"By Invitation of Mrs. Wilkinson"*

An Incident of Life at Fort Fayette

By Mrs. Elvert M. Davis

In the newly established newspaper, the "Tree of Liberty", at Pittsburgh, on March tenth, 1801, this item appeared:

"Brigade Orders, March 2.
"The Fourth instant being the day upon which the New President of the United States will be installed, Colonel Hamtramck requests the company of the gentlemen of the army who may be present to dine with him on that day at the Garrison." "The Garrison" was the usual designation of Fort Fayette.

The new President was Thomas Jefferson, elected after a long and bitter struggle. Tarleton Bates says, "Our Feds here will be nearly as much mortified at Adams' election as at Jefferson's" and, "Amongst about ten officers at the camp three miles hence only two dared to speak for the present constitution. They were Captain Shoemaker and Lieutenant Pike." The feeling of the officers of the army invited to celebrate the occasion is also indicated by some items in the "Tree of Liberty" of December (thirteenth and twenty-seventh) 1800, depositions and communications concerning the collection of tavern bills owed by the soldiers to John Smur. Colonel Hamtramck felt it necessary to add to his order this advice:

"It is the duty of every gentleman in commission to show on that day by public demonstration that he knows how to value and respect the sense of the Nation and to evince that whatever may be the change in our political affairs while he continues in service, that he considers himself bound to support at the hazard of his life the govern-

*Read before the Society, October 29, 1929.

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ment which is established by constitutional authority”.

“Captain Read of the artillery will make the necessary arrangements for a salute, etc., and Major Craig will please to have the fireworks ready for the evening”. (Capt. Edward D. Turner, Capt. Brigade *)

The strong Federal prejudices of Major Craig would have made it easier for him to have prepared fireworks for almost any other occasion than the celebration of the accession to power of a party whose principal leaders in Pittsburgh had been directly opposed to him almost since the Whiskey Insurrection. But evidently he obeyed orders as graciously as circumstances would permit, and the results were satisfactory. The newspaper account continues:

“In consequence of the above orders, a salute was fired at twelve o’clock, and at four o’clock the Officers of the Garrison and others set down to a neat and well-prepared dinner, at which the following toasts were drunk, each accompanied by a discharge of artillery and a piece of music by the Band.”

The toasts were too many for repetition here, although interesting to students of the political sentiments of that time. There was none given possessing the historical significance of that proposed at the dinner at the home of Samuel Messer, on the same date, with General Alexander Fowler of Fowler’s Glen as President and Nathaniel Irish as Vice President, when Aaron Burr’s health was drunk with the sentiment, “Firm in the time which tried men’s souls!” The army officers, after some more usual and stereotyped toasts, drank to one of especial significance to their organization:

“Our Commander-in-Chief, may his journey to the seat of Government be pleasant and his reception satisfactory”.

This was followed by “seven rounds” (one is relieved to know it was rounds of artillery, and not of drinks), and “General Wilkinson’s March”. This dinner probably took place in what was known as the “Long Room” of Fort Fayette, the same building which was still standing in January, 1811, when Reverend John Taylor used it for a series of lectures on astronomy. Descriptions of similar officers’ assembly rooms in other forts must be drawn upon for an idea of this one. “The officers’ mess room was a
frame building about forty feet long by twenty feet wide, one story high, weatherboarded with rough plank, and set upon wooden blocks". The meetings at Fort Fayette were popular and prized by the lonely soldiers of the frontier. The good company of men of their own profession who had shared with them the perils of the Revolutionary and Indian wars, together with the conviviality more than hinted at by Thomas Collins in a letter to Wilkinson in 1795, had charms for all.

The inauguration dinner, with its rounds of toasts and music, would, of course, last most of the afternoon, even had there been no question of food. "The honors of the table ended at dusk", says the account, "when the gentlemen withdrew to be spectators to a display of fireworks under the superintendence of Major Craig, which were let off in front of Mrs. Wilkinson's apartments, where a large collection of ladies were previously assembled by invitation of Mrs. Wilkinson."

This social occasion was utterly ignored in the columns of the rival newspaper, the "Gazette". In our day this would be considered a scoop by the "Tree of Liberty". But in that hour of bitterness, any mention of the event might have been counted as disloyalty by the Federalist readers and sponsors of the "Gazette".

In the person of the hostess who had charge of the closing hours of this inaugural celebration in Pittsburgh, one hundred and twenty-eight years ago, is introduced a most interesting and charming woman. She has received from historians little comment, yet her character and connections must have had an immense influence on some important situations.

Her husband, General James Wilkinson, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, had gone to the seat of Government to assist in the ceremonies there, but she who had accompanied him on many a perilous march in the Indian country, remained in Fort Fayette. By her social experience and her acquaintance in Pittsburgh, she assisted in tiding over what might have been an embarrassing situation, and in giving just the right note to an occasion when many hearts were heavy with misgiving as to the future, and bitter with rancor over the past.
That large collection of ladies could not have been assembled in Pittsburgh in 1801 without consultations and arrangements as complicated as those of a state dinner in Washington in 1929.

Ann Biddle Wilkinson, daughter of an old Philadelphia family, "sister of one of Washington's closest friends and aides," familiar with the ramifications of social life in the frontier town, would be better able to deal with it than would Madam Hamtramck, newly come to the scene from Detroit and Fort Wayne. "Those women invited would come, of course. Parties were not so common in the community as to be lightly scorned, and though the Federal ladies might two years later refuse to call on Democrats (according to Tarleton Bates) and were probably even at this time "carrying on their old game", they could hardly have refused to meet them under the roof of Mrs. Wilkinson, sister of Clement Biddle, and wife of the Commander of the United States Army.

Possibly some of them said, "We must go, my dear, if only to keep poor Mrs. Craig company—she will have to go," and perhaps some came to help out Mrs. O'Hara, whose husband was always connected with the Commissary Department of the army in one way or another.

The Wilkins ladies would go, for John Jr. was co-partner of Wilkinson in the glass factory on the south side of the river, and was engaged with him in other enterprises. The Dennys and Beelens were later connected with the glass factory, and it is evident that Ebenezer Denny was a friend of Wilkinson's. Mrs. Denny would be sure to respond to Mrs. Wilkinson's invitation, and Mrs. Hamtramck would take special pleasure in welcoming the sister of sweet Catherine Ernest, whose tragic experiences in Detroit are shadowed for the careful reader in the letters of the fastidious Frederick Bates.

Then there would be Mrs. Kirkpatrick, the circumstances of whose marriage had been compared in the "Tree of Liberty" to those of Sally McKean, who became the bride of the Spanish minister, the Marquis de Yrujo.

Was Mrs. Brackenridge there, the girl-wife of the brilliant lawyer and politician and author? If so, it must have required all of Mrs. Wilkinson's fine tact to shield that in-
genrous young woman from the shrugs of the Federalistas.

Besides the matrons, there would have been many fine and graceful girls in that "large collection of ladies". The Scotts and Collin's were Democrats, and with Miss Scott would be Betsey Murphy, heroine of Tarleton Bates' first romance, the heiress whom he "sincerely loved though she is neither handsome or accomplished", and who divided his interest when Emily Neville was yet so young that he dared feel for her no determinate attachment. And Mistress Sara Ann McDowell, whose father, Judge McDowell, had been a surgeon in the Army, would come, for she was to marry the Captain James Read of the Artillery whose responsibility that afternoon had been the supervision of the innumerable salutes. With Sara Ann, as always, would be Eliza Calhoun who was later to wed Henry Hazlett, the young attorney, at the hospitable McDowell home.

Was Maria Morgan there, the "little country girl" with whom Tarleton Bates tried to fall in love, "beautiful and modest, amiable and sensible" whose character almost induced him to renounce his convictions to the contrary and to admit that there was something like the shadow of happiness upon earth? Besides the political strife of the period, there was many a seething romance to trouble the surface of the social pool. Even though it would add to the perturbations of the youth of the day, we might hope that Emily Neville was present, "beautiful as an angel", for she was nearing fifteen, quite a mature age in those days, and her intellectual precocity would have entitled her to privileges which might have been denied to other youngsters.

The chief burgess of the town, Dr. George Stevenson, would lend his approval, although a Federalist. He was an old Revolutionary officer, and had served under General Wilkinson as Surgeon as late as 1798. He would, moreover, feel that his office should pay that respect to the new Chief Magistrate of the Nation.

The Tannehills were Marylanders as was General Wilkinson, and they were Democrats, so that there would be no question about their attending, and that would include the ward of Adamson Tannehill's wife, dainty Agnes Gilkie-son, soon to marry the young advocate James Mountain,
whose learning is mentioned in the early chronicles.

Besides Mrs. Hamtramck, Mrs. Wilkinson would have as assistants the wives of other officers. In September, 1800, there had been many officers in the vicinity, according to Tarleton Bates. Besides Captain Read and Captain Visscher (whose social qualities, if judged from his letters, were of no mean merit) and Captain Edward Turner from Massachusetts who had signed the Brigade Orders, it is likely that many of the younger officers had been guests at the dinner, and were available, if not affected by the long list of toasts, to dazzle the ladies with their military trappings. Lieutenants Pike and Williams who had been stationed during most of 1800 at "the Camp on the Allegheny", were now at Fort Massac, but they might have come up for the celebration, the political aspects of which would have had more attractions for Lieutenant Pike than the society of the fair, as he was then engaged to Clarissa Brown, (daughter of the Wilkinsons' old friend, General John Brown of Kentucky) whom he married the following summer. Meriwether Lewis was on his way from Detroit and he did not reach Pittsburgh till the 6th and left soon to become secretary to the new President. William Henry Harrison had resigned, and was now governor of the Northwest Territory. It is easier to tell who was not there than who was, but Archibald Gray and Ferdinand Claiborne of Virginia were in the vicinity as was also Daniel Hughes of Maryland. Captain Peter Shoemaker was still at the camp, as were probably Richard Greaton and Theodore Sedgwick, both from Massachusetts, and Peter Shiras and John Wilson of Pennsylvania; perhaps John Whipple, Moses Porter and Moses Hooke had not yet gone.

What did they wear? The dress of the men is easy to picture, from the portraits of Solomon Van Renssalaer and Zebulon Montgomery Pike, and the portrait of Tarleton Bates that are here tonight, dressed as were the officers and civilians of that date, respectively; but the dress of the ladies is harder to define. Authentic portraits are lacking. One reason aside from the popularity of the hostess, for thinking that few of those invited that night refused the invitation, is that dress was just then at a transition stage, emerging from the stiff styles of the Revolution.
ary belles, with the high-dressed powdered heads, and the stays and paniers and elaborate petticoat effects, to the simplicity of the Empire costume. " Careless curls vied with a straight and straggling style of hair-dressing that would compare not unfavorably with the bobbed heads of this decade. Some had even adopted wigs, just as the men were discarding them. " The gowns were high-waisted, with long flowing lines and untrammelled figures, such as are familiar in the pictures of Mme. Recamier, Queen Louise of Prussia, and just lately in the movie of "Glorious Betsey" Patterson. Some of the more conservative of that time were of course shocked by the lack of proper stiffness in the foundations of the dresses, and predicted just such dire consequences of the new freedom as conservatives will always predict. " How far these changes had penetrated to Pittsburgh, it would be hard to say. Mrs. Ross (whose husband was professedly a friend of Wilkinson's "), and Mrs. Woods " might have worn the new French modes, but it is safe to assert that many variations were on view that night, and that all were delighted to get a chance to study and comment on the latest as exemplified by the wealthier and more travelled of the assembly.

As to the refreshments, Mrs. Wilkinson had had opportunities for observing the simplicity of the Adams' entertainments, and the lavishness of the Philadelphia affairs. With her Quaker training, added to her kindliness of heart, she would have provided enough, but without ostentation or display. Lemonade and ices were in vogue at Mrs. Bingham's and may have graced this feast. "

In November, 1800, General Wilkinson had written to Colonel Hamtramck from the capital, "I shall have occasion for my old quarters, it therefore becomes necessary for you to take quarters in the town." Hamtramck was ever a loyal friend of the Wilkinsons, " and it was evidently quite in order that he should be turned out whenever the superior officer wished to re-establish headquarters in Pittsburgh. It may be inferred from this preference for them that the apartments at Fort Fayette which Mrs. Wilkinson was occupying at the time of the party were more attractive than any which could have been procured in the town.

There were cheerful fires glowing in the large fireplaces. The soldiers detailed to tend them would be glad
to serve the General's lady. She was known among them as "an angel of mercy".

In 1793, at Fort Washington, when three deserters were under sentence of death, she intervened, and persuaded General Wayne to remit their sentences. As two of the poor fellows were returning to their quarters, one said, "Thank God!", and the other asked, "Why don't you thank Lady Wilkinson, I am sure the General said it was her that saved us!" The incident, as related in a county history, is corroborated by an entry in Wayne's Orderly Book.

Whatever the elements with which Ann Wilkinson had to deal—whether the rough soldiery of the frontier; Wayne in the wilderness, crochety with gout; Henry Marie Brackenridge, the child untamed by convention, starved by lack of food and love; " the young officers like Harrison and Pike and Rensselaer, boyishly careless of life and limb,—still could she weave a spell that would make a change in spirit, such as an unknown diarist records after his meeting with this "sprightly and agreeable young Quakeress" in 1773, when he naively says, "The dinner tasted better that day." "

And what of the absent husband, was he worthy of this delightful companion? All their friends and her family evidently believed so, " but a recent school of biography has arisen, seeking to tear down his reputation to build up others, and he has become a scapegoat for them all.

James Wilkinson was the son of an old and honorable Maryland family of English origin. " His father died when he was very young. At the age of seventeen, he was sent to Philadelphia to a medical school, after having studied that science for sometime with a relative who was a physician. It was probably at this time that he met Nancy Biddle, and became the associate of her friends and relatives. He was there two years, and comparison of his memoirs with Graydon's, " leads to the above conclusion. But nowhere does he mention this meeting, using that delicacy which is fully explained by Graydon, " and which was as much the code of the time as was the duel. In the spring of 1775, he returned to Maryland, and commenced the practice of medicine near the Potomac. While thus engaged, he joined a company which was being drilled at Rock Creek near Georgetown in anticipation of the strug-
gle to follow. As soon as Washington was appointed Commander-in-Chief, Wilkinson abandoned his profession, and went to Cambridge and joined as a volunteer the rifle corps of "the gallant Colonel William Thompson of Pennsylvania". He was serving on the staff of General Greene, whose friendship for him was a source of great pride, when he was appointed Captain by Washington, in March, 1776, his commission bearing the date of September, 1775. Entering Boston with Washington, he remained there with General Greene, afterward following Washington to New York. At New York Wilkinson took command of the company to which he had been appointed, and in the spring was on his way to Canada. A letter of his, written from Canada to General Green, was so graphic that it was used by Washington in a communication to the Continental Congress. He was then nineteen years old. Arnold was in command then of the troops in Canada, but on account of various circumstances, Wilkinson's association with other officers was closer, and he at no time expresses much admiration for Arnold. He gives Wayne credit for extricating Arnold from annihilation.

In September of that year, 1776, Wilkinson was transferred to the command of St. Clair, to whose instruction he felt himself much indebted for the "principles of service and knowledge of details". He speaks enthusiastically of St. Clair's "native ingenuity, liberal education, and polished address", "his intelligence, industry and enterprise". While serving with St. Clair the young aide nearly died from an attack of typhus fever. Taken to Albany, he was there restored to health by the attentions of the Van Renssalaer and Schuyler families, forming friendships which continued through two generations. He did not fully recover from this illness before the following spring, but in the meantime he had been sent as a messenger to Washington, on which occasion he was witness to the capture of General Charles Lee. He participated in the battle of Trenton as aide to General St. Clair. He spent the early part of the winter of 1776 at Morristown; reading of other romances fostered by that stay, it may be fairly presumed that at Clement Biddle's he again encountered the charming Nancy. Although not yet twenty, he was made Lieutenant Colonel, an office which he resigned to follow Gates
to the Northern Department, where he had served, and
where he believed his duty lay. He was with St. Clair at
Ticonderoga, a witness to the necessities which compelled
the evacuation of that fort. Gates appointed him to be
deputy adjutant general of the northern army. It is in a
letter to Gates regarding this appointment that he refers
to his engagement, but in an obscure manner. After the
battle at Bemis Heights, he writes to St. Clair more openly,
"Pray, my dear General, read the enclosed and let the
amiable object know, the first opportunity, what was ac-
complished by our troops." What the present-day girl would think of a reference
to her as an "object" however "amiable" or "beloved", is a
matter for speculation, but in Graydon's and Wilkinson's
time the term was a token of devotion that any well-
brought-up girl would be proud to accept.

After the convention of Saratoga had been arranged,
ilness again compelled the removal of Wilkinson to Albany,
"placed on a bed in a wagon by the side of Colonel Philip
Van Cortlandt of the New York troops". So ill that he was
accompanied from Albany by a physician, he was sent to
Congress with the articles of the convention. In a report
to Gates he mentions his intention of going to Easton, "the
present residence of my beloved".

After his report to Congress, he was appointed a
brevet brigadier general, and spent sometime with the
army under Washington at Whitmarsh, coming back to
Albany, now Gates' headquarters, the last of the month.
Soon General Gates was appointed to preside over the
Board of War, and at the beginning of 1778, Wilkinson
was advised that he had been appointed secretary of that
board. On his way to his post, he was met in Lancaster
by rumors of accusations from Gates, with regard to what
afterward became known as the Conway Cabal, which
causd him to send a challenge to Gates by Captain Stod-
dert, afterward Secretary of the Navy. Gates' apology
prevented the meeting. After attending the war office
for a few days, Wilkinson set out for Valley Forge. At
Lancaster he fell in with Dr. Craik, an old friend of his
family, and the most intimate and confidential friend of
Washington. Learning from him that the other brigadiers
had protested against his own and Gates' advancement,
Wilkinson at once tendered his resignation to Congress.

In his memoirs he says, "I met in Lancaster the honoured object of my tenderest attachment, in whose society a fortnight flitted away like a vision of the morn", but her name is not hinted at, though in the very next sentence he records that at Valley Forge, "I took quarters with my friends Colonel Moylan, Colonel C. Biddle, . . . . and other officers". A satisfactory interview with Washington cleared up matters but decided Wilkinson to resign from the Board of War, which he did at once, retaining only his title of Colonel.

November 12, 1778, he was married to Nancy Biddle, "although he nowhere definitely refers to it in his account of those troublous times. In July, 1779, he was appointed Clothier General of the Army of the United States. After his resignation from that office (in 1781) he was made Brigadier and Adjutant General of Pennsylvania. When he decided to remain in Kentucky he sent in his resignation from that office." A picture of his happy relations with his wife's family as well as a likely explanation of his visit to Kentucky and settlement there is found in a letter from Dr. Hutchinson, husband of Mrs. Wilkinson's sister Lydia. Dr. Hutchinson and Wilkinson had been friends even before they were brothers-in-law. The letter is dated February 17, 1784, and is addressed to Wilkinson at "Kentucky on the Ohio, favored by Mr. Hunter". "Your Nancy, your Jack are both very hearty, your Jim is now sickening with the small-pox and has every appearance of having it favorably. Your negro girl is inoculated but has not yet sickened. Our father and friends are well . . . . (The) State has not yet done anything with respect to our lands to the westward. My Lydia and myself spent the evening with your Nancy and the boys. Johnny talks much of his papa and is always asking to write you. Our father is very attentive to them. . . . . . . Yours sincerely and affectionately, James Hutchinson." From this it is apparent that two children had been added to their joys and cares. The third son, Joseph Biddle, the playmate of Brackenridge, was born later."

Like most of the Revolutionary officers, Wilkinson was poor at the end of the war. He writes to Henry Lee,
"...I am without cash or credit. Tell my friend Skinner I love him but for that reason must reject his assistance." Soon Mrs. Wilkinson followed him to Kentucky. They lived in Frankfort which in spite of its advanced situation had at that time a social life of unusual interest. The Wilkinsons were great favorites and formed a close and faithful circle of friends. To Wilkinson is credited the establishment of tobacco raising in the state. In an endeavor to find a market for the Kentucky products, he ventured a voyage to New Orleans and succeeded in making an arrangement satisfactory both to the Spanish Governor and the allied traders whom he represented.

He conducted two very successful expeditions against the Indians, and after St. Clair's defeat he hurried to his assistance, much to St. Clair's relief. Wilkinson never forgot his old friend. There are many references in his memoirs to the injustice done St. Clair. He writes to William Wadsworth, September 18, 1792, "I trust I have made the most of the shattered, tattered relics of our friend St. Clair's army, deranged and distracted as I found them."

Through the influence of St. Clair and others, Wilkinson was offered a commission and returned to the army, so that he was really in command of the army from October, 1791, until the appointment of Wayne in March, 1792, while St. Clair was absent on his courtmartial. Soon after Wayne's appointment, Wilkinson was made a Brigadier, and commanded in the West while Wayne was in Pittsburgh and in Legionville.

Mrs. Wilkinson followed her husband to Fort Washington and succeeded in making at that far-flung outpost a real home. In 1792 she came on a visit to Philadelphia, where she was placing her boys in school. Her return to Fort Washington was hindered by the dangers and difficulties of the route. That she was much missed is manifest from a letter of Wilkinson to Wayne, in which he begs that he may have leave to come East, "to see the long-loved Nancy Biddle." . . . . . and asks Wayne to help her reach Fort Washington for "I would cheerfully sell two of the last years of my life to have her with me this winter."

By December, 1793, she had joined her husband at Fort Washington when Wayne was at Hobson's Choice, for
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it was then that Wilkinson sent to him the invitation to Christmas dinner chronicled in the Conarroe papers. In June, 1794, she was with her husband at Fort Jefferson, still further in the line of danger, and left with the last convoy of wagons just before the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Jonathan Cass (father of Lewis Cass) writes to her husband, September 7, 1794, after that battle, "With respect to Mrs. Wilkinson, (as you have letters from her by every occasion) I shall only observe that she bears your absence, particularly since the action, with more fortitude than I expected, and like herself has been an excellent neighbor and a great comfort to me in my misfortunes" (referring to his wound).

While Wayne was in Pittsburgh and vicinity, men who had been the enemies of St. Clair, and who were to continue to persecute him till his death, had succeeded in planting distrust in the mind of the Commander of the Legion toward Wilkinson, his friend and St. Clair's protege. Praise for Wilkinson from Washington and Knox may have fanned some flame of jealousy in Wayne's breast. Wilkinson had many friends in Pittsburgh, and they warned him of what Hollingsworth calls "the hell-born plot", "hatched" by those referred to by Edward Day as "your masked friends".

These were said to have asserted that "Wilkinson was a Spanish spy, a spy for the British and a spy for someone else." Wayne was led into an order for search and seizure for which he was tacitly rebuked by McHenry, who had become Secretary of War. General and Mrs. Wilkinson started for the seat of government, that he might defend himself against these accusations. At Pittsburgh (it was in October, 1796) they were met by the news of the death of their eldest son, John, the "Jacky" of Hutchinson's letter. Mrs. Wilkinson was prostrated by this sad intelligence, following so closely upon the shock of the accusations against her husband. Never did she quite recover from the blow.

They were still in Philadelphia, at Colonel Clement Biddle's, when the news of Wayne's illness and death at Erie was sent to them by Wilkinson's watchful friend Judge Turner.
Wilkinson was made Commander-in-Chief, and thereafter a good part of their time was spent in Pittsburgh, although threats of war with Spain and France kept the General travelling up and down the Ohio and Mississippi, and some of the time Mrs. Wilkinson accompanied him.

Clement and Charles Biddle and Dr. Hutchinson had early become ardent Democrats, and Wilkinson shared their enthusiasm. The election of Jefferson did not appal him as it did many of the army officers. He had numerous Demo-Republican friends in Pittsburgh, none more valuable than Brackenridge, as is revealed by a letter found in the Library of Congress. 197 "The senior military officer may be usefully . . . employed . . . . Because he has had the chief command of the established troops for more than four years, and has preserved his official correspondence since the year ninety . . . . He understands perfectly the disposition of the troops and the motives which directed it; and commands an intimate knowledge of the geography of his country, of the Indian occupancies and force within its limits, and of the fortifications of foreign powers which border thereon, their strength and objects . . . . . . . . . (With) his knowledge of individual merits and pretensions . . . (he is) in possession of the immediate projects as well as the ultimate views of the late administration . . . . Give him then the charge of the department (military) to retrench and systematize it. Being a western man and popular in the most remote settlements, this avocation may flatter, oblige and give confidence to the people of that portion of the Union". This letter is addressed to Jefferson, signed by H. H. Brackenridge, and is in the hand of Tarleton Bates.

Had Mrs. Wilkinson known of this letter, she could have welcomed her guests with a light heart on this Fourth of March, 1801, for Brackenridge's word weighed heavily with Jefferson.

That Wilkinson thus impressed his contemporaries there is ample evidence. Judge Symmes writes of him in 1792, "the nation will find a valuable officer in Lieutenant Colonel Wilkinson." . . . "He is much respected and loved by the militia of Kentucky." 198

Everywhere he went, Wilkinson identified himself with local interests in religious, educational and business mat-
ters. In Kentucky, tobacco; in Ohio, a land company and the canal around the falls at Louisburg; in Pittsburgh, the manufacture of glass; and always gardens and the improvements that would hasten civilization. 109

His standing with his officers is best revealed by a letter written to him by William Wilson, in 1815, when he was passing through deep waters: 110

"After you took leave of us, I went to the door and looked after you. I was much affected, I was never so affected in your happier days, and I thought, I saw a man departing possessed of a noble heart and fine feeling, that had done a great deal of service for his country, a man that had raised up a great many young men and had taught them how to fight their country's battles. I say my heart filled when I saw that man departing that had done so much for his country, and now in the decline of life cast off as it were to make room for those that were hardly born when you began your military career". Wilson was himself one of that crowd of young officers whom Wilkinson had encouraged and tutored, and whom Mrs. Wilkinson had mothered, men who were to reflect upon his teaching the credit that was lustered by the names of Harrison and Pike and Lewis and Van Renssalaer. 111 One of the younger officers closes a letter to the General, "With my best wishes to my friend, your wife", 112 and another writes, "To Mrs. Wilkinson my obligations are many. Offer her my thanks for repeated civilities." 113 The little fête in Pittsburgh would find many of these young officers around the commander's wife.

She had seen finer festivals. Chastellux tells of the assembly ball in Philadelphia in 1780, when Wilkinson, then Clothier-General, was Manager, - "an office generally given to the most distinguished officers of the army", according to the noted French traveller. 114 A more exciting affair would be the ball in New Orleans, when as one of the Commissioners for taking over the Louisiana Territory, her husband was to use his marvellous tact in averting a battle royal between the Americans and the Creoles. 115 But she was to see none that would mark more strongly than this gathering at the Gateway of the West, the passing of one epoch, the Federal, and the setting out into the unknown paths of Jeffersonian democracy.
They were to be troublous years for her, who had already passed through so much. Her second son had lately joined the army. He was destined to go out with Pike upon his expedition into the unexplored west, and to return only just in time to bid her a final goodbye, ere she died in New Orleans in February 1807, amid the excitements raised by the rumors of the Burr enterprise. This was only six years after she had acted as hostess at Fort Fayette. Some of the young Pittsburghers who had been entertained at the fort that evening, were among those who followed Burr down the Ohio, and were of families well known to her.

Distracted by the responsibilities of that time, Wilkinson writes in a letter to Jefferson, “My attachments to life hang by the precarious existence of an adored wife”. He had previously written to Henry Dearborn, his old comrade who was now Secretary of War, “For more than thirty days, Mrs. Wilkinson has trembled over the grave, and I have waited in agonizing suspense the moment of her dissolution, whilst my mind has been harassed by a load of public engagements; and now, sir, I shall leave her in a state of most feeble, precarious convalescence, under the racking impression that we part forever. May God preserve my bitterest enemy from a similar trial!”

The *Louisiana Gazette* of February 27th contained an appreciation of her estimable qualities and of her patience in her last illness. Nine years after her death, in speaking of his early association with Alexander Graydon, Wilkinson says, “exclusive of his personal merits, a congeniality of feeling and parity of predicament as it regarded a passion which above all others most interests the youthful heart, had produced a confidential intimacy the recollection of which at this distant day, awakens the sweetest sensibilities of my bosom.” Graydon’s references to him are of like tenor, and reminiscent of the days when the “long-loved Nancy Biddle”, and the “object which had caused the deepest sighs” of Graydon’s captivity, two dainty Quaker maids, were courted by the young men who remained devoted to them, through the lapse of many years.

That she was sincerely mourned by others is shown in a letter to her husband from William Henry Harrison,
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January 10, 1808; "Upon the subject of your domestic loss, my dear General, what can I say but that the shock was as great to me and my wife as we would have sustained upon the death of the nearest of our relatives, our children excepted." . . . . "Adieu, my dear friend—God grant that you may escape all the snares which malice and villainy have spread for your life and reputation." 121

Their son, James Biddle Wilkinson, the one who had accompanied Pike, died in 1813. The youngest son, Joseph B., known to the young officers as "Biddle," became a naval officer serving with credit in the attack and victory of Perry, at Put-in-Bay. 122

Could there be a greater tribute to Wilkinson than that the family connections of his wife remained faithful to him through all his persecutions and even after his second marriage? 123 The character of a man may be gaged by his friends;—the list of his is large and embraces the best minds of his day. 124 The list of his enemies is as illuminating, when their characters and motives are carefully studied. 125

Three times he was forced to the necessity of demanding trials, once by a hearing before a committee of Congress, once before a court of inquiry, and once by a court-martial. Each time he was acquitted. Roger Taney, afterward Chief Justice, turned from his attitude of suspicion against Wilkinson manifested in the Burr trial, to such confidence during Wilkinson's own trial that he and his partner refused compensation for their work in his behalf. 126

Wilkinson held office under Washington, Adams and Jefferson and kept their confidence, as also that of Hamilton. It is not likely that all these keen men, of differing political ideas, should have been successfully duped as to his integrity. 127

In a study of Wilkinson's life, it will be noted that he was especially well acquainted with Doctor Craik, Washington's lifelong friend, both neighbors of the Wilkinson family in the tidewater region, of like lineage and religious affiliations. During 1778, the period when Wilkinson's marriage occurs, he was not specifically employed. Does it seem likely that Colonel Clement Biddle, so near to Washington, so fond of his sister, would have permitted that al-
liance had Wilkinson not stood close to the Washington circle? Is it possible that the young officer's time till he was appointed Clothier-General, might have been employed in special service? Read his praise of the partisan officer McLean with new eyes. If so, his philosophy concerning such service, as expressed in his memoirs and in the letter to Knox about May and Reynolds, would have prevented any mention of it.

Washington as well as other Revolutionary officers had land in the West. They saw at once that unless the Mississippi was open to commerce, no value could attach to it. The questions were, a war with Spain, separation of Kentucky from the confederation (not yet the Union), or a settlement by diplomacy. What so likely as that Wilkinson, whose discretion and diplomatic ability were known, whose family interests were involved, should be the one to go into the new country to see what could best be done? That he might have entered into the scheme of threatening separation from the east, for the double purpose of bringing the New England States to see the light, and of keeping the Spanish from open hostilities, is similar to the gestures the Allens were making for Vermont with something of the same results. The character of the men afterward accused of the so-called Spanish conspiracy, their patriotism in earlier and later years, their silence under the lash of calumny, is proof enough of the propriety of their intentions. It is hardly necessary for their descendants to bespatter them and Wilkinson and each other in order to explain it.

Very little emphasis has been placed upon the fact that after Wilkinson visited New Orleans and made his trade arrangement with the Spanish governor, he went home by way of Baltimore and Philadelphia. This was easily the best route, but had he been engaged in a desperate dark conspiracy with Kentuckians alone as his associates, it seems likely that he would have made his way, however painfully, back to Kentucky at once to confer with his fellow conspirators. While in the east he saw Washington, and it is hard to believe that he did not discuss with his brothers-in-law and others the whole situation in order to determine upon a policy best suited to the occasion. Is that why the various letters against him received so little heed from Washington?
When Wayne was appointed to the western army he was chosen more for his fighting qualities than for his diplomatic gifts. Wilkinson had been handling the secret service department, and in St. Clair's absence, the Indian relations. In the letter to Knox, referred to above, Wayne's ineptness at co-operating with him is indicated.

In the *Pittsburgh Recorder* of February 28, 1826, is this notice, "The news of General Wilkinson's decease is confirmed by a letter from Mexico dated December 30th. He died at his favorite villa on the La Vega, surrounded by a few faithful friends, on the night of the 28th. His body was brought to the house of our minister, Mr. Poinsett, and was interred without military honors, which are not allowed in that country. He was followed to the grave by the most distinguished military and civil officers and all the respectable foreigners of the city." 

The closing years of General Wilkinson's life were infinitely pathetic, but he never lost his courage. In 1818 he had purchased a plantation below New Orleans, where he entertained many travellers to the region. Impoverished as he was by the expenses of his trials, he was always pressed for money. An expedition into Texas with a body of settlers resulted unfortunately. He had married again, Mlle. Celestine Trudeau of an old New Orleans family, and had a son and a daughter. In 1822 he went to the City of Mexico, hoping to improve both his health and circumstances.

In April, 1823, he wrote to Thomas Aspinwall United States Consul at London, who had served with him in the war of 1812, and explained that he had remained in Mexico hoping to collect for some friends amounts due them from the Mexican government. His description of life in Mexico City shows that he had lost none of his narrative talent. He then confidently expected to leave in June to rejoin his family in Louisiana. In March, a year later he wrote to Thomas Jefferson, saying, "Before I leave the country, (I would it were tomorrow and forever!)", speaking of his ill-health and how, in the hope of collecting claims in which he has some interest, he has been detained there, an involuntary exile. He feels that he is near the accomplishment of his mission, though he may be detained two or three
months longer. He was then about sixty-eight years old. A study of the financial situation of Mexico at that time explains the reason for his hopes and the cause of his failure. 148

He died secure in the thought that though he could not leave his family a fortune, he had, by his vindications on his trials, silenced the last of his detractors. That his friends were equally sure of this, is attested by the tone of J. F. H. Claiborne's Mississippi. 144

But in 1849, Gayarre', brought forward some Spanish documents which were instantly accepted by a number of authorities. 148 Gayarre's bias as a historian can best be illustrated by his sketch of Cadillac in his Romance of the History of Louisiana. The relation of the manner in which these Spanish documents were obtained, —through pretence and the agency of a Spaniard evidently distrusted by the American minister, and avowedly mercenary,—that agent's description of the state in which they were delivered to him, and the manner of delivery,—raise strong doubts as to their authenticity. 148 On his trials Wilkinson established the fact that some of the documents used against him were forgeries. What legal proof is there that those later offered are genuine? There was opportunity and an agent that could have supplied them. 148 It is as though the Mexican forgeries so triumphantly brought up against Senator Borah and others, 149 and so soon exposed, were to be again used by possible biographers long after all the witnesses now able to refute them have died; or as though similar papers from the same sources were to be brought forward as final evidence that the first were genuine. How are they to be distinguished as forgeries in time to come, if the archives of Mexico, as is quite likely, go through such periods of stress as did those of the Indies, and are kept as loosely as the records consulted by Gayarre'? As long as the old soldier was able he fought gallantly for his reputation, but he is gone, and today men who claim to be students of history are batten on his fame. For example, it appears to be sufficient for one historian to identify a paper as written by Wilkinson by the simple statement that "the style is undoubtedly
his.” Quite lately in England a halt was called to this sort of thing when the descendants of a great man were impelled to resort to court proceedings to protect the good name of their ancestor. Similar action would be justifiable on the part of Wilkinson’s descendants.

In Pittsburgh, where he and his lady played so gracious a part; in Pennsylvania which he served so long; near the home of his old friend St. Clair whose cause he championed to the end, it seems appropriate to make an effort to give him the credit that is his due. Though a century has passed since that goodly company gathered at Fort Fayette “by invitation of Mrs. Wilkinson,” and though the voices of those who responded to her welcome are stilled, written testimonies of their admiration and regard for their charming hostess and her brilliant husband remain. Eloquent of the love and devotion of a circle of faithful friends and admirers, they serve as emphatically as they did in that distant day to refute the accusations against a generous and gallant, but much maligned man.

FOOTNOTES

   Historical Register of the United States Army, Heitman, Washington, 1890; 318.
   History of Ft. Wayne (Ind.), Brice, Ft. Wayne, 1868; 155 et seq.
   Record of the Court of Upland, and Military Journal kept by Major E. Denny, Phila. 1860; 421.

2. Fort Fayette. It seems impossible to impress the fact that this fort was never called Fort Lafayette, but always “The Garrison” or Fort Fayette. Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine; X, 72.

   For Captain Peter Shoemaker, see Heitman, 587, and Standard History of Pittsburgh, Wilson, Chicago, 1898; 745. Shoemaker came of an old Pennsylvania family, and later was often in command of Fort Fayette.
   Lieutenant Pike was the explorer, for whom see, Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, 3 vols., Coues, N. Y., 1895. His connection with the Camp on the Allegheny is given in the introduction to Volume I. (xxiii)


6. Captain Edward D. Turner. Heitman, 652. He was from Massachusetts and served from 1791 to 1805, when he resigned and became an honored citizen of Louisiana. Official Letterbooks of W. C. Claiborne, 6 vols., Rowland, Jackson, Miss. 1917; III, 120. He was captured by the Indians at St. Clair's Defeat, and "ransomed at Detroit by a private gentleman." Diary of Col. Winthrop Sargent, Wormsloe, 1851; 57.

He with John Wilkins, Jr., endeavored to ferret out a false report concerning Wilkinson which was circulating in Pittsburgh in 1797. Memoirs of My Own Times, 3 vols., Wilkinson, Phila., 1816; Appendix xxxviii, Vol. II. Seems to have been a conscientious and faithful officer. See his reports, Burr's Conspiracy Exposed and Gen. Wilkinson Vindicated, etc., Washington, 1811: Appendix 26, 28, 29. Some pleasant letters in Legacy of Historical Gleanings, 2 vol., Bonney, Albany, 1875; I, 97, 107.

7. Samuel Messer's Dinner, Tree of Liberty, March 7, 1801.

8. Gen. Alexander Fowler, one of the most picturesque figures of the early days in Pittsburgh. See Pittsburgh, A Sketch Of its Early Social Life, Dahlinger, N. Y. & London, 1916; 41, and numerous letters to the newspapers of the period. He was an inveterate vox populi.


10. General James Wilkinson. He had left to attend the inauguration. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, Tarleton Bates to Jefferson, from Pittsburgh, March 6, 1801. He was Commander-in-Chief from December 15, 1796, to July 13, 1798, and from June 15, 1800 to June 27, 1812. Heitman, 696. The interval between 1798 and 1800 represents the time during the French War scare, when Washington was made Commander-in-chief, with Hamilton in actual command.

11. Pittsburgh Gazette, Jan. 17, 1811. The officer's barracks were of brick, (West. Pa. Hist. Mag.; X, 66); probably the mess-room was of logs, or it would have been taken down for arsenal buildings before the date of the lecture referred to in the Gazette.


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22. Wife of James O'Hara, Quarter-master General in Wayne's Campaign, referred to by Tarleton Bates in 1798 as "the Contractor"; West. Pa. Hist. Mag.; XII, 40. Denny says he was not a Revolutionary officer, and from Heitman's Register of the Officers of the Continental Army, Wash., 1914, page 418, his service during the Revolution appears to have consisted in militia duty, only. He served, however, in the Virginia militia during the Revolutionary war as well as in the Pa. militia as given in Heitman. For Mrs. O'Hara, see Chronicles of Families, etc., Miller; 13. She was Polly Carson, of Philadelphia.
25. The independent character of Anthony Beelen is illustrated in Pa. Mag. XIII, 26. See also, Dahlinger; 150, and Early Western Travels, (Cuming) IV, 79. The Social Mirror, A. M. Nevin, Pgh. 1868; 19, 156.
26. Catherine Ernest was a daughter of John Wilkins, Sr., and a sister of Mrs. Ebenezer Denny; she married Lt. Matthew Ernest, the last commandant of old Ft. Pitt. Denny's Journal; 491. Old Pittsburgh Days, Chapman, Pgh. 1900; 143. Heitman, Continental Officers; 217.
28. Frederick Bates was the brother of Tarleton. West. Pa. Hist. Mag. Vol. XII. For his references to Catherine Ernest, see
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Life and Papers of Frederick Bates, 2 Vols., Marshall, St. Louis, 1926; I, 56. Photostat copies of letters of F. B., Burton Historical Collection, Detroit.

29. Tree of Liberty, Jan. 21, 1801; p. 3. Wife of Abraham Kirkpatrick, for whom see Craig's History of Pittsburgh; 31. History of the Western Insurrection, H. M. Brackenridge, Pittsburgh, 1859; 32, 36.

30. For a sympathetic description of Mrs. Brackenridge, see her stepson's book Recollections of Persons and Places in the West, H. M. Brackenridge, Phila. 1868; p. 12. Her ingenuousness is illustrated by the item in the Tree of Liberty, Jan. 31, 1801. For her husband, H. H. Brackenridge, see Appleton's Cyclopaedia; I, 45.

31. Dr. Scott was appointed Postmaster, April 1801 (Dahlinger; 128). His daughter is mentioned in the Tarleton Bates letters. He was concerned with Gen. Wilkinson, John Wilkins, Jr., and others in the glass factory. (see note 23).

32. Thomas Collins, with Susan Read Collins, his first wife (see note 14). She was kin to Mrs. Wilkinson. Colonial Families of U. S. Vol. III.

33. Betsy Murphy, probably a daughter of Patrick Murphy (for whom see Chronicles, Miller; 129), and a stepdaughter of Molly Murphy (for whom see Dahlinger; 152). Tarleton Bates Letters, Burton Hist. Colls. (Tarleton to Frederick, June 7, 1798). Bates et al. of Virginia and Missouri, Onward Bates, Chicago, 1914; 43, 44.

34. Emily Neville was the daughter of Presley Neville, and the sister of Morgan Neville, Bates' most intimate friend, who acted as his second in the Stewart-Bates duel. Constantly referred to in the Tarleton Bates Letters (Burton Historical Collection), and more fully described in the pamphlet, Pittsburgh's First Burying Ground, Dahlinger, Pgh., 1919; 27 et seq. Also in Dahlinger; 144. The acrostic there referred to is given in West. Pa. Hist. Mag.; I, 137, and first published in Tree of Liberty, Jan. 14, 1806.


38. Maria Morgan, youngest daughter of George Morgan of Morgantown. As Emily's mother was Ann Morgan, Maria was an aunt of Emily Neville, though evidently not much older. She married Dudley Woodbridge of Marietta, O. History of Washington County (Pa.), Crumrine, Phila., 1882; 867. Commemorative Biographical Record of Washington County, Pa., Chi., 1893. Tarleton Bates Letters (Burton Hist. Colls.), September 21, 1800.


40. Agnes Gilkeson, daughter of John C. Gilkeson, early bookseller of Pittsburgh, lawyer and afterward prothonotary of the
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41. James Mountain, see references, note 40, and Early Western Travels (Cuming); IV, 79, 83. Crumrine's Hist. Washington Co.; 251.


43. Zebulon Montgomery Pike, the explorer, always a firm friend of Wilkinson. (For evidence of this, see letter, Chicago Hist. Soc. Coll. Pike to Wilkinson, July 7, 1812. (Vol. IV, p. 3 of Wilkinson Letters). For best biography of Pike, see Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, Coues, N. Y. 1895 (3 vols). A great many of the details in this biography are given by John R. Williams (General), for whom John R. Street in Detroit is named. He gets extensive notice in Farmer's History of Detroit & Mich; I, 942; II, 103.

44. John Brown, was one of those accused in the "Spanish Conspiracy". He and his brothers James and Samuel were friends of Wilkinson. Of an influential Virginia family, they assisted in all the measures necessary for saving the Mississippi navigation, secure in the belief that they were using the only means possible under the circumstances. The daughter of Z. M. Pike and Clarissa Brown married a son of William H. Harrison, and a grandson of John Cleves Symmes, thus uniting four of Wilkinson's best friends.

45. Appointed in 1801 to be secretary to Jefferson, see Jefferson Papers, Lib. Cong.; Jefferson to Wilkinson, Feb. 23, 1801, wherein he asks Wilkinson to hand the enclosure to Lewis, subject to his judgment as to whether it will injure the service to lose Lewis.

46. Harrison had gone out with Scott and Wilkinson in 1791, as had William Clark, brother of George Rogers' Clarke. Wilkinson probably gave him his first lessons in dealing with the Indians, as he had learned it from St. Clair at Ticonderoga. In 1805, Harrison wrote of "my most intimate friend, General Wilkinson" (Harrison Papers, Ind. Hist. Soc. Colls.; II, 124). In 1813, after his success at Ft. Meigs, he asked to be allowed to cooperate with Wilkinson, but Armstrong ignored his plea, II, 541. Harrison was in Pittsburgh with Wayne in 1792, detained by Wayne after he had returned from escorting Mrs. Wilkinson to Philadelphia. Wayne Papers; XX, 109.

47. Archibald Gray, Heitman, 301. One of the first lot-holders of Cincinnati, see Centennial History of Cincinnati, Greve, 2 vols., Chicago, 1904; I, 192.

48. Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, Heitman; 184. Appleton's Cyc.; I, 19. Named his son for Hamtramck. At one time disaffected to Wilkinson, it is evident he afterward changed, as his son (author of Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State) was a staunch defender of the general. Ferdinand was a brother of W. C. C. Claiborne.

49. Daniel Hughes, Heitman; 356. Probably related to Christopher Hughes, who married a daughter of Wilkinson's friend Samuel Smith of Maryland. Frederick Bates' Letterbook; I, 186. In command of Ft. Fayette and later of Fort Franklin (1792), Wayne Papers, XX. Commanded the escort with which
Mrs. Wilkinson left Ft. Jefferson just before the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Wayne Papers; XXXV, 95. Witness for Wilkinson in Burr matter, testified to having copied the letter of warning to Robert Smith (brother of Samuel) then Sec'y of the Navy; and to immense expenses sustained by Wilkinson at New Orleans during the excitement while awaiting the expedition. Wilk. Memoirs; II, Appendix lxx.

50. Heitman; 587. Honorably discharged June 1801.
51. Richard Humphrey Greaton, Heitman; 302. It was probably his father who was on the Canadian expedition with Wilkinson in 1776.
52. Heitman, 579. Theodore Sedgwick was perhaps a nephew of the Theodore Sedgwick who had been on the Canadian expedition referred to in note 51.
53. Heitman; 587. Of the old Pennsylvania family.
54. Heitman; 703.
55. Heitman, 688.
56. Heitman, 528. Appleton's Cyc.; V, 78. He was with Wilkinson on the expedition into Canada.
57. Heitman, 348. He was often in command at Ft. Fayette. In his descriptions of deserters in the advertisements in the Pittsburgh papers, a real literary gift is revealed. Had he accompanied Lewis, as was planned in case Clark was not able to go, he would have described the journey minutely. What irony to have missed enduring fame by so slight a margin! See Coues' Lewis and Clark, and Tarleton Bates' letters.
58. Solomon Van Rensselaer's portrait from engraving from miniature in Legacy of Historical Gleanings, photostat enlargement presented to Historical Hall by Dolly Madison Chapter, U. S. Daughters of 1812. Portrait of Zebulon Montgomery Pike from frontispiece of Lakeside Classics edition of the Southwestern Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike, Quaife, editor, Chicago, 1925. Photostat, enlarged, presented by the above chapter. Photograph of painting of Tarleton Bates, owned by the family. Photograph presented to Historical Hall by the Missouri Historical Society. (Painter unknown, but probably a Pittsburgh artist).
61. Some amusing examples of these dire prophesies are found in Pittsburgh Gazette, Feb. 17, 1804; in the first volume of
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Watson's Annals, especially that with regard to shoes (p. 192), and (with regard to bonnets) in Cobbett's Cottage Economy, edition published in New York in 1833, (p. 123).


63. Mrs. John Woods was the former Theodosia Higbee of near Trenton, N. J. (See extract from Lucy A. Higbee Diary in Historical [Hall]). She is mentioned feelingly in Recollections of the West (p. 10) for her kindness to H. M. Brackenridge, the author, when he was a child, and he afterward married her daughter (p. 56). For her husband, see, Pa. Mag.; XIII, 10. Twentieth Century Bench and Bar of Pennsylvania, 2 vols. Chicago, 1903; II, 806.


67. The incident given in Recollections of the West, on pages 41 and 42, is a wonderful tribute to a noble woman, and the description of General Wilkinson gives a key to the sway he exercised over so many people, his genuine kindness of heart, courtesy and thoughtfulness.


70. Details of life from Wilkinson's Memoirs, backed by various authorities, notably: Book of Wills, Maryland Historical Society, Deeds and Wills, Historical and Biographical Record of Frederick Co. Md., 1910. Maryland Historical Magazine; XIII,
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1846. Wilkinson Letters, Chicago Historical Society, N. Y.

Details of service from Historical Register of the United
States Army, Heitman, Washington, 1890. Historical Register
of the Officers of the Continental Army, Heitman, Washing-
ton, 1914. Appleton’s Cyc. has a biographical notice, but it is
so full of errors, as proved by later investigation, that it has
not been used except as corroborated by other matter.

72. Graydon; 281, 309.
73. Wilkinson’s Memoirs; I, 183-4. Life and Public Services of
Arthur St. Clair; Smith, Cincinnati, 1882 (2 v.); I, 12 note
on page 13, p. 52, 442, 443,—II, 40, 229 310 427. Narrative
of a Campaign; A. St. Clair, Phila. 1812; 61, etc. (Also ms.
letters of St. Clair in Ohio State Library, Columbus).
74. In Ballads of New Jersey in the Revolution, Platt, Morris-
town, N. J., 1896: 26, is a delightful account of this capture:
“Pistol in hand, then took his stand,
Good Major Wilkinson;
Prepared to shoot, and fight to boot,
He would no foe man shun.”
75. Ticonderoga, Wilkinson’s Memoirs; I, 85. St. Clair Papers, I,
407 (Letter of Wilkinson to Gates). Trial of Major-General
Arthur St. Clair, N. Y. Historical Society, 1880; “as you
lived with me.” (109-110)
76. This letter is quoted by Hudleston, in Gentleman Johnny Bur-
goyne; N. Y., 1927; p. 213.
77. St. Clair Papers; I, 442.
78. Captain Stoddert married Miss Ringgold, of a family very
friendly to Wilkinson, and connected by marriage to Mrs. Wil-
kinson. Heirlooms in Miniatures, Wharton; 161. Samuel Ring-
gold married Maria Cadwallader. Colonial Days and Dames;
186. History and Biography of Frederick Co., Md.; I, 165,
Stoddert gave testimony favorable to Wilkinson in the Court
of Inquiry, 1811. Report of Committee Appointed to Inquire
into the Conduct of General James Wilkinson, Washington,
1811. Autobiography of Charles Biddle, 282. In the Revolu-
tion, Stoddert was Secretary of the Board of War, after-
ward a successful merchant at Georgetown, D. C., Secretary
of the Navy 1798-1801. He was from Prince George County,
Md.

He himself says that Wilkinson told him all about his
commercial relations with Spanish officials. He and Wil-
kinson were very intimate, always. He was acting Secretary
of War in the interim between McHenry and Dexter, and
was a confidant of John Adams.

79. A contrast in the account of this Conway affair as given by
John Fiske, in The American Revolution, 2 v., N. Y., 1891;
II, 38-46, and that of Henry Cabot Lodge, in the American
Statesman Series, George Washington, 2 v., Boston and N.
Y., 1891; I, 214, 220, would suggest that Wilkinson’s own
account in his Memoirs, (I, 387-388) might have as safe cre-
dence as any, especially as at the time he published his
memories, Stoddert and other witnesses were yet living and
might easily have denied any part of that account.
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Although Brigadier and Adjutant General of Pennsylvania, he never used the title of "General" until he received it in the regular army, in 1792, using in Kentucky his old title of Colonel, a fact that would be appreciated by military men. For account of his resignation from this office, see Pa. Archives; X, 610-611, (1st Series, 1783-6) and Colonial Records (Pa.); XIV, 252, where in his resignation, accepted Nov. 8, 1784, he gives praise to Major John Hardin, the man whom some claim he wronged during the Burgoyne campaign.


83. The man referred to as "Our father" was their father-in-law, John Biddle, married Sarah Owen. Notes on Genealogy of Biddle Family, H. D. B.

84. John Wilkinson ("Jacky" or "Johnny") was the eldest son of Ann and James Wilkinson. James Biddle Wilkinson ("Jim") was the second son. Heitman; 696. Early Western Travels; IV, 193. The Commonwealth (Pittsburgh newspaper) Feb. 1806. American Historical Review; XIII, 816-823. For Joseph Biddle Wilkinson, see Recollections of the West; Brackenridge, 41 and numerous letters with messages to "Biddle".

85. The date of Mrs. Wilkinson's arrival in Kentucky may be approximately fixed by an incident related in The Political Club, Speed, Danville, Louisville, 1894; 78, and by Wilkinson's Memoirs; II, 113. She was evidently there by 1786. Collins, in Historical Sketches of Kentucky, Cin. 1848; 29, says that Wilkinson first settled in Lexington. In Personal Narrative of Travels, Fordham, Cleveland, 1906, a note on page 169, by F. L. Ogg, editor, says: "In October, 1786, it (the site of Frankfort) was purchased by James Wilkinson, who secured the passage of a bill in the Virginia Assembly to erect a town upon it. The place was selected in 1793 to be the capital of the new state." Political Beginnings of Kentucky, Filson Club Pub. 6, J. M. Brown; 97, says that Wilkinson's house was in what is now Woodford Co. See also, Filson Club Pub. entitled, Petitions of Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, Louisville, 1914. For social Conditions in early Kentucky, see Historical Sketch of Mason Co. Ky. Lucy Lee, Louisville, 1929. Story of Kentucky, Eubank, Danville, Ky., Chicago, 1913; 8-9. Travels in United States of America, Melish, Phila., 1812; 184. Early Western Travels, IV, 191-196. There was a fine body of men from the east, connected with influential families in Pa., N. J., Md., Va., S. C., etc.
As to Wilkinson's position and personal popularity, see Butler, History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Louisville, 1834; 39, 175. Testimony of Major James Morrison (a prominent resident of Washington County, Pa.), Wilkinson's Memoirs; II, 136. References to Mrs. Wilkinson in various letters to Wilkinson show that she shared her husband's place in the estimation of their friends.

Kentucky, a Pioneer Commonwealth, Shaler, Boston, 1885; 98, 99.


Wayne Papers; XXII, 99.


Wayne Papers; XXXV, 95, 96. Peace of Mad Anthony, Wilson, Greenville, O., 1907; 78. Wilkinson was dangerously ill at Ft. Jefferson in October, 1793; Annals of the West, Albach, Pgh. 1858; 638.

Jonathan Cass was at one time in command of Ft. Franklins. His son Lewis, afterward governor of Michigan, was with Hull at the surrender of Detroit. Both are noted in Appleton's Cyc.; I, 551, and Heitman, 176. See also Michigan History Magazine, XII, 668.
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104. Wayne Papers; XLVII, 23.


106. One of the most interesting characters of early Pittsburgh and Northwestern history. He was appointed one of the three judges of the Northwest Territory, Sept. 12, 1789, in place of William Barton, declined. Symmes calls him a virtuoso. He was, from his letters, a cultivated and patriotic man, of considerable force. He was not a favorite with St. Clair. St. Clair Papers; I, 195, 145; II, 212. Greve's Cincinnati; I, 104. Correspondence of Symmes; 119. History of Washington, Pa., Creigh, Harrisburg, (Pa.), 1871; 119, Appendix. Wayne Papers; XXXV, 123.


108. In the Correspondence of Symmes (p. 268, note 159) this comment is abridged from the original letter, but it is given in full in Greve's Centennial History of Cincinnati; I, 252, and in the Draper Mss. 3 WW, no. 40 (Wisconsin Hist. Society.) Nothing more complimentary could be said of Wilkinson.


kinson was always looking for good material for officers, see Wilkinson Letters, Mss. Div. N. Y. Pub. Lib. Wilkinson to Jacob Reed, June 24, 1798. Also, Coues' Pike, I, 229, Wilkinson to Sec'y. of War.

111. The story of Van Renssalaer and of his training by Wilkinson and his love for him are equally creditable to both men. Legacy of Hist. Gleanings; note especially the incident related in Vol. I (p. 99), as illustrating the sportsmanship of the two.

112. Wilkinson Letters, Chi. Hist. Soc. Coll.; I, 73. This letter tells of the evacuation of the post of Detroit by the British, who weren't very nice about it. For Thomas Swaine, see Heitman, 626.

113. Wilkinson Letters, Chi. Hist. Soc. Coll.; Elie Williams to Wilkinson, dated Hagerstown, Md., Dec. 12, 1796. Williams was not in the regular army. In Wilkinson's Memoirs; II, 345, he is described as "Col. Elie Williams, brother of the late Otho H. Williams, (for whom see, Appleton's Cyc.; VI, 529, and Browne's Commonwealth of Maryland, 271-314) and well-known to the Secretary of the Navy." (1809).

114. Memorial History of Philadelphia, Young; II, 63.

115. Creoles of Louisiana, King, page 252. Old Creole Families of New Orleans, King, N. Y., 1921; 27-59. In Recollections of the West, page 130, Brackenridge gives a delightful and characteristic example of the tact of "General Wilkinson, who might be styled the American Chesterfield." It was more than tact, it was true kindness.

116. James B. Wilkinson entered the army on Feb. 16, 1801. Heitman, 696. When he was sixteen, his father had asked Adams for a commission for him. Wilkinson's Memoirs; II, Appendix xxxviii. See also Coue's Pike, and Southwestern Expedition of Pike, Quaife; 5.

117. Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State, J. F. H. Claitborne, Jackson, Miss., 1880 (Vol. I all that was published); I, 277, "news specific, one to two thousand." 282, H. Turner, "news of two thousand". 278, alarm of Meade. At Pittsburgh in December, 1806, Bates thought there would be ten thousand. Frederick Bates Letters, Burton Hist. Coll., Ohio Arch. & Hist. Quarterly, I, 152.


119. Burr's Conspiracy exposed, etc. Appendix xix, on page 14 of App. Natchitoches, October 21, 1806; "My attachments to life hang by the precarious existence of an adored wife." Claitborne's Mississippi; 271. Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Thwaites; VII, 393, Sept. 22, 1806, "Mrs. Wilkinson, the Lady of the Governor and General we were sorry to find in delicate health."
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120. *Burk's Conspiracy Exposed*, etc.; Appendix, p. 45. For Dearborn, see Appleton's; II, 117, and Heitman, 226.


125. John Armstrong, Sec'y. of War, is thus noticed by the Pittsburgh Gazette of May 13, 1815: "this prosecution evidently instituted to gratify the malignant disposition of Armstrong (the late Sec'y. War) and intended to transfer the blame of the disastrous and disgraceful campaign of 1813 from those with whom it ought to rest, to the shoulders of a meritorious but unfortunate officer" (Wilkinson). As to another of Wilkinson's enemies, Daniel Clark, Jr. (there is often no distinction made between him and his uncle, D. Clark, Sr., who was evidently an honorable man) it is enough to read the cases of Gaines vs. Relf (12 Howard, p. 282) and the Gaines case, 6th Wallace, 689, to know his character and that of Daniel Cox, yet the pamphlet they concocted is still quoted as historical evidence, though it did not stand up under investigations of the court. Andrew Ellicott is another attacker of Wilkinson who is yet quoted, though his veracity was impeached by reliable witnesses. See Wilkinson's Memoirs; II, 150, 161, and related depositions and testimony. Wade Hampton's character has also received thorough analysis by all who do not wish to accept him as a witness against Wilkinson. (Pgh. Gazette, Dec. 17, 1813). J. B. C. Lucas, one of the most interesting characters ever in Pittsburgh or vicinity. He joined with others in a political attack on Wilkinson when Governor of Missouri Territory but seems to have been equally unhappy with his successors. (Frederick Bates Letters, Burton Collection). John Randolph's hatred of Wilkinson might be assigned to his dislike of all military men, except that he was so eccentric no excuse is needed. For him to have served on a jury where Wilkinson was involved, showed that he had no real fairness of outlook. Winfield Scott's underhand methods toward his superior officer were doubtless the echo of the sympathetic attitude of the younger generation, the intelligentsia of that day, toward Burr, induced by their admiration of Theodosia Burr, and perpetuated by Washington Irving. Scott's treatment of Zachary Taylor, at a later day, is an indication of some flaw in his character. Anthony Wayne does not deserve to be treated as an enemy of Wilkinson, since Wilkinson himself was so willing to forget his change from their old-time friendship. Judge James Workman of New Orleans made Wilkinson a great deal of trouble, and wrote or had written a pamphlet which is still quoted as gospel though almost every allegation in it was disproved by the Court of Inquiry. Probably the greatest blow to Wilkinson's reputation was dealt by Humphrey Marshall when he inspired the Western World newspaper articles which he afterward used in his history of
Kentucky. He seems to have resented the political victories of Wilkinson over his uncle and father-in-law far more than did the original contestant; Missouri Gazette, Sept. 27, 1809 (Editorial). Hildreth followed his history so that the aspersions were given wider circulation, and though neither history is now accepted as authoritative, they are constantly quoted against Wilkinson. Chief Justice Marshall exonerated Wilkinson from blame for his acts in New Orleans during the Burr excitement, although Wilkinson had been a rival of his father's in Kentucky and was upheld by Jefferson, whom Marshall is said to have hated.


132. Col. Thomas Marshall, Sr. to Washington, March, 1789, referred to in Butler's History of Kentucky; 182. See also, Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. Quarterly; XII, 72, 84.

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138. Celestine Laveau Trudeau, Poinsett Papers; XVIII, 76. Claiborne's Mississippi, 322. W. C. C. Claiborne Letters, also. Her children were Elizabeth Stephanie Wilkinson and a twin sister deceased at the age of five years, and James Theodore Wilkinson, both minors on April 2, 1828. Information from Ann's descendants is to the effect that there are no descendants of these children living at the present time. For contradictory accounts of these descendants, see Philip Nolan's Friends, Hale, intro., and Chicago Historical Society Proceedings; I, 85, 95.


140. Heitman, 95 (of Mass.) Pgh. Gazette, May 27, 1815.

141. From his letters to Aspinwall and Jefferson, and the Poinsett Papers is shown the error of those historians who claim he had large estates in Mexico.


146. It requires no very close study of La. Hist. Q.; II, commencing with page 315 to convince anyone unprejudiced that the official character of Gayarre's Spanish documents would not hold for a moment in a court. The authenticity claimed for them is ridiculous. For further enlightenment, see Am. Hist. Assn. Annual Report. Scroggs on the Archives of Louisiana. For transcriptions of Spanish documents since Gayarre's time, see Newberry Library Reports, 1898, and letters from the United States Embassy in Spain, copies of which are on file with the Librarian of Historical Hall. For conditions surrounding Texas Archives, see Life and Letters of Edward
Hale, Hale, Boston, 1917 (2 v.); II, 234-235.

147. Folche Deposition, Report of Committee Appt. to Inquire, etc.; 47. Daniel Clarke, Jr., who was Wilkinson's enemy, had direct access to the Spanish archives, etc., and was Post-master at New Orleans for a period.

148. See Literary Digest, Jan. 21, 1928.

149. Temple Bodley, in George Rogers Clarke, (Boston & N. Y. 1926) 399, 400. Bodley says on page 404 "No presumption of not guilty is to be applied to Wilkinson." !! Palmer in Clark of the Ohio (N. Y. 1929) calls the man who fought with St. Clair at Trenton and Princeton, and with Wayne at Fallen Timbers, "A carpet general", page 442. Whitaker in Spanish American Frontier, (Boston & N. Y., 1927) says of Wilkinson "but with the Irishman's usual flair for politics" etc. Irishman!


152. Letters and testimonials referred to in Note 124, and others on file.