, 1786.

⁷ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Oct. 14, 1786.

⁸ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 6th Ser., vol.11, 158-61.

⁹ Joseph Gales and W.W. Seaton, compilers, *Annals of Congress; the Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States ... from March 3, 1789 to May 27, 1824* (Washington, D.C., 1834-1856) 12th: 1028-29.

¹⁰ Until recently most of what has been known of William Findley's life has come from

an autobiographical letter that he sent to William Plumer in 1812 [*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 5 (1881), 440-50]. The author is presently researching the life and career of Findley to write his biography.

¹¹ William H. Engle, “The Constitutional Convention of 1776,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 3 (1879), 100.

¹² *Pittsburgh Gazette*, March 17, 1787.

¹³ Robert Earle Graham, “The Taverns of Colonial Philadelphia,” in *Historical Philadelphia* (transactions of the American Philosophical Society, [Philadelphia, 1953, vol. 43, part 1, 320]).

¹⁴ *Proceedings and Debates of the Pennsylvania General Assembly* (Philadelphia, 1787), 11th, 1st session, Nov. 30, 1786, and *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1787.

¹⁵ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1787.

¹⁶ “Petition Addressed to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania Asking for the Creation of Allegheny County,” *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 4 (April 1921), 84-93.

¹⁷ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1787.

¹⁸ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Feb. 10, 1787.

¹⁹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Aug. 3 [i.e.4] and 11, 1787.

²⁰ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, June 30, 1787.

²¹ *Proceedings and Debates of the Pennsylvania General Assembly*, (Philadelphia, 1787), 11th, 3d session, Sept. 13, 1787.

²² *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1787.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Oct. 21, 1787.

²⁹ Newlin, 95.

³⁰ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Oct. 21, 1787.

³¹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Nov. 10, 1787.

³² *Proceedings and Debates of the Pennsylvania General Assembly* (Philadelphia, 1787), 12th, 1st session, Nov. 20, 1787.

³³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1787.

³⁴ *Proceedings and Debates of the Pennsylvania General Assembly* (Philadelphia, 1788), 12th, 2d session, March 20, 1788.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, March 27, 1787.

³⁶ *Proceedings and Debates of the Pennsylvania General Assembly* (Philadelphia, 1788), 12th, 3d session, Sept. 20, 1787.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1787.

³⁸ *Laws Enacted in the Third Sitting of the Twelfth General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania ... 1788* (Philadelphia, 1788), 472.

³⁹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Oct. 4, 1788.

⁴⁰ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1787.

⁴¹ *Laws Enacted in the Third Sitting of the Twelfth General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania ... 1788* (Philadelphia, 1788), 469.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 471.

⁴³ Solon J. and Elizabeth H. Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1939), 219.

⁴⁴ George E. Kelly, ed., *Allegheny County, A Sesqui-Centennial Review, 1788-1938* (Pittsburgh, 1938).

⁴⁵ See Kelly, 28, for Baldwin's reference, and p. 62 for Ferguson's reference.

⁴⁶ Buck and Buck, 460.

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