# Building a Community:

# The Physical and Cultural Development of Pittsburgh's Highland Park Neighborhood, 1778-1900

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## INTRODUCTION

American history has a unique relationship with suburban residential life. Unlike many of their continental European counterparts, American commuter suburbs since their inception in the 19th century have been a symbol of the growing wealth of the American population. Indeed, suburban life and the American dream are often analogous concepts. Since Pittsburgh emerged as an industrial city, its suburbs have steadily grown from small upper-class rural retreats into the most prominent form of residential communities in Western Pennsylvania.[2] Yet, the dominance of suburbs was not the inevitable outcome of industrialization. Prior to the latter half of the 19th century it was not even apparent that Pittsburgh's well-to-do would rather live in peripheral areas than in the inner city.

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[2] Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoops, U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Special Reports, Series CENSR-4, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002), 33.

Many historians and sociologists have analyzed the intricate process of early suburban development, and how these suburbs acquired the reputation of wealth and power that have remained a part of the suburban legacy. Sam Bass Warner, in his pioneering 1962 book *Streetcar Suburbs,* describes how Boston was transformed from a walking city to a modern metropolis. In 1850, Boston was made up of communities within 2 miles of the Central Business District (CDB) where wealthy merchants and the working class lived in close quarters. In the next fifty years, Boston evolved into a "two-part" city consisting of middle class commuter suburbs on the periphery of the city, and working class neighborhoods surrounding the CBD. Warner analyzes the "large institutions and the individual homeowners" who came together to create these new residential patterns.[3] He presents a framework that helps explain how the interaction of governmental, social, and economic forces resulted in the emergence of suburban residential development. In doing so, he explores topics such as the 19th century capitalist value of homeownership, nationalism in the face of massive immigration, increased economic opportunities, and technological innovation in transportation.[4]

Following Warner's study of Boston's suburbs, historians' interest in early suburban growth grew. By the 1980's, two historians had risen above the rest as the leading authorities on early suburban growth.[5] Kenneth Jackson in *Crabgrass Frontier* (1985) focused his analysis on two major factors that drove middle- and

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[3] Sam Bass Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 1.

[4] An overview of Warner's argument can be found on Ibid., 1-14.

[5] Margaret Marsh, "Historians and the Suburbs," *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History* 5 (1990), 46.

upper-class Americans to the suburbs: The social and cultural movements that led to a romanticism associated with semi-urban areas, and the technological improvements that made commuter residential areas accessible and affordable to the middle class.[6] Although Jackson built upon many of Warner's ideas, he stresses that cultural factors were much more important to suburban growth than Warner admits. For example, he explains that European cities responded to similar conditions with a very different pattern of development. The power dynamics between real estate, transportation and government that Warner claims largely created the outward movement of the middle-class population were also present in European cities, but instead of flocking to the suburbs, the European wealthy chose to stay in the inner cities.[7] To explain this, Jackson argues that cultural movements made suburbs popular in the US, therefore showing that the cooperation between "large institutions and individuals" that Warner emphasized was only a by-product of cultural trends.

Around the same time that Jackson's research was completed, another historian, Henry Binford, asserted his own ideas in *The First Suburbs.* In contrast to Jackson's focus on the movement of urbanites to the suburbs, Binford concentrates on the events that took place in the suburbs themselves. He focuses on how suburbs developed fringe economies, only partially reliant on the larger economies of the cities, and then slowly, through their own doing, transformed their towns into residential suburbs. Binford argues that only after city-centered commuters became

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[6] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 10, 20-137.
[7] Ibid., 6-10.

a majority in the suburbs did the suburbs begin to lose their own separate "fringe" economies and identities.[8]

Clearly the process of suburbanization in the late 19th century is already a developed historical topic. Historians have extensively explored the many factors of suburbanization and the intricate interactions between these factors. Yet, still more needs to be examined. Most of the progress that has been made in the field has been on the larger structures that led to the wider movement of suburbanization within cities or regions. To gain greater insight into early suburban development, research must take a step closer, into the neighborhoods and lives of the individuals who were essential to the process of suburban growth.

In order to do so, this study will tell the story of the evolution of one neighborhood, Highland Park in the North East of Pittsburgh, from uninhabited woodlands into a "classic streetcar suburb." It will rely not only on the data available for population growth, real estate development, and improvements in the transportation system, but also on the individual stories of those living in the area at the time. It seeks to understand those who transformed the land into a community, not just the factors that led to the physical emergence of a neighborhood.

Using this approach, the history of Highland Park provides insight into the process of suburban community-building in the 19th century. While the institutions of municipal government, streetcar companies, and developers played a large role in the development of the neighborhood, and while the "back to nature" and other

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[8] Marsh, "Historians and Suburbs," 46. Henry Binford, *The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on the Boston Periphery, 1815-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 1-13, 126-186.

social movements that stressed suburban living influenced the decisions of many who chose to live in Highland Park, this study suggests that these forces cannot be evaluated in a social vacuum. Highland Park was an established community whose roots went back to the late 18th century, and suburban development had as much impact on that community as it did on the city commuters whose eventual movement to the area led it to become a "streetcar suburb." Moreover, the neighborhood's eventual transformation into a middle-class streetcar suburb was the product of a gradual process that consisted of many distinct physical and cultural changes. Ultimately, Highland Park in the 19th century followed a pattern of growth that was neither pre-determined by institutional forces present in the Pittsburgh area, nor was it as rapid a process as would be believed by a pure statistical evaluation. On the contrary, the neighborhood had been building a community upon itself layer by layer since its first inhabitants settled the land.

PART ONE: 1778-1851

In 1776, Alexander Negley, a second generation German-American, arrived in western Pennsylvania to fight in the American Revolution's western theatre.[9] When he returned to his Bucks County farm two years later, he packed up his possessions and took his family back west.[10] After a long trip through backcountry, Negley

[9] Biographical Review Publishing Company, *Biographical Review: v. 24, Containing Life Sketches of Leading Citizens of Pittsburg and the Vicinity, Pennsylvania* (Boston: Biographical Review Publishing Company, 1897), 220.

[10] During the revolution, many Easterners fled west to avoid service, or if Tories, to avoid mob violence. Although most historical sources of Negley's move west cite

settled down on a patch of uninhabited land five miles to the Northeast of the small trading town of Pittsburgh, which at the time had less than five hundred inhabitants.[11] The land he chose would later be known as part of the East Liberty Valley, and later still, the neighborhood of Highland Park.[12] Geographically, it was relatively isolated from the surrounding countryside by the Allegheny River to the North and steep slopes to the East and West. Only its southern side provided a flat, uninhibited passageway to the rest of the East Liberty Valley (maps located in appendix).[13] Thomas Mellon, later to be a prominent resident of the area, described how Highland Park appeared in 1823:

> The first object of my admiration was the great meadow, the largest I had ever seen… comprising about one hundred acres. The Negley mansion house and orchards appeared to be included in it; and it was not marred by division fences except on the line of what is now Highland Avenue. It presented an uninterrupted surface of tall green grass; and as the breezes passed over it, causing it to undulate in light and shade like waves of the sea, it left an abiding impression of natural beauty. There was the steam mill in one direction at the northeast corner of what is now Penn and Collins avenues, with the pillar of black smoke rising from its chimney and the white

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him falling in love with the land as his main motivation, his quick departure makes it seem as though he was fleeing further service. Since Negley fought on the American side previously and he was of German ancestry, we can assume he was not a loyalist, but it is impossible to tell his exact reason for leaving eastern Pennsylvania at this time. Leland Dewitt Baldwin and Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, *Pittsburgh: The Story of a City* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh press, 1937), 97.

[11] George H. Thurston, *Pittsburgh As It Is* (Pittsburgh: W. S. Haven, 1857), 7.

[12] Biographical Review Publishing Company, *Biographical Review*, 222.

[13] Throughout this paper, I will refer to the area that would become the neighborhood of Highland Park as "Highland Park," and what would become the neighborhood of East Liberty as "East Liberty," and I will refer to the geographic Valley that now consists of the neighborhoods Highland Park, East Liberty, Bloomfield, Larimer and Shadyside as the "East Liberty Valley." This is done for purposes of consistency and coherence. However, the reader should be aware that Highland Park was not referred to as Highland Park until after the public park of the same name was established in 1889.

> puffs of escaping steam; and this great meadow, and the land on either side of it as far as I could see- all belonging to Jacob Negley.[14]

Throughout the early 19th century, the community of farmers that lived in this area were predominantly German or Scotch-Irish Protestants. As a result, the culture of the area was distinctly sober and hard working, as was common in Western Pennsylvania.[15] Only two cultural institutions were present in the early 19th century East Liberty Valley. The first, and the most prominent, was the church. In 1828, The First Presbyterian Church of East Liberty was opened on land donated by the Negleys. The second cultural institution was the school. Like other Scotch-Irish and German communities, those living in the East Liberty Valley valued education to a great extent. Consequently, Jacob Negley built a small "frame school house on his property" as early as 1809.[16]

In the 80 years following Negley's arrival, Highland Park would not see much change. In 1856, it remained entirely in cultivation by farmers. The members of the Negley Family had acquired even more land, together owning almost all of Highland Park, with much of the remainder owned by another farming family, the

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[14] Thomas Mellon, *Thomas Mellon and His Times* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994), 47-48.
[15] Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City 1877-1919* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 34.
[16] Annie Clark Miller, "Old Houses and Estates in Pittsburgh," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 9 (1926),154; John Fulton Stuart Collins, *"Stringtown on the Pike;" Tales and History of East Liberty and the East Liberty Valley of Pennsylvania, its Origin, Early Struggles, and The People who Shaped its Destiny, Past and Present, Together with Related Stories of Old "Pittsburg" (*Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., 1966), 45-46.

Winebiddles.[17] The culture remained largely based on devotion to the Presbyterian faith and the Scotch-Irish/German work ethic. However, change was occurring all around the farms, and not even the Negleys were left untouched.

Directly to the south of the Negley homestead, a small town, East Liberty, had appeared as a result of the paving of the Pennsylvania Road (now Penn Avenue) from 1813 to 1818.[18] This road, which connected Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, increased trade between the two cities by shortening the trip west in a Conestoga wagon by two to six weeks (it now took approximately one month).[19] East Liberty became the last stop before Pittsburgh for many travelers. In 1847, the town of East Liberty had developed a small economy based around this growing trade. Its inhabitants included 5 Inn- or Hotelkeepers, 2 Wagoners, 5 Wagon makers, and 1 saddler. Additionally, East Liberty became the cultural and economic center of the surrounding farming communities. Three churches, a bakery, a physician, and many other services appeared in the small town.[20] By 1847, it is estimated that 92 employed men lived in and around the town.[21]

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[17] Ibid., 29.

[18] East Liberty was first laid out by the Negleys and therefore acquired the name of Negleystown. However, it seems that by the early 19th century, a competing name, East Liberty, or East Liberties, had developed from travelers referring it as the town east of "Northern Liberties" (which is now Lawrenceville). The common name of "Liberties" throughout western Pennsylvania comes from the free land grants that the government gave out to settles in the late 18th century. By the mid-1800s, "East Liberty" had become the most prominently used name for the area.

[19] Baldwin and Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Pittsburgh*, 186. Miller, "Old Houses and Estates," 154.

[20] Collins, *Stringtown on the Pike*, 51, 66.

[21] The true population of East Liberty is very difficult to calculate, as the census taken in 1850 only stated the population of all of Peebles Township, and it is impossible to decipher how much of that population was in the East Liberty area.

Even further to the South and West, the formerly small town of Pittsburgh had grown to be a city. The population had increased from 1,565 inhabitants in 1800 to a staggering 79,873 in 1850.[22] This growth was driven by both Pittsburgh's advantageous geographic position at the head of the mighty Ohio River and the abundant natural resources in the surrounding hills.

Pittsburgh from the very beginning had capitalized on the rivers that flowed around it as well as its proximity to the East Coast. In the beginning of the 19th century, trade, boatbuilding, and glassmaking were the largest sectors in Pittsburgh's economy. Boats could be built in Pittsburgh to be used in river trade or even to be sailed down the Ohio and Mississippi to trade with the ports of Europe. The glass industry also relied on the rivers for their success. Since glass was a fragile good, Pittsburgh was an obvious place for its production, where immediately after it was produced it could be loaded onto boats for transport with a relatively low chance of breakage.[23] Later in the century, Pittsburgh's proximity to coal and oil gave it the opportunity to acquire a leading role in the industrialization of the United States. By 1856, Pittsburgh was already producing 110 boats a year, had 25 steel or iron rolling mills, and had 34 glass factories.[24]

Although the physical landscape of Highland Park may not have felt the effects of these changes, the inhabitants surely did. Jacob Negley had himself aided

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This estimate is taken from directories from the time, so most likely is a grand underestimate.

[22] Thurston, *Pittsburgh As It Is*, 39.

[23] Stefan Lorant, *Pittsburgh: The Story of an American City* (Lenox, MA: Author's Edition Inc., 1980), 64-70.

[24] Thurston, *Pittsburgh As It Is*, 78, 112, 142. Boats per year built computed as an average of the data available for the years 1852 through 1856.

in the process of growth in East Liberty and Pittsburgh. After he married Barbara Anna Winebiddle in 1795, their combined land holdings covered most of Highland Park and East Liberty. Jacob took steps to capitalize on the rapid growth of Pittsburgh's trade economy. He laid out the town of East Liberty, which lay primarily on his and his wife's land, and when the time had come to pave the Pennsylvania Road on his land, Negley paved the road twice as wide as what was required.[25]

In the early 19th century, the growth of the Negley family led to the splitting of the estate into pieces for each new family. Even more symbolic of the changing times, Daniel Negley, one of Jacob's sons, became the first Negley in the valley to not go into the farming business. While he still lived in the Negley homestead in Highland Park, Daniel became a grocer and dry goods merchant in the town of East Liberty, joining in the growing trade along the Pennsylvania Road.[26]

Yet, despite the growing wagon trade and its effect on the communities of both Pittsburgh and East Liberty, the city and town were still very separate in the middle of the century. No inhabitant of East Liberty worked or did business in Pittsburgh, and for good reason. A horseback fast trot from East Liberty to Pittsburgh in perfect conditions would take about forty minutes, while walking would take over an hour and a half.[27] Furthermore, congestion in Downtown

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[25]John Newton Boucher and John W. Jordan, *A Century and a Half of Pittsburg and Her People* (Pittsburgh: Lewis Publishing Company, 1908), 107.
[26] Ibid.
[27] This is an estimate based on the average trotting speed of a horse and the known path of the Pennsylvania Road.

Pittsburgh was getting more perilous every day, and even on the Pennsylvania Road, conditions were extremely unfavorable to daily commuters.[28]

The lack of reliable transportation did more than isolate those who lived as far as East Liberty from the workplaces and cultural centers of Pittsburgh. Even living on the periphery of the city was very difficult. As a result, Pittsburgh developed in its early years as a "walking city." The city was densely populated and its rapid population growth was confined to the flat banks along the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Business and residential areas were not distinctly separated. Workers and owners often lived directly adjacent to their place of work. Furthermore, the wealthy preferred to live in the center of the city to be near their place of work, while workers were sometimes pushed out to the peripheral areas.[29] Joel Tarr explains the reasoning behind these patterns in *Transportation Innovation and Changing Spatial Patterns*:

> The willingness of the city's more affluent classes to live in crowded conditions under a pall of smoke and soot created by adjacent industries is explained primarily by the absence of a transportation system that gave them alternative living choices. Forced to walk to work or travel by horse on muddy streets, members of the upper classes preferred to live close to their places of employment, churches, and the city's public buildings.[30]

As can be imagined, Highland Park men and women such as Daniel and Jacob Negley were happy to avoid such conditions in the city, and gladly stayed in their

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[28] "At the Crossings," *Pittsburg Dispatch,* Dec 18, 1890, 7. "Relief of Street Crowding," *Pittsburg Dispatch,* Dec 20, 1891, 4; Joel A. Tarr, *The Impact of Transportation Innovation on Changing Spatial Patterns: Pittsburgh, 1850-1934* (Washington, DC: Public Works Historical Society, 1978), 4.
[29] Ibid., 2-4.
[30] Ibid., 4.

rural valley watching the city grow from afar, while benefiting from its trade. However, while the Negleys and other farming families would continue to dominate Highland Park society for some years to come, Pittsburgh's growth would begin to affect the area with the coming of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

PART TWO: 1851-1875

On December 1, 1852, a wood burning, four-car locomotive arrived in the town of East Liberty from Philadelphia. An excited crowd of men from the surrounding countryside, undoubtedly including some from Highland Park, crowded the tracks as the train approached.[31] At this time, most of those in the greeting party were not aware of the impact this railroad would have on their communities. They certainly recognized the importance of the train, for trade had always been central to the East Liberty economy. They may have even realized that some of Pittsburgh's richest citizens would take country houses in the area because traveling to Pittsburgh would be much easier. However, it is doubtful that they could even begin to imagine the importance of the railroad to their community's development into a suburban neighborhood. In fact, the Pennsylvania Railroad itself "believed the city would not progress to that area in 100 years."[32] Yet, even before the first train from Philadelphia reached East Liberty, the railroad had begun to make its mark.

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[31] *Pittsburgh Gazette,* Dec. 1, 1851; Collins, *Stringtown on the Pike*, 65-66; Quentin R. Skrabec, *The World's Richest Neighborhood: How Pittsburgh's East Enders Forged American Industry* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2010), 73.
[32] Collins, *Stringtown on the Pike*, 65.

In December of 1851, the railroad was completed from Pittsburgh to Turtle Creek, Pa. and almost immediately, trains began running to East Liberty to transport goods and people from the city to the small trading town.[33] The 12-mile trip from Turtle Creek to Pittsburgh took approximately 54 minutes, according to newspaper accounts. At this speed, the approximate travel time for an East Liberty commuter would be a little over twenty minutes. "In 1852 the round trip from Pittsburgh to East Liberty" cost 15 cents, while season tickets were available for the more frequent traveler.[34] Clearly, the railroad made it significantly easier and cheaper for city workers to escape Pittsburgh's increasing issues with crime, smoke, mud, and congestion.[35]

At the same time as the railroad was making commuting much easier for the residents of the East End, cultural movements throughout American society were making suburban living more popular. Sam Bass Warner in *Streetcar Suburbs* describes how 19th century urban spatial patterns were influenced by the growing American predilection to homeownership. Warner states that "in the nineteenth century, to be a middle class American," was to believe that "the ultimate test of a family's success and the key to its social standing rested within the capitalist framework- how much money did the family have, how much property did it control?"[36] Other historians later elaborated on this idea. Kenneth Jackson in *Crabgrass Frontier* argued that homeownership for the American middle class in the

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[33] "Pennsylvania Railroad," *North American and United States Gazette,* December 15, 1851, 1.
[34]Tarr, *The Impact of Transportation Innovation on Changing Spatial Patterns*, 6; Collins, *Stringtown on the Pike*, 65.
[35] Skrabec, *The World's Richest Neighborhood,* 54.
[36] Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs,* 8.

nineteenth century not only was "a proxy for success," but also "conferred moral rectitude" by the physical anchoring of the private family to one space.[37]

A new idealized view of nature also increased the popularity of suburban living within American society. Many different views have been suggested as to why this "back to nature" movement emerged. It may have been prompted by the Romantic Movement in art and literature that "focused attention on the new appreciation for grandeur and natural beauty," or by the epidemic diseases that periodically swept the growing urban centers. Jackson argues that the main impetus for the movement was urbanization itself: by becoming removed from the hardships of nature experienced by those living off the land, urban dwellers began to see anew the beauty and tranquility of nature from abroad.[38] Whatever the original motivation that led to its emergence, the back to nature movement affected residential development in areas such as Highland Park. Those urban dwellers who could afford to do so "surrounded themselves with – symbols" of nature and even went so far as to offer those symbols to others who could not afford to do so.[39] Yards became an integral part of the perfect suburban home, children were sent to school in rural areas, and building public parks became a popular activity for governments.[40]

The combination of these cultural movements with the appearance of the Pennsylvania Railroad's commuter trains resulted in an influx of East Liberty

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[37] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 50.
[38] Ibid., 57.
[39] Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature; The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 25. For an in depth discussion of the back to nature movement, see *Back to Nature* by Peter Schmitt.
[40] Ibid., 155-166, 66-76, 20-32, 86-88; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier,* 58-60.

commuting residents in the 1850s. Sources are unclear as to the extent of rail commuting in the early days of the railroad's presence in the East Liberty Valley. Yet, we can be positive that almost immediately, many would-be city residents took up homes in the area. A list compiled by John Stuart Fulton of " 154 Heads of Families in East Liberty" from the 1856-57 directories show one banker, one horticulturist, three manufacturers, and eight merchants living in East Liberty and working in Pittsburgh.[41] Furthermore, to accommodate these and other commuters, the Pennsylvania Railroad was running six commuter trains each day to the eastern suburbs by 1857.[42]

Highland Park was not left unaltered by these rapid changes in East Liberty and Pittsburgh. Since the heyday of the Negley-owned Highland Park, the family had been selling land to other farmers, and later, to businessmen who commuted to East Liberty or Pittsburgh. Other events in the area spurred further growth. James Hiland, a surveyor for the Negley Family, had increased the accessibility of Highland Park by paving Highland Avenue in the 1830s or 40s.[43] In 1859, the first horse-drawn streetcar made its way from Pittsburgh into East Liberty, making travel cheaper and more flexible.[44] East Liberty itself began to turn into a center of economic activity, pushing residential growth further to the North. And finally, after

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[41] Collins, *Stringtown on the Pike*, 77. This is not a very reliable list. To begin with, Fulton also compiled another list from the same time and came up with only 8 commuters in East Liberty. Furthermore, Thomas Mellon, a prominent Lawyer living in East Liberty at time did work downtown but is not marked as so in Fulton's list.

[42] Tarr, *The Impact of Transportation Innovation on Changing Spatial Patterns*, 5.

[43] Out of Courtesy, the Negleys named Highland Avenue after James Hiland.

[44] Ford, Bacon, and Davis. *Ford, Bacon, and Davis Underlying Company Maps*. Pittsburgh: Ford, Bacon, and Davis, 1919.

the end of the Civil War, the economy of Pittsburgh could now turn its attention to civilian consumption again, spurring real estate development for an increasingly large middle- and upper-class population.[45]

As a result of all these developments in the area, some wealthy commuters began to move to Highland Park. Yet, this population did not immediately dominate the neighborhood. In 1857, Highland Park was still relatively sparsely inhabited. Its population was still only around 74 people and farmland still comprised almost all of the landscape.[46] Furthermore, throughout the 1850s and 60s, the community still largely revolved around the Negley family and the East Liberty Presbyterian Church.

Highland Park's distance from the railroad and the still relatively high prices of commuter tickets partially caused this slow process of suburban development. Yet, more importantly for wealthy Pittsburgh industrialists, the area did not have any of the established cultural attractions that urbanites were used to enjoying in the city. As a result, those wealthy commuters who did move to Highland Park immediately after the railroad opened did so not for reasons of prestige, but rather because of social and cultural connections with the existing community. For example, as many of the Negley daughters were married off, they usually brought a piece of the Negley estate into their marriage. In this way, many wealthy Pittsburgh

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[45] Baldwin and Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Pittsburgh*, 326-327.
[46] Collins, *Stringtown on the Pike*, 77. George H. Thurston, *Directory for 1856-57 of Pittsburgh and Allegheny Cities* (Pittsburgh: George H Thurston, 1856); U.S., Census Office, Ninth Census, 1870, Manuscript Schedule for Ward 19, Pittsburgh, PA, 1870. This estimation of the population is very rough. It was taken by subtracting the names of those not listed in the 1856/7 directory and those younger than 13 and from the population of Highland Park computed from the 1870 census, then adding that number multiplied by the approximate death rate of the era (2% per year) multiplied by 13 (for each year) to that number again.

professionals and businessmen attached to the Negley family became the earliest commuters from the area. Most of the other new residents to the area were not urban industrialists invading the rural areas, but rather rural families who had adopted urban professions, but still wanted to hold on to their rural way of life.

Thomas Mellon, later to be the patriarch of a prominent turn of the century financial family, was one of the first of these downtown commuters.[47] Thomas Mellon was born in 1813 in Ireland and immigrated with his parents 5 years later to Westmoreland County, about 21 miles East of Pittsburgh.[48] After a long conflict with his father, he gave up a certain future in farming to continue his studies and eventually to become a lawyer. After graduating from Western University (now the University of Pittsburgh), he moved to Pittsburgh and opened a successful law office. He soon became acquainted with East Liberty Valley high society through an East Liberty physician, Dr. Beatty, and not too long afterwards, met and courted the young Sarah Jane Negley. After a long honeymoon, they returned to Pittsburgh and rented out a house on Fifth Avenue in Pittsburgh. In 1848, they moved to the Highland Park area, for Mellon decided, "city life was not so congenial to my wife's health and spirits as country."[49] Mellon, who stayed in the East Liberty valley for the

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[47] Thomas Mellon's son, Andrew Mellon, is infamous for his massive wealth, his philanthropic activities and his time as the United States Secretary of the Treasury. BNYMellon Bank, Carnegie Mellon University, and Mellon Park still bear their name.
[48] Thomas Mellon, *Thomas Mellon and His Times,* ed. David McCullough (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press: 1994), Page 5 of Picture Inserts.
[49] It is interesting to note that the widespread belief that an urban environment was detrimental to the health (especially women's health) was an integral part of the "back to nature" movement discussed as a factor that led to early suburbanization on page 14-15.

remainder of his life, continued to work in Pittsburgh, commuting by horseback or carriage.[50]

Charles Blanchard Seely, who moved to the Pittsburgh area in 1843 to work for the Pennsylvania railroad, married Anna B. Negley, and most likely acquired a residence in Highland Park from that marriage. Yet, the farming lifestyle of the Negley's was not in his character, and in 1858, he opened one of the first real estate agencies in downtown Pittsburgh, and continued in that profession as a Highland Park commuter for the remainder of his life.[51]

Other new members of the neighborhood, while not directly attaching themselves to the Highland Park community by marriage, were not strangers to Western Pennsylvania rural society. Phillip Harrington Laufman, a hardware merchant with stores in downtown Pittsburgh, was the son of a small town Sherriff from outside of Chambersburg, PA.[52] Another downtown commuter, Joseph Graff, a rich iron manufacturer who specialized in making axes, was from rural Armstrong County, PA.[53] These men, and others like them, were being drawn to the industrializing city by the new opportunities it allowed, but settled in Highland Park

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[50] Ibid., 92-148.
[51] Boucher and Jordan, Boucher, *A Century and a Half of Pittsburg and Her People*, 410-411; Directory from Collins, *Stringtown on the Pike*, 57.
[52] Thomas Cushing, *History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania: Including its Early Settlement and Progress to the Present Time; a Description of its Historic and Interesting Localities; Its Cities, Towns and Villages; Religious, Educational, Social and Military History; Mining, Manufacturing and Commercial Interests, Improvements, Resources, Statistics, etc.; also, Biographies of Many of Its Representative Citizens* (Chicago: A. Warner & Co., 1889), a360.
[53] Unknown, *Armstrong County, Pennsylvania: Her People Past and Present, embracing a History of the County and a Genealogical and Biographical Record of Representative Families*, vol. 1 (Chicago: J.H. Beers, 1914), 386.

for the rural lifestyle it offered and a community very similar to the farming communities they had come from.

Yet, while the new residents' backgrounds and the extent to which they blended into the existing community may have only marginally affected Highland Park's culture, Highland Park's physical makeup was changed drastically by the increased opportunities for commuting. By 1872, the city of Pittsburgh (which had annexed the Eastern suburbs in 1867) had paved roads now covering southern Highland Park in a grid from the old Negley Mansion on Stanton and Negley Avenues to Joseph Graff's newly built mansion on Highland and Bryant Streets. Highland Avenue was now lined with the mansions of the wealthy from East Liberty to what is now Callowhill Street.[54] At the northern-most point of Negley Avenue, which was first used by the Negleys as a farm road, lay the magnificent Second Empire style mansion of Alexander King, an extremely wealthy glass manufacturer.[55]

Yet, not long after King's "Baywood Mansion" was completed, the Panic of 1873 lurched the United States into what would be called "The Great Depression" until that term was displaced in the 1930s. The banking crisis and decreased demand for goods forced Pittsburgh's economy to a halt. The movement of Pittsburgh's prosperous to the eastern suburbs all but ended and did not resume until after the depression receded in 1879.

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[54] GM Hopkins and Co., comp., *Atlas of the Cities Pittsburgh and Allegheny and The Adjoining Burroughs: From Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys* (Philadelphia, 1872); Annie Clark Miller, *Early Land Marks and Names of Old Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: Daughters of the American Revolution, Pittsburgh Chapter, 1924), 33.

[55] Franklin Toker, *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), 213.

During this lull in Highland Park's growth, the neighborhood remained relatively unchanged. It was made up of a mixture of prosperous industrialists living mostly along Highland Avenue and old farming families spread throughout the countryside. The street grid on the middle-southern quarter of the neighborhood lay largely empty, with the exception of about a half dozen frame houses built by James McCully between Hampton and McCully (now Wellesley) Streets.[56] The inhabitants of Highland Park were very connected with one another. Almost all were Protestant and attended one of the three churches in East Liberty.[57] Over half of them were related by blood in some way, and the rest still shared a rural heritage.[58] Highland Park had become a residential suburb, but in many ways still remained farmland.

PART THREE: 1875-1890

Following the economy's recovery in the late 1870s, Pittsburgh regained its high rate of growth. From 1860 to 1890, its population increased from 49,601 to

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[56] GM Hopkins and Co., comp., *Atlas of the Cities Pittsburgh and Allegheny and The Adjoining Burroughs: From Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys* (Philadelphia, 1872). These houses lined McCully (now Wellesley) and Hampton Streets from Highland Avenue to Negley Avenue. From the sources available it is difficult to determine if these houses were inhabited or not in 1870, but it seems likely that five Farm Laborers, who were listed under McCully's house of residence, and some of the other less prosperous members of Highland Park, such as Henry Stoebner, a shoemaker were tenants.

[57] Collins, *Stringtown,* 66.

[58] U.S., Census Office, Ninth Census, 1870, Manuscript Schedule for Ward 19, Pittsburgh, PA, 1870.

238,617.[59] By 1880, Pittsburgh had evolved into one of the most dominant industrial cities in the United States. It was producing about 27% of all US glass and one eighth of all US steel and iron.[60] In addition to its growing economic might, the City of Pittsburgh began to politically dominate western Pennsylvania. As a result, many of the surrounding areas were annexed by the city. In 1868, most of the eastern suburbs, including Highland Park and East Liberty, were taken over by Pittsburgh's government.[61]

The annexation of the eastern suburbs of Pittsburgh did not become a topic of conversation within the city of Pittsburgh until a substantial group of industrialists had already moved into the area. In the 1850s, Pittsburgh was already moving to consolidate with the Southside and Allegheny City, which both were much more attached to the city economically and socially than the sparsely inhabited East End.[62] Yet, as prominent Pittsburgh commuters moved to the area, the East End and Pittsburgh became more closely connected. Additionally, as David Lonich explains in *Metropolitanism,* "the absence of natural barriers (such as the rivers that divided Pittsburgh from Allegheny and the South Side)" would give

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[59] This population growth was caused by natural growth, immigration, and the annexation of the surrounding districts by the city.
[60] Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City 1877-1919* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 10.
[61] Robert J. Jurcha, "The Anatomy of A Streetcar Suburb: A Development History of Shadyside 1852-1916," *Western Pennsylvania History* 62 (1979), 315.
[62] The "East End" is a term used to describe the areas east of Pittsburgh between the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. This term includes Highland Park and East Liberty.

Pittsburgh the room it needed to expand.[63] Consequently, by the mid-1860s, incorporation of the East End had become increasingly attractive to Pittsburgh.

When the state legislature finalized a law to incorporate Pittsburgh and its surrounding areas, the East End was practically given no choice but to concede to the city's wishes.[64] The law granted a referendum to each area of the region as to whether or not they wished to join Pittsburgh. However, the area that would vote as to whether the East End would be incorporated into the city included the city itself. As a result, the actual East End population, which was only around 30,000 at the time, was dwarfed by Pittsburgh at the ballot. In the final vote on October 9, 1867, Pittsburgh voted with an "8 to 1 margin of approval," so that "even though majorities in East End townships were decidedly against annexation," it was finalized that the East End districts would be consolidated into the city.[65]

After the financial crisis of 1873 subsided, Pittsburgh's decision to consolidate with the East End began to pay off, as the rate of growth in the East End was even greater after the crisis than before.[66] In the 19th ward, (which included East Liberty and Highland Park) after an average of only 6.4 buildings were built per year from 1877 to 1881, fifty were built in 1882 and 109 were built in 1883.[67]

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[63] David Lonich, "Metropolitanism and The Genisis of Municipal Anxiety in Allegheny County," *Western Pennsylvania History* 76 (1993), 81.
[64] "The Consolidation Project- Report of the Special Committee," *The Pittsburgh Commercial,* April 6, 1867.
[65] Lonich, "Metropolitanism," 83. It is interesting to note that the wealthy populations of the east end, which predominantly existed in Oakland, but to a lesser extent East Liberty and Highland Park, supported consolidation, while the older farming families and the working class communities opposed it.
[66] Data before 1877 is not available. For exact data, see Appendix.
[67] Pittsburgh Building Permit Dockets, vols. 1-16, Archives of Industrial Society, University of Pittsburgh, Pa.

A number of factors contributed to this increased level of development. It is evident that consolidation itself played a part by bringing the public services of road paving and other public works the city government offered to the area. In 1870, the city council passed the Penn Avenue Act, which subscribed a substantial amount of funds to the "improvement of Penn Avenue and other avenues in the City."[68] Between 1868 and 1872, the city had already built a grid of streets in southern Highland Park. In addition to the city's investments, private companies that realized the wealth of the area began to invest in other utilities, further spurring growth. Running water and electricity came to the area, and in 1883, Penn Fuel Company completed one of the first gas lines in America to the East End.[69] The East Liberty Valley became an area that matched, or even exceeded Pittsburgh in the comforts that modern technologies provided.[70] In addition to these improvements in infrastructure, the back to nature movement and other cultural movements that drove Americans to the suburbs became increasingly prominent in the late 19th century.

Because of these political, technological, and cultural trends, Highland Park 's development returned with renewed vigor. Like before, rich industrialists were rapidly building mansions along Negley, Stanton, and Highland Avenues. By 1882, 18 mansions lined Highland and Stanton Avenues, each with a substantial plot of land surrounding them. Some of these mansions were surrounded with as much as

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[68] "Improvement of Penn Avenue," *Pittsburgh Commercial*, April 15, 1870, 4; "The Penn Avenue Improvement," *Pittsburgh Commercial*, April 13, 1870, 1.
[69] Collins, *Stringtown on the Pike*, 115-116; Skrabec, *The World's Richest Neighborhood,* 17.
[70] Thomas Mellon's mansion in 1857 became the first home in Pittsburgh to have running water.

10 acres of land, while almost all of them had at least a full city block as their yards.[71] The *Pittsburgh Dispatch* in 1891 commented that "such a display of wealth as represented by the splendid residences and large handsome grounds cannot be duplicated in America."[72] The residents of these houses were almost all from the new upper-class of Pittsburgh's thriving economy, but unlike those rich who had moved into the neighborhood directly after the railroad was extended to East Liberty, many of these new residents were truly urban men, who were moving to Highland Park because it had already been made fashionable by the first wealthy commuters and because of the modern infrastructure of the area, not because they shared the community's rural heritage or were connected with the Negley family in some way.

This process of Highland Park society shifting to a more urbanized wealthy culture is prominently exemplified by one of Highland Park's most famous residents, Edward Manning Bigelow. Edward Bigelow was born in the city of Pittsburgh in November of 1850. After his uncle pushed him into engineering, he attended Western University of Pennsylvania, but took a job as a civil engineer before completing his degree. However, his lack of a diploma did not slow his rise to prominence in his profession. By 1880, he was Pittsburgh's city engineer, and eight years later was elected to the position of Director of the Department of public works.[73]

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[71] GM Hopkins and Co., comp., *Atlas of the Cities Pittsburgh and Allegheny: From Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys* (Philadelphia, 1882).
[72] "One of the Finest," *Pittsburg Dispatch*, July 24, 1891, 7.
[73] Erasmus Wilson and Weston Arthur Goodspeed, *Standard History of Pittsburg* (Chicago: H.R. Cornell &Co., 1898), 1065-1066.

Throughout these years Bigelow was a prominent member of the Magee political machine of Pittsburgh politics. He was raised, educated, lived, and worked under urban conditions. He was the quintessential bureaucrat of the rising urban industrial system. In 1850, this type of man would have been an outsider in the Highland Park community. Yet, Edward Bigelow bought a large lot from R.D. Beatty on the corner of Highland Avenue and Jackson Street between 1882 and 1890 and by 1890, he had built a large house neighboring the older mansions on the cultural center of Highland Park Society, Highland Avenue.[74]

The movement of Bigelow and other urban-cultured commuters into the neighborhood began to diverge Highland Park culture from its rural roots. As industrialists and capitalists began to dominate the neighborhood, the leisure culture of the turn-of the century American wealthy began to supplant the highly religious Protestant rural culture of the Negleys. While the Presbyterian churches remained a central aspect of East Liberty society, prestigious clubs and other exclusive social societies became increasingly dominant cultural institutions throughout the East Liberty Valley.[75] Many East End Industrialists were members of the famous Masonic Lodge 45, as well as golf and country clubs. They built exclusive schools to educate their children, such as the prestigious Shadyside Academy, built in 1883, and the Pennsylvania Female College (now Chatham College).[76] Specifically

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[74] GM Hopkins and Co., comp., *Atlas of the Cities Pittsburgh and Allegheny: From Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys* (Philadelphia, 1882); GM Hopkins and Co., comp., *Atlas of the City of Pittsburgh: From Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys,* vol. 3 (Philadelphia, 1890).
[75] For a discussion of the appearance of a Pittsburgh leisure class see Couvares, 96-106. and Skrabec, *The World's Richest Nieghborhood,* 9-22.
[76] Skrabec, *The World's Richest Neighborhood,* 19-20

in Highland Park, some landowners put land aside to create the Highland Golf Club. Until 1903, this club served as an exclusive organization that acted as a meeting place and cultural center for much of Highland Park high society.[77]

Yet, even as the urbanized industrialist culture was developing in Highland Park, the physical infrastructure needed to attract the next group of residents who would flock to the neighborhood, the middle-class, was already being laid, often by the same wealthy industrialists whose cultural dominance of the neighborhood would be weakened when those new residents arrived. In-between the wealthy Highland, Negley, and Stanton avenues lay the smaller streets that made up the grid system laid out before the panic of 1873. On this grid, some landowners had begun to split their land into lots to be sold to developers or individual builders. In 1882, this pattern was very sporadic. Only four land owners clearly developed lots to be sold for middle-class housing. The combined area of these lots comprised only about twenty blocks (around 30 acres), and in 1882, only 30 small frame houses had been built so far.[78] The men who resided in the houses built by 1882 were most likely middleclass workers who worked within the confines of the East Liberty Valley. Although at this time many middle-class families who earned their livelihood in the city of Pittsburgh undoubtedly strived to join the wealthy elite in the Eastern Suburbs, most could not afford to do so.

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[77] Collins, *Stringtown on the Pike*, 143. It is interesting to note that the Highland golf club used a farmhouse built by Alexander Negley around 1809 as its clubhouse. This farmhouse is still standing in the present day next to a playground for children.
[78] GM Hopkins and Co., comp., *Atlas of the Cities Pittsburgh and Allegheny: From Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys* (Philadelphia, 1882).

For a Highland Park resident with a limited budget, commuting could be both time-consuming and expensive. To even reach the train or streetcar, Highland Park commuters had to walk from 15 to 30 minutes. Even disregarding this extra burden, traveling to Pittsburgh from East Liberty was very difficult for a middleclass worker. Joel Tarr states that "many white-collar and skilled workers who found employment in the central city were probably unable to afford the high steam railroad fares" and therefore were forced to take a horse car that would take "upwards of 100 minutes."[79] For this reason, most middle class Pittsburgh commuters of the 1870s and 1880s chose to live in closer suburbs or in areas closer to the transportation networks.

Yet, foreshadowing of what was to come, investors seeing the future value of this lot-development pattern began to buy large swaths of land. Two banks, the People's Savings Bank, and the Dollar Savings Bank bought patches of land on the not-yet-developed eastern slopes of Highland Park, while other individual investors, notably Alexander King, Margaret Shannon, and William and A.J. Logan bought large plots of land from anyone who was selling. These investments drastically changed the ownership pattern of Highland Park land. Between 1872 and 1882, Highland Park had transformed from farmland owned almost entirely by families who had been farming there for years to an area owned almost entirely by investors waiting for residential development to reach their property. In 1882, only Robert Wightman

[79] Tarr, *The Impact of Transportation Innovation on Changing Spatial Patterns,* 11.

and John Whitmyer on the eastern edge, and Casper Negley in the far North remained in possession of their farms.[80]

PART FOUR: 1890-1900

Those investors that bought land in Highland Park in order to capitalize on further growth were rewarded for their insight during the final decade of the nineteenth century. In those short ten years, Highland Park would witness its most dramatic physical and cultural shift yet. The mansions surrounded by rolling hills would become overtaken by rows and rows of middle class frame houses. Furthermore, the exclusive clubs and schools of the wealthy would be pushed to the background of Highland Park culture, as new middle class cultural attractions would begin to dominate both the landscape and the community.

The attractiveness of Highland Park to the middle class had been constantly growing over the previous 40 years. By 1890, Highland Park had an established commuting community, cultural institutions that mirrored those of many wealthy urban neighborhoods, paved streets, laid-out lots, and modern utilities such as plumbing and electricity. Additionally, the rising views of homeownership as a symbol of success and of the urban environment as a detriment to both physical and moral health were at their peak in American society. Yet, despite all these factors leading the middle-class to see Highland Park as a desired place to make a home,

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[80] GM Hopkins and Co., comp., *Atlas of the Cities Pittsburgh and Allegheny: From Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys* (Philadelphia, 1882).

without the transportation innovation that occurred in the late 19th century, the area would have remained inaccessible to the middle class.

From 1888 to 1890, all three streetcar lines from downtown to the East Liberty area changed their propulsion method from horses to either cable or electric.[81] This change dramatically lessened the time of travel for Highland Park commuters without the means to take the train. A company that ran one such line, the Pittsburgh Traction Company, "reported that its cars averaged 10 mph, as compared with the 5 mph with the horse car."[82] Possibly more important for the development of Highland Park, the streetcar lines expanded into the neighborhood, giving residents an easy way to get to Pittsburgh or to East Liberty. On December 16th 1889, the Craig Street Railway Company chartered an electric streetcar line that ran from Forbes Avenue and Craig Street in Oakland to Highland Avenue and Bryant Street. Highland Parkers living in the northern reaches of the neighborhood no longer had to walk to East Liberty to enjoy the advantages of electric or cable streetcars. This streetcar line, as well as two additional lines built in 1890 and 1896, substantially effected the physical and cultural development of Highland Park.[83]

As a result of the expanded transportation network, residential development patterns in Highland Park drastically shifted. Beforehand, Highland Park had primarily been attracting rich industrialists along Highland, Stanton, and Negley Avenues. After the streetcar lines were built, middle class demand for small frame

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[81] Ford, Bacon, and Davis, *Ford, Bacon, and Davis Underlying Company Maps*, Pittsburgh: Ford, Bacon, and Davis, 1919.
[82] Tarr, *The Impact of Transportation Innovation on Changing Spatial Patterns*, 14.
[83] Ford, Bacon, and Davis, *Ford, Bacon, and Davis Underlying Company Maps*, Pittsburgh: Ford, Bacon, and Davis, 1919.

houses on side streets skyrocketed. Splitting land into small plots became more profitable for landowners than selling large plots to the well to do. Consequently, over the last decade of the 19th century, Highland Park transformed from a rich industrialist semi-rural haven into a middle-class streetcar suburb.

Immediately after the completion of the Craig Street Railway Company and the Highland Street Railway Company streetcar lines, Highland Park experienced a boom in building. From 1888 to 1892 the rate of dwellings built in Highland Park per year rose from 17 to 48. This rate dropped briefly during the panic of 1893, but afterwards, Highland Park continued to grow at a rate of around 35 houses per year. Like most suburban development in the late 19th century, large developers were not responsible for this pattern of frame house building.[84] A study by Robert Jucha on the comparable East Liberty Valley neighborhood of Shadyside from 1888 to 1916 concluded:

> Shadyside was not built by a few powerful speculators but instead by hundreds of individual decision makers. No single owner in the study period erected more than thirty-one houses. The typical owner built only one to three houses. He or she usually was a resident of the district who, besides building a family home, constructed as a small side investment a second or third house to rent or sell. Backing this basic group were the more active owners who in the 1880s and 1890s could have been expected to build several dwellings of similar cost and size in one general vicinity over a period of several years. The uncertainty of the market, the lack of ready capital, and the absence of modern machinery made the mass production of houses impossible.[85]

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[84] For a in depth discussion of small builders in late 19th century America see Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs,* 117-152.
[85] Jucha, "The Anatomy of a Streetcar Suburb," 313.

Housing records for the area confirms that the same pattern was present in Highland Park. Between 1888 and 1891, only around 22% of lot owners built more than 1 house and only one owner built more than two.[86]

Additionally, as development became more focused on the middle class, dwellings were more frequently built on side streets than the larger avenues. In the early 1890's, around 47 percent of new dwellings were being built on Highland, Stanton, or Negley Avenues. From 1893 to 1900, only 12 percent were built on the avenues. The remaining 88 percent were built as middle class homes on small lots elsewhere in the neighborhood (mostly in-between Highland and Negley).[87]

As development shifted its focus from the upper class to the middle class, even the wealthy avenues were affected. Although the avenues remained much richer than the rest of the neighborhood, most of the mansion owners had divided their large land holdings into lots to be sold for development and the middle class had begun to move onto Highland, Stanton, and Negley.[88] By 1900, about 25 percent of the working Negley, Stanton, and Highland avenue residents worked as office

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[86] Pittsburgh Building Permit Dockets, vols. 1-16, AIS, University of Pittsburgh, Pa.
[87] Ibid.
[88] GM Hopkins and Co., Comp., *Real Estate Plat-book of the City of Pittsburgh: From Official Records, Private Plans and Actual Surveys,* vol. 2, (Philadelphia, 1899). From 1888 to 1899, housing records show that the average house built on Negley, Highland, or Stanton had a value of 10178 dollars, while those on the side streets were only valued on average at 5819 dollars. Furthermore, those living on the avenues were much more likely to enjoy the services of house servants. In 1900, about 42% of the working population living on the avenues were servants, butlers, etc., while only half of that proportion was present in the middle class houses on the side streets.

workers, skilled laborers, or at other middle-class professions.[89] Surprisingly, this proportion is almost as large as those employed in managerial, capitalistic or professional jobs (31%).[90] Moreover, even those in upper-class employments who moved to the avenues in the later years of the century were not at the same level of wealth as those who preceded them. While merchants and manufacturers dominated the 1870 Highland Ave society, by 1900, the street had come to include doctors, architects, landlords, and those of similar professions. Many of these men even rented or took mortgages out on their homes in order to live on the prestigious avenue.[91]

In addition to changing the physical landscape of Highland Park, the middle class began to make their mark on its culture. Since the cultural institutions of the older Highland Park society were extremely exclusive (the Masonic Lodge, Shadyside Academy, and the Highland Park Golf Club), the middle class created new, inclusive institutions so that they could partake in the area's leisure culture. The largest of these new cultural attractions, which would eventually become the center of Highland Park society, was the public park, "Highland Park."[92]

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[89] This does not suggest that this is the percentage of middle-class households on these streets, for many of these workers employed in middleclass jobs were either the sons and daughters of the rich, or those working and living with the rich.
[90] On the side Streets, this same data is about 55% of the population working in middle class jobs, 20% working in Upper-class jobs, and 4% more working as laborers. About one percent of those living on the Avenues were laborers, but they all lived in a wealthy household, and almost certainly worked for their landlords.
[91] U.S., Census Office, Twelfth Census, 1900, Manuscript Schedule for Ward 19, Pittsburgh, PA, 1900.
[92] Interestingly, the park was named after the former cultural center of the community, Highland Avenue.

The construction of "Highland Park" and the rest of the Pittsburgh park system was largely the product of the prominent resident of Highland Avenue, Edward Bigelow. As soon as Bigelow entered his new position as Director of Public Works, he began to lobby for the creation of a park system for the city of Pittsburgh.[93] In 1888, he succeeded in acquiring a mandate from the city council to create a committee on parks and to put him at its helm.[94]

In order to succeed in his task of creating large accessible parks for the city, Bigelow had to find large areas of lightly populated land that could be easily acquired. The northern farms of Highland Park were a perfect place to begin.[95] The city already purchased farms in the northernmost area of Highland Park from Casper Negley and James McCully in 1879 for the purpose of building a reservoir to supply the city with water.[96] When Bigelow took office, he put acquiring more land around the reservoir at the forefront of his agenda. By the time Bigelow was done with the land acquisitions, he had "dealt with 120 individual land owners and spent" more than 900,000 dollars.[97] He was so determined that he even used hostile tactics

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[93] Before Bigelow's bid for a park system the City had almost none. Within the city limits, there were a few small public green areas, but these were all inherited when Allegheny City was annexed by the city. No government branch was devoted to the parks and no grand "parks for the masses" like that of central park in New York were present.

[94] Alexander Moore, *The Book of Prominent Pennsylvanians: A Standard Reference* (Pittsburgh: Leader Publishing, 1913), 18.

[95] Also, it should be noted that this area was in Bigelow's neighborhood, which may hint at a possible alternative motive.

[96] "Highland Park," *Carnegie Magazine* 54 (1980), 8.

[97] Ibid., 8.

to force landowners to sell to him, such as buying all the land surrounding that landowner in order to inconvenience them until they gave in.[98]

Once the land was acquired, the park itself was designed to have an "even more lush appearance than the other city Parks."[99] The plan included majestic pillars at the main entrance, and a Victorian style garden to welcome visitors to the park.[100] However, despite its lush appearance, the park was designed primarily for middle class leisure activities. The park included a fishing pond, a public swimming pool, open picnic areas, and a zoo; all of which appealed to the late 19th century park movement that strove to improve the lives of the masses (in Highland Park, the middle class) through increased access to nature.[101] As early as 1892, it could not be denied that the park had become the cultural and social center of the neighborhood. One article in the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* noted that "Highland Park is a favorite summer resort to thousands of Pittsburg's inhabitants. It would be to the inhabitants of any city… As a result any pleasant afternoon and evening during summer and fall months finds from 5000 to 15000 people enjoying the cool breezes,

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[98] Ibid., 8. Howard Stewart and Great Pittsburgh Parks Association, *Historical Data, Pittsburgh Public Parks* (Pittsburgh: Greater Pittsburgh Parks Association, 1943), 16. These land owners were not those who lived in the modern neighborhood of Highland Park that this study focuses on, but those in a small community that lined the southern bank of the Allegheny River and another that lay to the west of the reservoir (now where the Pittsburgh Zoo is located). Both of these communities were bought or bullied out of their land by Bigelow and now are non-existent.

[99] "Highland Park," 9.

[100] "Highland- History," Pittsburgh Parks Conservatory, accessed March 22, 2012, http://www.pittsburghparks.org/history-1.

[101] The Pittsburgh Zoo was built from a donation of 125,000 dollars from Christopher Magee in 1898. Interestingly, Christopher Magee owned many of the streetcar lines at that time leading to Highland Park, so the donation may have also been an attempt to increase ridership on those lines.

beautiful scenery and numberless other attractions of Highland Park."[102] The park's popularity was so great that the neighborhood surrounding it was finally given its name. By early 1891, the neighborhood was being referred to as "the Highland Park District," and not too long after took its final name of "Highland Park."[103]

Interestingly, the wealthy industrialists that had previously used this land for their exclusive country and golf clubs objected to the transformation of these institutions into spaces of public use. Francis Couvares in *Remaking of Pittsburgh* points out that "the prospect of hordes of undesirables violating their hills and glades aroused them to militant opposition." Yet, by 1890, Bigelow's insistence and the rising trend of middle-class dominance of Highland Park's culture prevailed.[104]

By 1900, Highland Park was a middle-class neighborhood. The avenues still were home to some of the richest Pittsburgh industrialists and the old farming families were still influential in the running of the churches and government. However, Highland Park was no longer centered on either of these groups. The greatest cultural attraction, the park, was wholly a public space for the middle class, and the physical makeup of the neighborhood was dominated by middle-class frame houses. Yet, in the Highland Park of 1900, reminisces of Highland Park industrial wealthy society remained, and the rural past of the Negleys lay ingrained in the cultural and physical roots of the neighborhood.

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[102] "Highland Park Will Now Be More Popular Than Ever," *Pittsburg Dispatch*, June 14, 1892, 12.
[103] "Business News and Gossip," *Pittsburg Dispatch*, July 24, 1891, 7.
[104] Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City 1877-1919* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 107.

# CONCLUSION

Highland Park, like all neighborhoods, is more than just a piece of land where people live. It is a community that has been formed over years by physical development, cultural trends, and most importantly, human interactions. Often, historical studies of the early streetcar suburbs overlook these human factors. While technological innovation and institutional interactions largely shaped Highland Park's physical development patterns, the people who called it home were responsible for its cultural development into a middle class streetcar suburb.

From 1778 to 1900, Highland Park's physical and social make-up remade itself many times. Its first stage of development transformed dense forest into a beautiful and wealthy farm community. Later, as transportation to Highland Park improved, new residents who made their livelihood in the city of Pittsburgh began to move into the area, building large mansions on fashionable avenues. After cable and electric streetcar transportation was introduced, modern utilities became available, and side streets were paved, middle class Pittsburghers flooded into the area, and in doing so, replaced all physical vestiges of Highland Park's rural past with rows of frame houses.

Yet, each of these stages of development was not independent of each other. Firstly, throughout the neighborhood's development, the communities already residing in Highland Park were an integral factor in the emergence of the next wave of residents to move there. The first wealthy Pittsburgh commuters moved to Highland Park because of the rural heritage and the family ties they shared with the

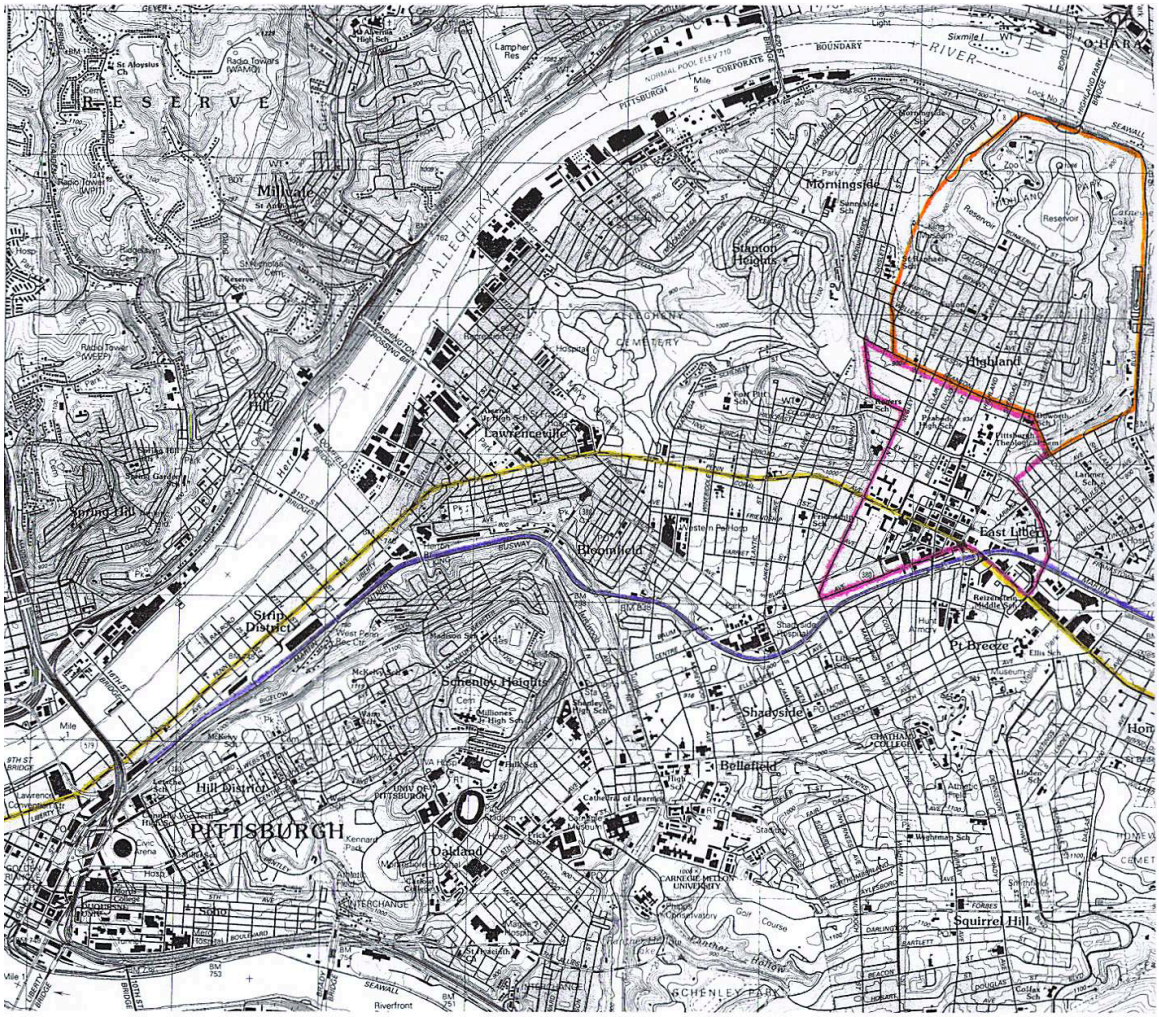
Negleys and other farming families. The first Highland Avenue industrialists largely felt at home in the neighborhood because of the already existing wealthy commuter culture established by the first commuters. In the final decade of the 19th century, the middle class flocked to the neighborhood in large part because it had become fashionable as result of its rich industrial residents.

Furthermore, while each new wave of residents intertwined and aided the next in coming to Highland Park, they brought something new to the culture of the neighborhood. As the upper-class commuters moved into the neighborhood, they slowly transplanted the rural Protestant culture with a leisure culture of exclusive country clubs, golf clubs, and masonic societies. The middle-class residents who made up the next wave of Highland Park residents hoped to adopt this leisure culture, but had to do so through public means in order to gain access. Consequently, the park, the zoo, and other public cultural attractions developed during the last decade of the 19th century.

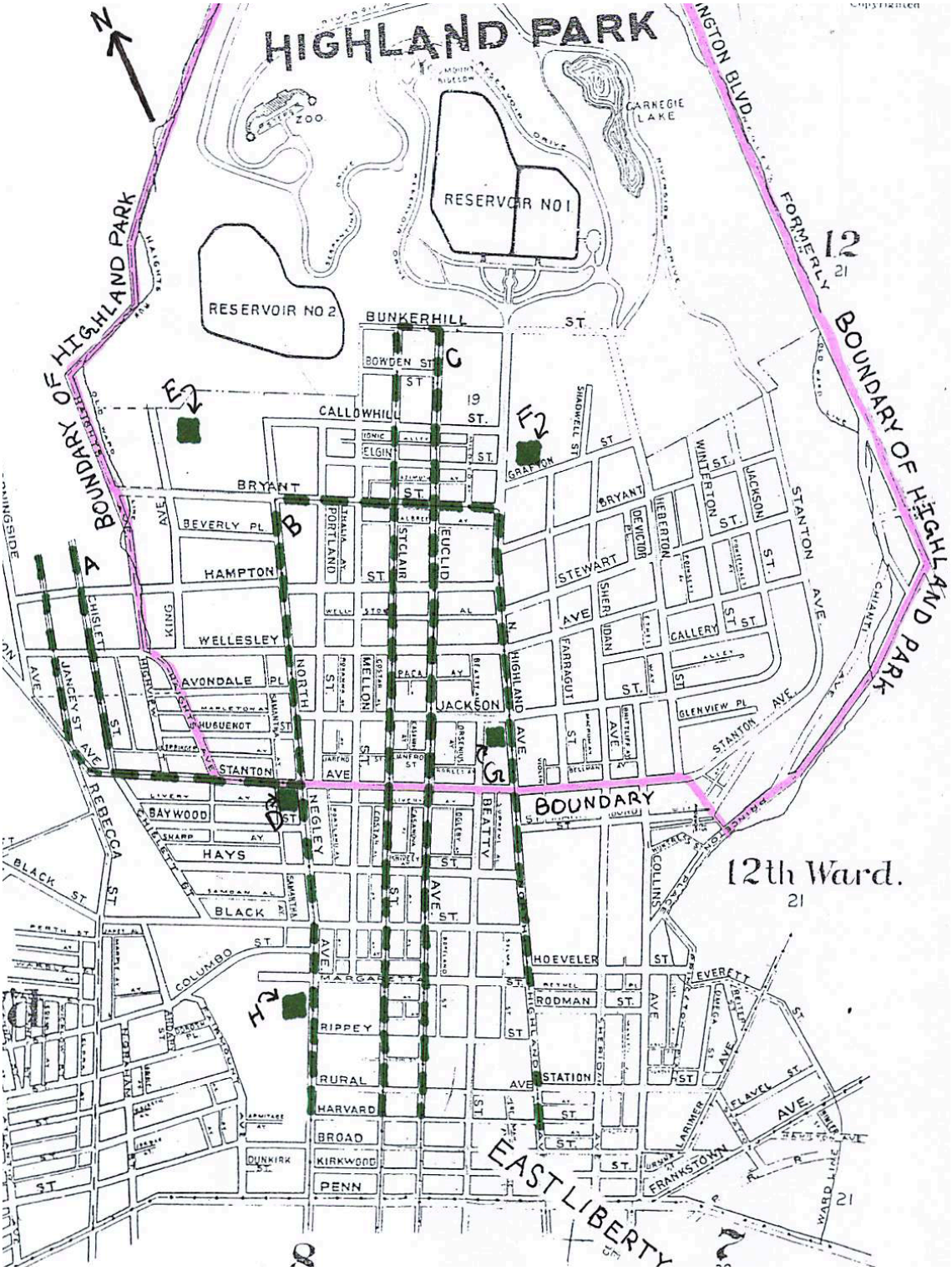
Historical studies of early suburban development have most commonly focused on the physical movement of different communities to new areas. They have made substantial discoveries into the factors that led these communities to move further from the city. While this process is important, the history of Highland Park offers an interpretation of the early suburbs that puts less emphasis on the movement of communities, and more emphasis on the evolution of the community already present as different cultures and social classes intertwined. It shows that not only technological innovation and cultural trends, but also interactions between

residents of the neighborhood is what transformed Highland Park in a short 50 years from farmland into a streetcar suburb.

APPENDIX




Orange: Boundary of the Neighborhood of Highland Park
Pink: Boundary of the Neighborhood of East Liberty
Purple: Pennsylvania Railroad
Yellow: Pennsylvania Road (Now Penn Avenue)

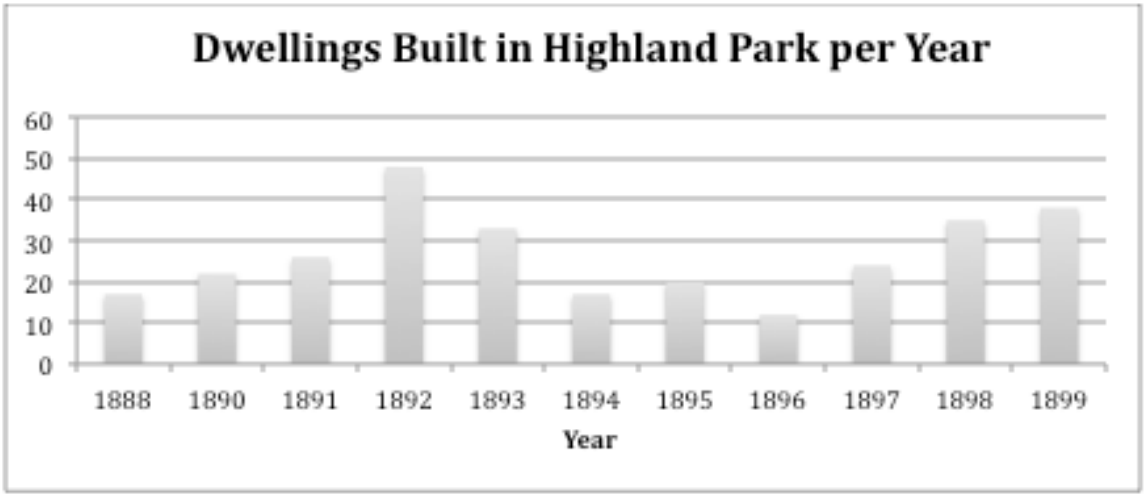


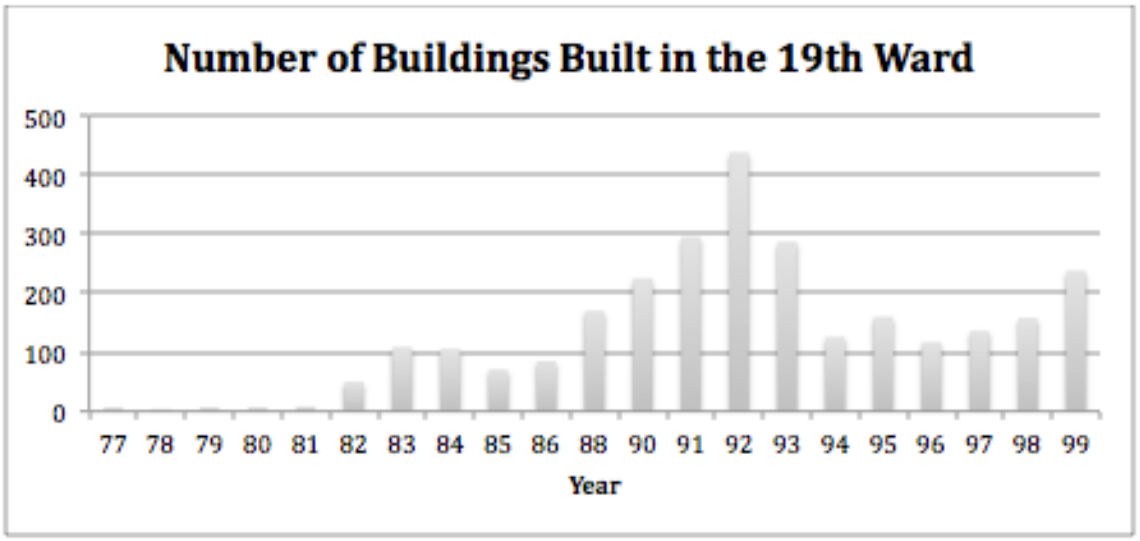

A) The Morningside Electric Street Railroad Company Streetcar Line
B) Craig Street Railroad Company Streetcar Line
C) Fort Pitt Traction Company Streetcar
D) Negley Homestead
E) Alexander King Mansion
F) Joseph Graff Residence
G) Edward M. Bigelow Residence
H) Thomas Mellon Residence

Table of Highland Park Census Data:

| Year | Populat-ion | Percent of Workers in: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Farming | Management, professional | Office work, skilled Labor | Domestic Service | Unskilled laborer |
| 1857* | 74* | 62.06% | 11.11%* | 7.41%* | 18.52%* | 36.04%* |
| 1870 | 171 | 36.67% | 21.67% | 6.67% | 35.00% | 20.00% |
| 1900 | 714 | 0.00% | 30.94% | 25.41% | 42.35% | 1.30% |

*See note 46 for the flaws in 1857 data. The percentages are from the available data (on the 1857 population still alive in 1870) provided by the 1870 census. Since it does not take into account those who died between 1857 and 1870, the calculated percentages for the non-farm related employments are probably overestimations.



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