It was about this time that Hugh Henry Brackenridge's attention was called to Tarleton. If the allegory be read aright it was the boy's lovelorn condition that first attracted the sympathy of the sage, so the time may be placed at about the end of the fast on apples, which was recorded in the letter of the fourteenth of May, 1798.

Brackenridge was then and remains the most interesting figure by all odds that has ever come out of Pittsburgh. He was the leading lawyer in 1798, though John Woods was the most successful financially, and James Ross was giving both of them a race for supremacy. Brackenridge was also an author, and his *Modern Chivalry* was in its day the most

1 Part I of this narrative, published *ante*, 29:1–34 (March–June, 1946), begins with an account of the family of Thomas Fleming Bates, a retired merchant residing at "Belmont," a plantation in Goochland County, Virginia, and follows the fortunes of four of his sons who were to settle in various parts of the Middle West in its formative years—Tarleton, who was to meet a tragic death in Pittsburgh at the threshold of a promising career; Frederick, to become governor of Missouri; James, to be the first delegate to Congress from the Territory of Arkansas; and Edward, to be attorney-general in Lincoln's cabinet. As the narrative resumes, Tarleton is to be found clerking in the office of Major Isaac Craig, commissary of the military stores in Pittsburgh; Frederick, assistant to Captain Matthew Ernst, deputy quartermaster-general at Detroit; and the younger James and Edward, still at home in Virginia. Also at home or elsewhere in Virginia are the eight other children—Charles, Sara ("Sally"), Fleming, Richard, Susan, Margaret, Nancy, and Caroline Matilda.
widely read book in the United States. No lawyer of today who is anything of a litterateur would be without Warner's Ten Thousand a Year or Brackenridge's Modern Chivalry. Its value in the elucidation of some of the mysteries of the early history of the region has been almost overlooked. Written as he says to while away the time in a place where he might easily have found himself sinking into dissipation and idleness, it not only satirizes the world at large, but also reflects the most trivial happenings of the town and country around him. By means of allegory, he deals with many situations that he would not have cared to handle less delicately.

In one passage he tells of the striking appearance of a young man who, under skillful questioning, admits that he is dying of an unrequited passion. Captain Farrago, the character in Modern Chivalry whose words most often reflect the sentiments of the author, attempts to cheer the disconsolate lover. "I am not unacquainted with the nature of this passion," he says, "and have seen a gypsy myself in my time, that has had dominion over me. Perhaps I may have been carried to as much extravagance as other people and therefore am a proper person to advise against it." After some general remarks that seem to indicate that the case recorded is similar to Tarleton’s, and which confirm the guess that it is indeed Tarleton’s affair that is the theme, he says to the unhappy youth of the allegory, "but to bring the matter to the point, the true way is to get another mistress; and profit by your experience with the first." The captain's efforts at consolation are rewarded. "When the mind is bent upon any object, it is relieved by the conversation of those who understand it; and as it were, dissolve with them in the same ideas. The young man was pleased with the conversation of the Captain, and seemed cheered . . . ." He "began to behave like a common man."

Written somewhere around this time, is an undated letter from Fleming to Tarleton, from which it is surmised that Tarleton has been urging him to come to the western country. He is still at Hanover Court House, and writes a bit grandly "while my assistant is looking over the mail." He has been very ill, and cannot accept a post; he feels, moreover, that to the last day of his minority, he must devote himself to the master to whom he has been apprenticed. Whether there is here a hint that Fred-
erick and Tarleton have not been so considerate in their business arrangements is no more certain than if the letter had been written in our own time; it is a case of he whom the coat fits may wear it.

It was fortunate for Tarleton that through all his troubles his interest in the fortunes of his country never waned. He was a true nationalist, long before the nation itself had acquired a definite status. On June 8, 1798, just one day after the letter last quoted, he writes again, and there is in this letter no reference to his personal affairs: "The cannon of Fort Fayette is at this instant answering the salute of the galley Adams, which is at the point below the town, being so far on her way as General Wilkinson says in a very pompous piece that he has written for Scull's paper tomorrow, 'to protect the weak, humble the haughty, and to support her country's rights, honor and independence'! And he adds, 'She will not disgrace the illustrious name she bears.' Enclosed you have a copy. In the General's allocation you will find he has foisted the Senator Ross between the two parts of the President Adams, but Scull by my intervention has ordered the matter better by putting the senatorial sentence last . . . . This surely is a motley letter. I forgot to say that five flatboats loaded with stores, one other with the General's stores and one fitted up in a most elegant manner for the General, Madame and the family, together with a superb barge, accompanied the President Adams."

This is the first hint that Tarleton has become interested in newspaper writing, and this avocation we may ascribe to his friendship with Brackenridge, whose contributions to "Scull's paper," the Gazette, were innumerable. The Pittsburgh Gazette had been founded by John Scull and Joseph Hall, two pioneers of printing, in 1786, the first newspaper published west of the Alleghenies. Theirs had been a daring venture. Hall died within a few months, but Scull survived for many years, and the Gazette, through many changes, is still published in the town of his choice. Hugh Henry Brackenridge was one of Scull's staunchest supporters until politics divided them. From some of Brackenridge's allegories, from Tarleton's letters and other evidence, it is plain that the young man had shown to Brackenridge some of his compositions, prose and poetry, which he had dedicated to Betsey Murphy. Brackenridge, as a part of the cure advised, had soon secured for Tarleton an outlet for his talent.
Tarleton seems to have assumed a proprietary air over the paper, and, with the insolence of youth, felt himself responsible for other contributors besides himself. Perhaps General Wilkinson’s style too much resembled his own. He was still devoted to Major Craig, and Craig was not of the general’s party in Pittsburgh. Also, Tarleton was devoted to the Demo-Republican doctrine of the militia being all sufficient for national defense, and his leaders were strongly opposed to the building of the galleys, and to Adams and Ross for whom they were christened.

The “superb barge” that accompanied the galley was probably the same one described as having been used by Harmar in an early day. It was the pride of the colony at Marietta, and later figured in the pioneer annals of Fort Washington (Cincinnati).

Frederick was a much more laconic letterwriter than Tarleton. His letters to Tarleton can only be guessed at, for few of them have been recovered. Those that he wrote to the old home in Virginia were better preserved. One written to Tarleton in July, 1798, must have been inclosed by Tarleton to the family at Belmont. It will be better understood if some account is given of the situation in Detroit, an account gleaned from other sources than the letters.

On July 11, 1796, the United States troops first occupied Detroit. General Anthony Wayne was then commander-in-chief of the army. It is evident from all the accounts of Harmar’s and St. Clair’s expeditions, with their disastrous consequences, and the inquiries resulting from them, that it was the commissary division of the service that had been largely at fault. The same combination was responsible for the resources in food and ammunition during Wayne’s campaign, and the results were successful despite their efforts rather than because of them. On June 10, 1796, John Wilkins, Jr., accepted from Secretary of War McHenry the office of quartermaster-general. This was a change not entirely satisfactory to Wayne, who was still allied with the old regime. Wilkins’ path was so difficult that he resolved to resign the position, and had so indicated to McHenry, offering, however, to continue till March if McHenry so desired. On December 23, 1796, General Wayne died, and as Wilkins was thoroughly in accord with the program of economy which the new commander-in-chief, James Wilkinson, wished to carry out, he remained
as quartermaster-general, and proceeded to make his own appointments or, as Tarleton has phrased it, "remodel the department." But Tarleton does not seem to have been at all suspicious that this remodeling was in any way to affect his chief, Major Craig, and it speaks volumes for the tact of Wilkins that his dissatisfaction with some of the major's methods should have been so effectively concealed from the subordinates.

At Detroit, Wilkins had found Captain De Butts acting as both assistant quartermaster and agent for the contractor, James O'Hara, formerly quartermaster-general. Wilkins thought that as the agent of the government, the assistant quartermaster's department should have a separate existence. This had been corrected, but instead of allowing Wilkins to appoint his own assistants to fill the office thus vacated, General Wayne named Peter Audrain, who had come to Detroit with him from Pittsburgh, to fill the vacant office, an appointment equally distasteful to Wilkinson.

As soon as General Wilkinson arrived in Pittsburgh, in April, 1797, measures were taken to dispossess Audrain of his office, and Matthew Ernest was appointed in his stead. Ernest was ordered to proceed at once to Detroit. In the meantime, Major Craig's office was shorn of much of its importance, and Fort Fayette was cleared out to make room for some of the offices that had before been housed in buildings rented from the inhabitants of the town.

It is evident from Tarleton's letters that it was about this time that he began to hope for some position for this brother, although he says that it might be with the contractor, and that the latter would be the more lucrative prospect. It is likely that Ernest had sounded him somewhat on the probability of Frederick's coming, and so, as soon as he reached Detroit and looked over the situation, Ernest sent Tarleton the letter with the offer to Frederick.

Mrs. Ernest with her children and, it is probable, one or two servants, had already gone to the new post. The servants are probable accompaniments, because, notwithstanding that a celebrated novelist has written a story about Pittsburgh commenting on the simplicity of the life there in post-Revolutionary days, it is a matter of record that there were servants.
there from the very earliest times, sometimes African slaves and sometimes white or Indian bond servants. All of the leading families, at the time Catherine Ernest left Pittsburgh, had numerous retainers of one kind or another, and indeed all over the United States at that time, household servants were cheap, and families who were even moderately prosperous in the towns and on the farms were amply provided with them. It is only in modern times that such service has become scarce and dear. In Detroit itself, the servants were mostly of Indian descent, but there is reason to suppose that the Ernest family retained their colored helpers. Mrs. Ernest could, therefore, soon set up a comfortable household, even though the surroundings were not all that she might have desired.

DETOIT IN 1796

Collot should have a monument in this country. His purpose in making his maps and drawings was not intended for the benefit of the United States, but he has given to the descendants of the pioneers of the Western Waters the best and most authentic maps and pictures of that era when Pittsburgh was young, and Detroit and the old Northwest Territory were just coming into the Union. His picture of Detroit in 1796 is corroborated and corrected by a sketch found a few years ago in a small village in England by Lady Nancy Astor and by her presented to the modern city of Detroit. The sketch gives the town a rougher appearance than the Collot drawing "occupying one corner of a large chart in the department of Marine in Paris," and reproduced in Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan. To Catherine Ernest, who had known rough towns in her early girlhood in Bedford and Carlisle, and who had come with her father, John Wilkins, Sr., to Pittsburgh when it was probably less attractive and comfortable than Detroit in 1797, it would not be as discouraging a prospect as it was to Frederick Bates, fresh from the charming plantation of "Belmont" on the banks of the lordly James, surrounded by the older culture which the ease of living and the traditions of the influential Virginia families had inspired. Fortunately for him, by the time he arrived, the Ernests had a home, and one into which he was welcomed as a friend and treated as an elder son. From the first, the kindhearted captain, who had himself known poverty and homesick-
ness, set himself to work to make things easy for his young clerk. He had
the kindness and Frederick the tact that bridged the gap in their political
opinions so that Tarleton’s diatribes must have seemed strange and out of
place to his more fortunate brother.

So enthusiastically did Frederick write about his young hostess, that
his watchful brother thought it his duty to sound a word of warning.
“You could not fail to live happily in the family in which you are,” he
writes on June 7, 1798. “Yes! I barely knew her and I fear you have
found her but too lovely! You, however, know how to admire one who
is all loveliness but must not be beloved.” The beauty of Catherine
Ernest must have been indeed of a quality rarely matched. Eliza Clay-
land, who came to Pittsburgh as a bride in 1807, and who saw Catherine
then for the first time, and under the most trying circumstances, has left
a chronicle of the occasion which is fervent in its description of her
charms. Catherine was then the mother of seven children, two or three
of them over sixteen. Of Irish descent, she had the black hair and eyes
which are characteristic features of that type of beauty, and beyond the
beauty of her face were the loveliness of her form and the vivacity of her
spirit.

There is a letter from Richard to Frederick, of date June 12, 1798,
in which he “concludes with ardent wishes that you may long maintain
in that distant country that now possesses you the character of honesty,
 probity, industry and good demeanor that you left behind you in your
native land.” Richard was just seventeen years old when he wrote this
to his distant elder brother. How far away it must have seemed from the
old home and its ties as Frederick read it in the stockaded little village
upon the bank of the Detroit River. Farther away than any place on the
globe can now be from any other place. Even the poles are nearer today
than Richmond and Detroit were then, and the equator less distant from
either pole than Pittsburgh was from these towns in 1798.

Eliza Clayland Tomlinson Foster, the mother of Stephen Collins Foster. The chronicle
referred to comes from a manuscript in the possession of her granddaughter, Mrs. Evelyn
Foster Morneweck of Detroit, author of Chronicles of Stephen Foster’s Family (Pitts-
burgh, 1944). It is a copy made by Mrs. Morneweck’s father, Morrison Foster, in 1860,
of what then remained of a series of reminiscences that his mother, Eliza Foster, had begun
to write for her children a few years before her death in 1855.
Richard gives him some news of home, the wedding of Warner Lewis and Miss Sally Woodson, the bride being "for beauty the admiration of the world." He thanks Frederick for a present, Hume's History of England. He had succeeded his fourth brother in William Miller's employ, and is now assisting him at the old stand in Goochland Court House. Miller has bid him to remind Frederick of his broken promise to write. This younger, too, must discuss the French war like a veteran, and he can quote his Latin in the midst of a political paragraph as bravely as any of his elders. He speaks of his confinement to the office as an excuse for not having written before. Either Tarleton is right and Miller was a strict taskmaster, or Goochland County was an unusually busy place. There was a ferry near the Court House that carried over the vast emigration to the Carolinas and Kentucky and was crowded as early as 1756.

Frederick's letter of July 6, 1798, to Tarleton, is written from "Loramie's," the station of a French trader of that name which had gradually become a settlement and post. Frederick has been at Charles Wilkins' and John Hollingsworth's in Lexington, Woodford County, Kentucky. Of Loramie's he says: "This place is deserted, the Garrison is evacuated, and Kingsbury's amours with the sylvans at an end. When I can I will move toward Fort Wayne to pay the artificiers [sic]." This letter is endorsed "to the attention of Mr. Connor, Cincinnati."

Charles Wilkins was a brother of John Wilkins, Jr., and Catherine Ernest, and John Hollingsworth was the husband of another of the Wilkins girls, the oldest sister, later for so many years the mainstay of the home of her distinguished younger brother, William Wilkins. In a letter to one of his own sisters, Frederick speaks further of this visit. Most of the purchases of horses for the army were made in Lexington.

Kingsbury was one of the younger officers, afterwards commandant at Mackinac and Detroit. He was fond of nature, so the classical allusion must be taken at its most poetic interpretation. He was a man of unusual sense and ability.

Conner was a friend of Frederick's at Cincinnati, serving in some capacity about the army but not exactly of it. It is evident from one of Tarleton's letters that he does not especially admire him. It was charac-
teristic of the brothers that they were each attracted by different types, and the intimates of the one do not often seem to have been favorites of the other.

Tarleton's letter of July 13 relates news of a development that must have been gratifying to him, in the then state of his mind. It is impossible not to think that Brackenridge and Wilkins had been getting their heads together to try what a change of scene might do for him after his disappointment in love.

General Wilkins had offered him the appointment of quartermaster at Natchez, and he wanted to accept it and go at once. But Major Craig signified that he could not let him go before September, and Tarleton understood that the quartermaster-general would make no permanent appointment till then. Here is a striking indication of the blind side of Tarleton's nature. It is a question whether it may be charged to his youthfulness. He was a little over twenty-three at this time. Certainly he had had little experience of the world outside Goochland and Pittsburgh, but this was more than that of some men who have acquired worldly wisdom sooner. How could it have escaped him that the quartermaster-general and the assistant quartermaster, Craig, however suave might be their demeanor toward each other, were at variance in policy? His refusal to accept the offer of the quartermaster-general at once was shortsighted, and might easily have been construed as a slight, while any loyalty that he felt toward the major was being used by that shrewd gentleman, it is safe to guess, to his own advantage.

Tarleton goes on blithely planning to leave in two months, and asks his brother to forward to him "by the first safe hand" the hundred dollars that he had originally advanced for Frederick's journey. It is to his good friend John Park that he directs the money be paid in case he should be gone before it gets there, and he is relying on this same friend to advance him the necessary funds until it comes.

Measuring the young man by his friends, one concludes that Tarleton could have had no better companion than this same John Park, whose life was a triumphant progress from an exceedingly sad beginning. Park was at this time confidential clerk to the contractor, James O'Hara. He had married Mary Ann Magee, the previous year, and was beginning
to be a man of substance in the community. But he, like Tarleton, had been a rebel from parental authority. His had been a much more tragic experience. When he was a boy of fourteen, he had embarked with his father at the port of Belfast, appointed as his father’s supercargo. The latter had an extensive business in the trade between European ports and the West Indies. During the voyage, as John Park’s son tells the story, “an unhappy misunderstanding arose between the imperious father and impetuous son, growing out of a mere difference of opinion in regard to some unimportant matter.” The father determined to touch the American coast and cast his son adrift in some port. This unnatural and inexorable determination was fully carried out. The son never forgot the treatment received and later repudiated all attempts toward a reconciliation. He is said to have had few intimates, and to have been of a reticent disposition. That Tarleton was one of these few friends, and that their intimacy was of an especially close character, is plain from Tarleton’s letters and is easily explained by the similarity of their natures and of their experiences.

Tarleton was incapable of forgetting to provide for the intellectual needs of his brother and himself. Hitherto he had forwarded to Detroit the newspapers he had subscribed for, but now he must arrange the matter differently. “On my departure I had intended to have Bache still forwarded to you, and I have myself subscribed for Smith’s Universal Gazette. If you do not like this distribution I must content myself with Bache and have Smith sent to you. But as Captain Ernest takes Porcupine, it might not be amiss to balance his vile abominable lucubrations by the unblushing Democratic insolence of Bache.”

By Bache, he is of course naming in the same breath the Aurora (Philadelphia), which Benjamin F. Bache was then editing; by Porcupine, he means the Philadelphia paper edited by William Cobbett; and Samuel H. Smith’s Universal Gazette (Philadelphia) was the forerunner of the famous National Intelligencer (Washington, D. C.), long the official organ of the Jeffersonian party.

“James Poindexter, the deputy clerk of Louisa [County] ... here in propria persona. He starts for Virginia Monday, and expects to be at home by Saturday night. I have troubled him with a few letters.”
This James Poindexter was perhaps a relative of the Senator George Poindexter whose duel with Abijah Hunt in later years caused such controversy along the Western Waters. The Poindexters were of Huguenot ancestry, as were many of the neighbors and friends of the Bates and Woodsons. James lived in Louisa County, near the Goochland boundary.

There is a hint of loneliness in the last words of his letter: “Adieu, my dear Frederick, fail not to write.” This severing of the ties he had made in Pittsburgh and setting out for a new field was an ordeal as well as an adventure.

On the cover is a note: “Do not neglect a letter inclosed to Miss Audrain. It is from one who is most amiable and lovely.” Little Miss Audrain and the rest of the Audrains, with their capable mother who had been Margaret Moore of Philadelphia (the same “Mrs. Odderong” who had entertained Mrs. Dewees on her visit to Pittsburgh), had evidently joined their father and husband in Detroit. The enclosed letter may have been from Emily Neville to her schoolgirl friend.

TARLETON STARTS FOR NATCHez

On September first, Tarleton writes that he is to start on the fifteenth for Natchez. Frederick is to send John Park one hundred dollars. Tarleton is still worried about the proper newspaper for his brother’s consumption. Feeling that Frederick was among Federalists, he was very anxious that he have the proper mental pabulum to combat the influence of the Ernest household upon a susceptible mind. John Fenno’s Gazette of the United States (Philadelphia), he pronounces, “is a good paper, Sam H. Smith’s being a weekly one at three dollars paid in advance. I will write you before I leave this, but cannot promise you anything amusing, and a more certain truth I cannot tell you than that I am, with tenderest esteem and regard, your all-affectionate Tarleton Bates.”

It is easy to sense from this the sadness with which he was leaving, with none of his own to bid him farewell, but he was fortunate in his traveling companion, for Captain Ernest had arrived in Pittsburgh on a journey in the same direction. Tarleton was to leave in a small skiff for Fort Washington on his way to Natchez. The letter is torn, but as nearly as can be deciphered, Ernest was to go to Marietta on horseback,
and thence by way of the river in Tarleton's skiff. The two had discussed Frederick's abilities, and Ernest had informed Tarleton that if only Frederick knew French, Ernest could get him the prothonotaryship of Detroit. Tarleton confides to Frederick that he has heard that Governor St. Clair "intends removing," but this must be kept secret, because if known there would be many candidates. "I have a letter from Fleming as well as [from] Father. The contents I believe I have [indicated in one that will go by this, which also [incloses?] one to you from Father."

On September 17, he writes again, giving some last directions: "In your commerce with or through Pittsburgh you may write with confidence to Major Craig, John Park or to George Cochrane who writes in the Major's office." George Cochrane, this other friend of Tarleton's, was a man of some literary taste. In an advertisement in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, sometime between 1788 and 1790, he requests that the borrowers return to him the first, third and fifth volumes of Sterne's works, *Julia de Robigne*, the fourth volume of Charles Grandison, Euclid's *Elements*, Howay's *Mensuration* and Gibson's *Surveying*. He became a very successful merchant, and was long one of the leading men of Pittsburgh.

"I had a few evenings ago a conversation with Mrs. General Butler, the substance of which I copy from my notebook and enclose herein . . . . She is the second person who has condescended to give me advice since I left my Father's house, and I assure you I took it very kindly."

Unfortunately that substance has been lost, but the incident remains on record to the credit of a good and thoughtful woman. This was the widow of General Richard Butler, who had fallen during St. Clair's battle with the Indians. According to Major Denny's journal, and as proved by St. Clair's court-martial, Butler had atoned with his life for a mistake in judgment which was the cause of the disaster known as St. Clair's defeat. She and her son's widow lived side by side, and it was probably her well-furnished parlor which Mrs. Dewees admired in 1787. Anyway, she had a well-furnished heart, with room to admit even the young and impecunious stranger from Virginia. Whether her advice was
merely admonitory, or included any criticisms, he took it in the spirit in which it was offered.

There is a rather interesting note on Mrs. Butler. One chronicler of church history says that "she was bright and accomplished, but of a skeptical mind." She would invite the minister's wife to her parties, but not the minister, saying that he was an enthusiast, and a Methodist. As he was supposed to be a Presbyterian, this was an accusation of heterodoxy. But when a great thunderstorm arose, Mrs. Butler would come over to the minister's house. He would ask why, and she would say, "Oh, you are a Methodist, but you are a good man, and if there is any place safe it will be this."

Tarleton's journey was further brightened by the fact that he had a letter from his father written "in a most affectionate style." This was balm to his lonely spirit.

He turns again to the discussion of journalism. The news of the death of Fenno has just reached them. He reassures Frederick as to Bache: "He is a firm Constitutionalist, neither monarchist, aristocrat nor consolidationist."

So Tarleton started down the river, missing the famous "practicing ball" that was held in the Assembly room of Pittsburgh on October 20, missing the news that Gallatin had been elected over John Woods, and reaching Cincinnati only to find that the post he hoped for was gone; the quartermaster-general had already appointed a quartermaster for the Mississippi. He writes that Wilkins has deceived him, and is bitter over his disappointment. No idea that his own delay in reaching the post, and the necessity of having a man on the ground might excuse the quartermaster-general seems to have occurred to him. He says Captain Ernest has endeavored to encourage him, but he is so chagrined that he is unable to see any ray of light. Wilkins has sent word by Craig that he is to return to Pittsburgh, and Craig has added his own wishes and Colonel O'Hara's. Tarleton evidently takes heart from O'Hara's expressed interest. The preparation for the journey has left him penniless, and one can well imagine that to go back under all the circumstances to the place that he had left so hopefully but a few weeks before is a trial that requires
all the fortitude that he can summon at the moment. This letter, dated from Cincinnati, November 5, 1799, was sent to Detroit by Captain Ernest, and in it Tarleton says, "I pray you make my respectful compliments to Captain Ernest and accept for yourself my esteem." In the midst of his perplexities, his instinctive courtesy shows at its best.

There is another letter written on the way back, dated at "Chillicothe, Va.," five days later: "I wrote, my dear Fred, a hasty letter from Cincinnati to inform [you] of my return to Pitt, at which you will doubtless be no less surprised than I myself was; but we poor underling devils must be footballed at the pleasure of any [torn] unfeeling superior in office without the smallest expectation of redress. For my part, I do not expect any and I shall endeavor in future to keep myself clear of the like situations, and should not have been in it at present except for the confidence I had in the Q.M.G. I am at a loss what to do on my return to Pitt., but will not fail to write you. My present intention however [is] to enter into the Contractor's service, for really I should have some [torn] in serving in the department whose head had treated me as the head of the Q.M. has done.

"On the day I wrote you from Cincinnati I received a few lines from Q.M.G. Wilkins [torn] me to remain at Cincinnati till he could cut out some business for me to transact when he could send me to Natchez, stating that he had left me out of his [torn] in that quarter because he had not received my acceptance of his invitation to write him at Cincinnati. But this could not well be because his [torn] must have been [torn] before he could possibly have received anything from me." (How these torn places do aggravate the reader's curiosity!)

How far the letter received from Craig and O'Hara may have served to prejudice him against rather than for the quartermaster-general who had superseded them both may be only guessed. Future events were to determine where his best interests lay.

In this letter he describes Chillicothe as "an extremely handsome place with upwards of one hundred houses." He is not alone, being accompanied by John Sutherland, who sends his compliments to Frederick. This John Sutherland had gone out to the Western Country on St.
Clair's and Wayne's expeditions as a pack-horseman. He became a storekeeper, and was one of the first settlers of Hamilton, Ohio.

When Tarleton returned to Pittsburgh, Wilkins gave him the choice of yet going to Natchez as resident assistant quartermaster or of going there in the capacity of paymaster and returning immediately. He had engaged, however, in the service of O'Hara, the contractor, although on considerably lower terms than he had resolved, "three hundred dollars a year and expenses." He says, "my inducing motives are various, which time alone can prove." He is to reside with O'Hara's family. Perhaps his friend, John Park, was a factor in his decision, as Park was already working for O'Hara to considerable advantage. Or it may have been the promise of a chance to get to his old home that decided him. He is to go to Philadelphia soon he says, and expects to steal enough time along the route to see "Belmont" once again. Possibly by spring he may be in Detroit, and will see Frederick.

Is it any wonder that this bait attracted him? There can be no doubt that the party represented by the O'Hara and Craig faction was anxious to keep him attached to their side. Tarleton in this letter speaks of the fact that electioneering is dividing the town and producing jealousy and distrust. He has inclosed a paper, evidently recording the captures of French ships. He contrasts the way in which this news is received in 1798 with the way it would have been in 1794.

From this letter it is plain that Frederick has been again to Kentucky. Tarleton says also: "I was to have sent you some papers by an Indian employed by the Q.M. to Sandusky, but he went off Saturday evening instead of Sunday morning." This illustrates the dependability (?) of the post in those days. Second-class matter was subject to neglect.

There is a letter from his father to Frederick, of date August 21, referring to Tarleton's projected trip to Natchez. By the time Frederick received it, Tarleton was back in Pittsburgh, and started on his new enterprise. Thomas Fleming Bates says that he has had only one letter from Frederick since the latter arrived at Detroit. He speaks with pathetic fervor of his sensations when Frederick left him, and begs that he will write oftener. He hopes that Frederick will not go further into the
west, as Tarleton is bent on doing. News of each of the family is included, and he closes with most affectionate phrases. It must have been while in this same mood that he wrote the letter to Tarleton which so cheered the latter at the commencement of his fruitless journey.

Through a letter which Richard wrote to Frederick on the twenty-ninth of December of that same year, may be guessed (calculating the length of time it took a letter to travel from Detroit to Richmond) some of the difficulties which Frederick was encountering in Detroit at about the period of Tarleton's journey to Cincinnati. Richard refers to "Tarleton's letter to Father," but this is a later letter than the one mentioned in the father's letter of August; rather, it is the one giving the pleasing intelligence of his return, and that "he has declined going to Natchez." Richard says to Frederick: "I like the climate in which you live being healthy, but I shall never go so far from my friends and relatives in search of employment, which when acquired affords no more than a support. I am very [torn] situated at Mr. Miller's where the business of the office engrosses nearly the whole of my time in which there are but few things to which I think myself incompetent." (!!) Richard is seventeen now, an age when there are, happily, few things for which one thinks himself incompetent.

He speaks of the yellow fever in Richmond, of the death of a cousin, and of Fleming's silence. He is sententious on the subject of Charles' success as an attorney, observing that "he has experienced that punctuality with a middling genius and a knowledge of the state laws are more necessary for the acquisition of riches than the most brilliant talents without it." There is a comment on "your having incurred the displeasure of Colonel Strong, the commanding officer at Detroit," which is illuminating, for Frederick has apparently not written Tarleton of this. Perhaps he thought the younger brother, farther away, would be the safer confidant.

This from Richard crosses a letter from Frederick to his sister Sally, dated January 1, 1799, which breathes a spirit of content with his surroundings: "Detroit has become an agreeable place to me, it was by no means so at first. The ladies are extremely gay and the gentlemen convivially disposed." He explains, however, that the agreeableness is not
intrinsic and that Detroit is not in any way to be compared to Kentucky. "The place however in itself is well enough—the river is large and beautiful and the banks on both sides thickly, very thickly inhabited indeed. The streets in town are narrow, and few of them paved, the town is a garrison, stockaded entirely round." He has a confession to make: "I do not often get beastly drunk, but I must acknowledge that I am sometimes gentlemanly gay. Be not alarmed, I shall not lose sight of those restraints which a young fellow should impose on his conduct." Such a letter on New Year's day from Detroit should receive some latitude of interpretation. New Year's eve had probably been spent with the officers of the garrison.

Richard's letter to Frederick is dated December 29; he had written to Tarleton the day before, and that letter was received by Tarleton in Philadelphia. Writing on February 25, 1799, in answer to it, Tarleton says: "[I am] pleased that my declining the Natchez expedition should cause you all satisfaction." His present business is a mere support, and he feels no certainty about bettering it. He is clerk to the contractor supplying the army with provisions and considers Pittsburgh his home. He quotes from Richard's letter in which Frederick was quoted as saying that he "has no society but the military," and explains that Frederick's position is no more lucrative than his own. He sends messages to friends, including James Pleasants, Jr., and the family of Captain Sam Woodson. Also to "Mrs. Miller and her sister Kitty . . . . their brother Nicholas well, very well, last evening. I must acknowledge the very friendly manner in which he received me. Love to sisters, father, mother and Aunt Ursula."

He says nothing in this letter about visiting "Belmont," and it is clear from a later letter that he did not get time to go there.

Mrs. Miller's sister Kitty had been Kitty Vaughan, on whose marriage during the preceding year Tarleton had somewhat rallied Frederick, indicating that she had been the object of some boyish fancy on the part of that young man. The brother mentioned, Doctor Nicholas Vaughan, was later in Virginia, practicing for awhile near Goochland, and as he stayed at his sister's home, he and Richard became intimate friends. Whether he was a brother of the Doctor John Vaughan, who was at the
University of Pennsylvania in 1793 and 1794 and afterwards became so celebrated in his profession, has not been definitely ascertained, but circumstances would suggest this identification.

"Col. Cabell takes this" is endorsed on the letter. This would be Samuel Jordan Cabell, whose father's home had been Licking Hole, Goochland County. Col. Cabell was then serving in Congress, and could take the letter to Richmond on his way home from Philadelphia.

TARLETON IN PHILADELPHIA

Tarleton was in Philadelphia from January fourteenth to the middle of April, 1799. He could have been there at no more interesting period, a period especially exciting for a young man so fond as he was of political discussion. Congress was in session, presided over by his beloved Jefferson. The war cloud threatened from France was passing and the alien and sedition laws were the chief subject of discussion. Various elements were disintegrating the Federalist party, while the Republican party, as Jefferson preferred to call his followers, was being firmly formed, to result finally in the election of Jefferson. Tarleton's natural inclination and strong predilection for the more liberal outlook was immeasurably strengthened by his stay at that time in the national capitol. Philadelphia was still the seat of the government, it was not transferred to Washington till November, 1800.

He had met again with people from his own neighborhood, men of influence and talent, men who were shaping the destinies of the nation. He returned to the little frontier village with a heart emboldened by the contact with Jefferson's leaders. They too, men of the highest culture, had been ostracized socially by the Federalists, but had survived. He was new-armed against the slings of fortune.

Whether or not Tarleton received it in Philadelphia, Fleming had written him a letter on March 27, 1799, and it is possible that this was the one in which were enclosed the long-sought forms that Tarleton had copied at Miller's. The surmise is that Fleming had himself been using them, but on hearing of Tarleton's journey to Natchez, had at last been roused to send them to him. The letter is sent in care of Isaac Craig, at Pittsburgh, and eventually turns up among Frederick's papers. Fleming
Bates Boys on the Western Waters

says: "You would hardly know any of your brothers and sisters younger than Richard. Sister Susan perhaps weighs forty pounds more than Sally. I write to you at Cincinnati by this mail." He was perhaps writing to both Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, in the hope of catching Tarleton at the one place if not at the other.

There is a letter from Tarleton to Richard, written before the former left Philadelphia in April, in which he speaks of the "long cold winter. Today the cold is as severely felt as in January."

There is no other word from Tarleton till March of 1800, though it is presumable that many letters were written that have not survived. There are two to Richard from Frederick during this time, each expressing a degree of homesickness. Richard has become his most faithful correspondent.

"April 12, 1799 . . . . No word from the others for a long time. Do they begin to think contemptuously of me because I have not in eighteen months acquired an independence? Fleming seems especially indifferent." The prosperity of Charles, the softness of Sally's disposition, are the subjects of comment. "Kiss all the family for me; ask Susan and Peggy to write to me. I hope Aunt enjoys her health. Shake James heartily by the hand in my name and imprint three kisses on the lips of my lovely Nancy and Caroline, and do not forget little Edward. Will write you in a few days by the military express."

On April 20—he is as good as his word—another letter is sent "by the military express which sets out for Cincinnati tomorrow." There follows a line which explains this leisure for letter-writing. "I am confined to the house by a sore heel, [the result of a] chilblain. The other heel was involved three weeks ago. I highly applaud your determination to remain among relations and friends. Two of your house are making experiments. For myself, I saw the possibility of failure—I had calculated the consequences before I tore myself from my connections and was prepared for any event. Should I be unfortunate, Hope, Fortitude and Perseverance shall be my companions. But, dear Richard, my heart bleeds with the consciousness of its ingratitude. When I recall to mind the perplexities and the sorrows of the best of mothers, I represent to myself the baseness of leaving her a prey to her afflictions. Still, what could I do?
It was a painful alternative and the necessity justified in some measure the course which I adopted." This was indeed true, had Frederick not taken the opportunity to leave, Fleming would not so soon have secured his place. Also, it was one less to provide for in the home which debt was gradually encompassing. Perhaps the remembrance that the idea of change and adventure had had some influence in his choice accounts for the vein of self-reproach which in his helplessness and ennui from his Achillean complaint had induced him to express. He begs Richard not to neglect "our sisters" (did he feel that Richard was at the age when he might take more interest in another fellow's sisters than in his own?), and he also advises Richard to take some recreation. It is to be inferred that this recreation was to include the home folks rather than the fascinating daughters of other families. No adviser more stoical than an elder brother!

He refers to his brother's fears about his standing in Detroit: "No, Richard, my situation is not disagreeable on account of Colonel Strong's displeasure; he is perfectly satisfied with me." It seems that Frederick has pleased Ernest and Strong by an "anonymous pasquinade."

Colonel Strong was a man with whom it would have been hard to carry on a quarrel indefinitely; it is a question whether he or Ernest was the more inclined to kindliness toward others.

There is a very full account of Detroit in the summer of 1799 in a letter from Major Ebenezer Denny among some papers and journals afterward published by his son. He reports to General Harmar, then retired and living in Philadelphia, "Colonel Strong commands there. He and the old woman are so fat you would scarcely know either—rolling about in nothing. We were treated very politely by the old couple." Denny probably refers to the Colonel's undress uniform.

This Lieutenant Colonel David Strong, of Connecticut, had been an officer of Wayne's Legion, whose service in the army in 1789 is recorded as that of captain. He died in 1801. The pasquinade referred to by Frederick was directed against some characters in the town who were causing Ernest and Strong bad quarters of an hour, and who seem to have been allied to the old administration of the former quartermaster's department. The poems yet remain as testimonies of the political bias of
that day, as well as of the peculiar talent for versification which characterized the young Virginian.

NANCY AND EBENEZER DENNY

Major Denny had married a sister of Mrs. Ernest, a lovely girl named Nancy Wilkins. It is recorded that their father was very proud of his handsome daughters, and could not bear to see them wooed and carried away; that in consequence of this idiosyncrasy, Nancy and Ebenezer Denny were married while she was on a visit to an older sister, but whether this was Mrs. Hollingsworth or Mrs. Ernest is not definitely known. In the letter from Denny to Harmar, he says that Ernest was in from Detroit in July, and that Mrs. Denny accompanied him back. "They rode to Presq'ile, got on board a sloop and had a passage of twenty-seven days—stormy weather in August [1799]. They were beat back to Presq'ile twice, and over to the English shore where they got shelter. I left home a month after they did, was at Presq'ile in four days and a half . . . . There was no vessel for Detroit, shipped myself for Fort Erie, got down in a day and a night; engaged a passage in a British sloop ready to sail in two days . . . . got on board . . . . and had a pleasant passage in five days to Detroit. I intended coming off in the first vessel, but Ernest and Mrs. D. had been there but a few days before me." Denny's description of Detroit suggests reason enough for Frederick's most pessimistic moods. The Pittsburgh man was much disappointed in the place. "It is filthy beyond measure, calculated only to accommodate a few traders. A square of about three hundred by four hundred yards divided by narrow streets, one only that a cart can turn about in, and the lots no larger than sufficient for a tolerable house to stand on. One or two houses excepted, they resemble the buildings at Vincennes, pickets round the whole. There is a small regular work back of the town, but it is lost to appearance and covers only the side next itself. It seems to have been designed for a retreat for the commanding officer. They say there is a covered way to it from what is called the citadel. This last place is nothing more than the barracks and small parade, within the town square, separated from the dwellings by pickets. The place is crowded at present and not an inch of ground to extend their buildings."

Major Denny had been an officer under Harmar; to him it had fallen
to carry to Washington the news of St. Clair’s defeat. Before this, his history had been one of pure romance; when only thirteen he had been employed to carry dispatches between Fort Pitt and Carlisle; twice he was chased into Fort Loudoun by the Indians. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, he shipped as a volunteer on a privateer. Later he joined the army, and fought under Washington. During his service with the army of the Legion, he had listened to the many tales of the glories of the British post at Detroit, and it was natural that he should be disappointed in its comparative insignificance. Fresh from the taller structures which dignified the streets of Pittsburgh, he could not appreciate the picturesqueness of the long, low, rambling French houses, so like those at Vincennes. Their artistic charm was quite lost upon the loyal Pennsylvanian. He was in a captious mood, too, for the rest of the letter breathes a spirit of discontent with a government that he feels is rapidly going to the dogs of democracy, and an almost Tory bias when he contrasts Detroit with the British settlements at Amherst and Malden, where they landed for a brief survey. It is interesting to compare his prophecy as to the future of the two sides of the Detroit river with the results of today. He says, “The British in a few years will have their shore settled from one end to the other.”

Ebenezer Denny had qualities that, under more liberal auspices, might have made him a national figure. Hampered by his Federalistic swathing clothes, his fame was confined to a local distinction. He was the first mayor of Pittsburgh. His journal, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania nearly thirty-five years after his death, is his chief hold upon the consideration of the world at large.

What this visit must have meant to Mrs. Ernest, only a woman who has had a similar experience of separation from a numerous and affectionate family can imagine. Her brother the quartermaster-general was often in Detroit, but the visit of her sister would be infinitely more precious than that of any brother could be. Their circumstances were improving. In 1799 her husband was made collector of the port of Detroit. Perhaps while Nancy and Major Denny were on this visit, the land below Detroit, at Springwells, may have been chosen as the place to build the Ernest’s summer home. Was it then that Catherine Ernest’s
birthday fete was held, when Frederick Bates recited the verses recorded in his memorandum letterbook as “verses written many years ago on the birthday of my early friend and patroness, Mrs. Ernest?” And would they all not enjoy showing to their visitors from Pittsburgh, so scornful of the claims of the town, the beauties of the Michigan countryside?

There is a letter to Sally, written by Frederick before this visit, which confirms the thought that the longing for the old home has overtaken him as never before. This letter is sent by their old friend, the regimental paymaster, Lieutenant David Thompson, and must have added considerably to his load, for besides its length, which is beyond belief, it was heavy with discontent.

He rather reproaches his sister for not writing and for always leaving it to his “amiable and worthy little correspondent,” Richard, to give him news of her. He misses his own family, no other tie takes the place of that; his recollection of old times gilds every scene of their childhood, and even the sandy road down which he and Sally trudged to school together has something in its recollection inexpressibly charming. He says that he makes but little progress among the French girls, for they think the Americans a rough, unpolished sort of people. He does not care for their ceremonious ideas of politeness. He and a friend of his, George Wallace, Junior, son of the president judge at Pittsburgh, had been in the pew of the daughter of one of the French gentlemen of the town, a man, by the way, who claimed descent from royalty. She had smeared her gown with a little tobacco juice which the two young men, “very impolitely,” as Frederick acknowledges, had left on the bench where she knelt at her devotions. In enlarging on this circumstance to an acquaintance of theirs, she said: “Mr. Wallace and Mr. Ernest’s brother have more ill-manners and less decency than most Yankees.” This to a Southerner, who prided himself on his chivalry, and had never been accustomed to regard the habit of chewing tobacco as anything but genteel, was a puzzling criticism. It will be remembered that the use of tobacco was a dissipation that even Tarleton condoned. It is illuminating, this designation of Frederick as Mr. Ernest’s brother; it shows how closely the Ernest household had become attached to Frederick, and in what estimate he was held by them and their friends.
Frederick says that upon the whole he thinks favorably of the French girls, however. Perhaps it would have added to his peace of mind had he not thought of them at all.

MORE NEWS FROM HOME

There is a beautiful, pathetic letter from Thomas Fleming Bates to Frederick, written on July 20, that same year, perhaps in response to these homesick letters from his son. The father says that he has been ill, and laments the absence of his dear children, "scarcely a hope remains that I shall ever see you again, especially Tarleton whose situation I fear is unhealthy as well as dangerous." He says of Fleming that he has written, but that the letters must miscarry; he will be of age the last of February next, and he will not continue where he is. At present he has the direction of the clerks, as well as the post office. "A sedentary life does not accord with the health of my sons. Richard is thin and in ill-health, but active and diligent and gives satisfaction to all concerned. Charles is poorly, though not from the same cause, his business being very active and his hands full. Nancy and Caroline read and write admirably and Edward spells well." (The rest is torn off.)

The father's few letters were written in so clerkly a hand, and were so well-spelled in a day when spelling was by no means the exact science it has since become, that it is easily discernible that the instructor to whom his children owed the foundations of their education was this parent. The remarkable ability to express themselves in writing, which was characteristic of them all, was evidently an inherited trait.

The next letter, one from Richard to Frederick, of date July 24, 1799, gives hint of a side of the father's character that is not so pleasant, and yet excuses that irritability which Tarleton seemed to attribute to him: "All and especially mother enjoy health except Father, who you know always would complain." This hypochondriacal trait in the father is enlightening. He was a friend and neighbor of Madison's, their wives were kin. What a good time these two Virginians could have had talking over Democratic policies, with a discussion of their symptoms for a sort of a dessert to the weightier parts of the conversation. "Sally is with relatives in Powhatan. Susan an amiable girl, Peggy not less so. Nancy and
Matilda are sweet children, they make great proficiency in learning. Little Edward comes on bravely, he can spell every word and is beginning to read. But as for poor James, he wants neither ability nor application—but Morality! Perhaps a remonstrance from you would work a reformation... could say more."

The rest of the letter is chiefly concerned with politics. Richard records that the Federalists, as they call themselves, but whom the Republicans call the "aristocrats," are temporarily in the ascendancy. He even charges bribery on the part of the "Scotch merchants" in a recent election. He is enthusiastic over a magazine that has lately been established in Richmond by James Lyon, the son of Matthew Lyon, full of "masterpieces for style and argument." "Mother wishes ten thousand blessings to you, and the rest of the family also send it in love." The postscript reiterates the beginning of the letter, an inquiry about Frederick's sore heel.

At the time this letter was written, James was about twelve years old. At that same age, Ebenezer Denny had carried important dispatches for the British government over the Alleghenies. Could some such thrilling occupation have been found for James, he would have had little time left to worry his elders about his "Morality." He was unfortunate in being for a long time left in the quieter and more sedate confines of the new world. As soon as he reached the real frontier of civilization, he found himself.

This setting up of republican presses, a policy in which James Lyon was a pioneer, was one of the moves by which the Jeffersonians attained power. Through this movement, Tarleton was to find that outlet for his scribal inclinations that meant so much in his development.

By October first, Frederick is able to get to Richard the news that the heel about which Frederick had written in April, and about which Richard had inquired in July, is quite sound again. He reports himself as very well, heavier and stronger. He describes a shower bath which either he and Captain Ernest, or he and some of his other friends have installed. "We have one in which the barrel of water is turned upon you from a height of fifteen feet, cool, refreshing, every morning." He explains that the reason they have had no word from Tarleton is that Tarleton went...
to Natchez last May. "About this time, he was to leave Natchez for Pittsburgh." He expresses his affection for Richard, and regrets his ill health. He expects to go to Mackinac tomorrow, has procrastinated his voyage since spring, will hardly return till the last of November. He is sure of good quarters on his return. In recognition of the appeal to say something to James that will turn him from his wild ways, he condescends, "Tell James that he must be a clever fellow." "Clever," here used in its old-fashioned, colloquial sense, meant "good." In this letter also, Frederick states that he has been to Pittsburgh, but as to how or when he went, or what he did there, he is not explicit.

This is all the news of Tarleton between his last letter of April tenth, written from Philadelphia, and his next, written after his return from Natchez. By the old files of the Gazette, it is certain that during that time many events worth recording occurred that would interest the brothers. In Pittsburgh, there was the launching of the "Senator Ross," sister galley to the "President Adams," but this was in March, while Tarleton was yet in Philadelphia. She sailed on April 27, probably before his return. James Ross was running for governor of Pennsylvania, and it is recorded triumphantly in the Gazette that "all the Grand Jury but David Meade" were for him. Poor David Meade, he could not have enjoyed his stay in Pittsburgh on jury duty very much, and must have been glad to get back to the country, where there were Republicans galore, though so scarce in the "borough" of Pittsburgh. Fortunately David Meade had been toughened by early encounters at Cussewago with wild cats and Indians and other "varmints," and was not so easily abashed by Federalists as another might have been in like circumstances.

It is possible that Tarleton was home for the St. John's Day Celebration of Lodge No. 45, usually a most interesting ceremonial, but as he was not yet a Mason, that would not have concerned him as it did two or three years later. There was in the Gazette an account of a July Fourth celebration that he might have written himself, so closely does it resemble his accounts of former ones in his early letters home: "The anniversary of the day that gave birth to the United States of America was celebrated by the Citizens of the Borough with all the zeal due to so important an occasion. The day was announced by a discharge of artil-
lery from Fort Fayette. At nine o’clock, Captain Brison’s troop of horse paraded and at three o’clock the Citizens, together with the Gentlemen of the Army and strangers in town sat down to dinner in a bower erected for the purpose on the banks of the Allegheny.” It was the last time they were all to sit down together for this celebration. What John Adams called the “Collision of Factions” effectively destroyed this harmony.

In July it was recorded that the present harvest was the most bountiful ever known in this country, so it was no spirit of depression that was accountable for the discontent that was brewing.

The same July edition (July 20, 1799) notes the launching of the “Brig Adams” on the Rouge River. This was the culmination of the dreams of Wilkinson and Wilkins, brought to realization through the agency of Matthew Ernest. From the time that Wilkinson took command at Detroit, he had fretted over the fact that we had no fleet on the lakes. Major Denny’s letter gives a good idea of the difficulties experienced by the Americans in going from Presque Isle to Detroit, and even more difficulty was encountered in getting to Mackinac, then the most important military and commercial point in the Northwest. All shipping was done in boats hired from the fur traders, most of them British. In case of any trouble with England (and how often that was threatened all those years between the two wars, the Revolution and the war of 1812), there would be no means of patrolling the lakes. As soon as Wilkins became quartermaster, he planned to build the brig that was afterward named the “Adams” and for many years ploughed the lakes, carrying soldiers, statesmen, and freight and supplies for the army back and forth between Chicago and Mackinac, and Detroit and Erie.

These interesting affairs must have been discussed by the two boys when they met in Pittsburgh, and only the fact that they considered them of less interest to the folks at home than their own welfare, or the more likely explanation that many letters were lost, accounts for their silence on some subjects.

That there was also growing between the two on the Western Waters a difference of opinion on political matters is quite evident. Frederick, from his close association with the Ernest family, and his affection for
them, was rapidly losing his distaste for Federalist doctrines. It is not strange that he should have become somewhat lukewarm in his allegiance to principles, which, when he left Virginia, had been but loosely defined, and to which he had little opportunity to renew his fealty during his two years in Detroit as the favorite friend of a Federalist like Ernest. He had received no such new baptism of faith as had come to Tarleton through his Philadelphia visit. Amid his surroundings in Detroit, he found it to his advantage to sing low when politics was the subject of discussion. He was ever a more tolerant and diplomatic soul than Tarleton, and he had found greater kindness among the expatriates from Pittsburgh in Detroit, where they were all drawn together by their isolation from the French social and the British commercial dominations, than Tarleton had been shown by the ruling class of Pittsburgh, secure and arrogant in their own stronghold.

The news of the election of McKean, the Republican candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, over Ross, the leader of the Federalists, was received with equal bitterness in Detroit and Pittsburgh. But in Detroit there could not have been found enough hardy souls to organize, as they did in Pittsburgh, a feast in honor of the event, with toasts and applause, and even this was not there accomplished without assistance from the country leaders, and the affair was nearly broken up by a riot.

On November twentieth, there was rumor that another press was to be started in Pittsburgh, for the Gazette was closing its columns to Republican contributors. No doubt young Tarleton was all excitement over this. He had heard from Meriwether Lewis and others of the army officers and the merchants who had visited Detroit that Frederick’s politics were becoming doubtful, and he was worrying about him. Whether O’Hara, his then employer, sent Tarleton down to Natchez in time to curtail his election activities is not shown, but he was sufficiently impatient about the trip he had once deemed so desirable to suggest that he suspected some such stratagem.

MARY AND JAMES O’HARA

At any rate, he left the contractor’s force as soon as he returned. He had been living at the O’Hara home, one of the most elegant in Pittsburgh. At the time of Mrs. Dewees’ visit, the O’Hara’s had evidently
been temporarily established in what she describes as a summer-house at the upper end of the King's Orchard, originally planted by the officers of Fort Pitt long before the Revolution. Probably during the winter they lived as did so many of the citizens of the town, over their mercantile establishment along the Monongahela. But they soon built a very fine house, and as to Mrs. O'Hara goes the credit for the introduction of the first carpets, it is to be presumed that fur rugs were up to that time the only floorcoverings used in the town. Their old home was afterwards allotted to the widow of one of the earliest pastors of the Presbyterian church. There is reason to suppose that they were in the new home when Tarleton lived with them. It was quite the custom for the clerks to live at the home of the employer, and there were so many servants and attachés of various sorts in the O'Hara household, that one more or less would make little difference with the expense or convenience of host or guest.

Mrs. O'Hara was a good wife for a husband so bent on financial gain as was the contractor. During the Revolution, James O'Hara had raised and headed a company of militia on the western border of Virginia. He had previous to that been an Indian trader, and had given valuable information concerning the early movements of the tribes, before war was declared. During the later years of the struggle, he had served in the commissary department with Wayne in Georgia, and the close of the war found him connected with the commissary department of the military hospital at Carlisle. From there he went to Philadelphia to marry Mary Carson, and brought her over the mountains in a wagon which was their only support, and the nucleus of his fortunes. It is said of his wife that her earlier difficulties were never by her forgotten, and gave her the charitable disposition which is often praised by writers of Pittsburgh memoirs. She had wit, beauty, and a taste for social leadership. She was charitable, and had somewhat more of tolerance in her nature than the women of that time were wont to show. It seems strange that no mention of her is found in the letters, as she comes into the reminiscences of almost all the early writers of the locality. She was a fond mother to her sons and may have been too much devoted to her own family to pay much attention to her husband's clerks.

On March 16, 1800, Tarleton writes to Frederick, "I received on
the third yours of the tenth of February.” (This had evidently not gone by air mail!) There was surely in this letter of the tenth of February an apology, for Tarleton says, “I will not suspect you of ingratitude, but I will charge you with forgetfulness and infraternity. How otherwise could you omit to write for a whole year?” He refers to Frederick’s trips to Michilimackinac, Miamis, and Fort Wayne, and to his own journey, of which he writes that he had a horrid time coming home through a “country horribly savage and almost impassable.” He comments on the death of Washington, and hopes that that loss will be repaired by the election of “our illustrious Jefferson to the Presidential chair. Saw James Logan in Philadelphia in January. His sisters are there except Sally who report says is to marry our quondam friend, Dr. Carter. Fleming has engaged with the clerk at Northumberland, but very little to his liking. I have this from Susan. I now transmit you one which I received from them [at Belmont] on the seventh instant, together with a watch paper which our lovely cousin M.W. presents to you through our sister Susan. I have one also, not so pretty but more flattering than yours.”

Then he gets down to the real purpose of his letter, and tells Frederick all about his present occupation. It is patent that this is the first intimation that Frederick has received from him that he had left his old one. There is no hint as to how he acquired his new position; that must be gleaned from other sources. He says that on the appointment of a new prothonotary at Pittsburgh, he was engaged to assist him for half the profits of the office. The new prothonotary’s name is not given, but his condition is described as precarious; he is confined to his bed, and as Tarleton is expected to attend to the notarial duties by day and to him at night, it has nearly worn him out. There is a bit of cynicism in his prophecy that the man must either recover or die, and that in the latter event he has some hopes of succeeding to the office; in the other event, his wages are good. There is a hint here of his old attitude toward money, evidenced by his reference to Betsey Murphy’s eight thousand dollars. Other testimony must be sought to establish his real sentiments in either case.

Other testimony must also show to what he owed this opportunity.

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Footnotes:
1 An old-fashioned ornament for the inside of a watchcase, made of paper fancifully cut or printed.
This is found in a most delightful book, now little read by the general public, but diligently studied by the students of early Missouri history. Its author is Henry Marie Brackenridge, the son of the Hugh Henry Brackenridge who wrote *Modern Chivalry*. Some pages in it supply what the letters lack. It is called *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West* and reveals its writer as an engaging character, who led a life of romance in a most matter-of-fact way, telling of his adventures without heroics or self-applause. John C. Gilkieson, the newly appointed prothonotary to whom Tarleton Bates alludes, was a relative of Hugh Henry Brackenridge, and the latter had assisted him in setting up a bookstore in the town. Gilkieson had been a law student in Brackenridge’s office. Henry Marie Brackenridge had been enrolled at the academy of which early Pittsburghers were so proud, and was entirely satisfied with his situation there, but his father, for reasons that will later appear, took him away before he had finished, and put him under the tutorship of Mr. Gilkieson. Henry Marie Brackenridge says that this gentleman was passionately devoted to letters, and as the business of the store furnished only occasional employment, he had abundant leisure to pursue his studies. History and the Scotch metaphysical authors were his favorites, and he had for natural philosophy and mathematics an extraordinary aptitude. In consequence of too close application to these abstruse topics, he fell a victim to a rapid consumption.

After the election of McKean, the elder Brackenridge, who had contributed materially to the victory, was given every consideration in the matter of appointments. The Pittsburgh incumbent of the office of prothonotary was James Brison, exceedingly popular in the town, but not so favorably regarded “out in the country,” as he was a strong Federalist, and aspired to something of a social leadership. It was alleged that Brackenridge’s activity in his removal was due to resentment for a social slight, but there were enough other factors involved to make this negligible. Still, the failure to provide Brackenridge with a ticket to the ball given to General Henry Lee, on the occasion of his visit to the town during the Whiskey Insurrection, had consequences rather serious, as any favor at that time would have helped to shield the lawyer from the charge of treason. It had been a time for the town to stand loyally by its
own, and this many failed to do, looking to the saving of their own reputations by showing great animus against all those accused.

McKean's removals were made on a wholesale scale, and were probably necessary from a strategic standpoint, for the main strength of the Federalists lay in the retention of offices, and if their idea of building up an aristocracy in America was to be shattered, the only way to do it effectually was to shear them of this strength.

The fact that James Brison was secretary of the board of trustees of the Academy may be illuminating. The academy had been Brackenridge's pet scheme for civilizing the crude frontier town and introducing some measure of scholastic attainment to the attention of a group interested only in the acquisition of riches. Hand in hand with this had gone his hope for establishing there a church which should be free from creedal bonds. He had introduced into the legislature the bills which had made these institutions possible. But the leading characters of the town, inclining almost wholly to the Presbyterian tenets, had gathered both the church and the school into the narrow fold of the orthodox and unusually strict Presbytery of Redstone, and its trustees were using it as they used everything available to bolster up the waning power of Federalism.

In the Gazette of January 25, 1800, there appeared a scathing article on the displacement of Brison by Gilkieson, and its reference to H. H. Brackenridge as "Captain Farrago" was designed to be particularly cutting in its satire. On April nineteenth there is the announcement of Tarleton's appointment in place of "John C. Gilkieson, deceased."

Yet in a letter written to Richard on the seventeenth Tarleton is still lamenting his long absences from Pittsburgh. "I have for eighteen months been wandering to Cincinnati, to Philadelphia, to Natchez and again to the city." He attributes Richard's confinement and consequent ill-health to poverty. Says that he has just been appointed prothonotary. This awakens a new idea, evidently, for he asks: "Will you have any objections to come to Pittsburgh or will our father?" His salary is a thousand dollars per annum, a princely sum indeed it must have seemed to him, and it is no wonder, knowing his father's swiftly approaching bankruptcy, that he thought he might be able to provide for them all better in Pittsburgh than in far away Virginia. Generous to a fault, he
was always ardent in his wish to help even in the days of his comparative poverty.

FREDERICK VISITS MACKINAC ISLAND

In the meantime, Frederick has had his disappointments, and his trips, too, have led in opposite directions to those he would have chosen. He writes that he had hoped that this spring he would be assigned to accompany Mrs. Ernest to Pittsburgh, and might thus get a chance to go to “Belmont”; but fate ruled otherwise. In one of the latest fall vessels he went to Mackinac, and is soon to go again. He speaks enthusiastically of the island, and “the superior elegance of its improvements.” This letter was written to his mother on April fifteenth, before he had received word of Tarleton’s appointment. He incloses a lock of his hair, and speaks feelingly of the fact that “your seventh son alone remains with you.”

At the time when Tarleton expected to go to Natchez to remain, he had sent through Fleming a lock of hair to be forwarded to his mother. Fleming refers to it as “a pledge of remembrance presented by an affectionate son to the kindest of parents at a time when that son expected to remove to a country too remote even to be heard from.” Now the mother had these two locks to wear in her locket and to serve to awaken thoughts of the boys she firmly believed she was never likely to see again.

It must be that Frederick went to Mackinac soon after writing to his mother on April fifteenth, but was soon back in Detroit for there is a letter written on June eighteenth from a friend of his, R. C. Whiley, a lieutenant of artillery then stationed in Mackinac, interesting chiefly for the reference to Ernest, which says: “Glad to hear of your safe arrival in Detroit. I would write to Captain Ernest if I was not in great haste and well-satisfied your representation would have the same effect. Please remember me to Captain Ernest.” In August of that year Whiley writes again to Frederick about buying some maple sugar for him and says he will send it to Ernest in case Bates is absent. Whiley was stationed at Mackinac until 1802.

Lucky that he was able to eke out the ridiculously small income which the United States allowed her defenders at that time by taking a flier in maple sugar. A descendant of one of the old merchants of the island
once said that their house was crowded with the furniture her father had to take on account from the poor young officers stationed at the island, who had been obliged to sell it before they could get money to go to their next station. Many a brave young woman from the “East” who had gone out with high hopes to help her husband defend his country’s frontier was to leave her bridal outfit in Mackinac.

From Tarleton’s next letter, written August 17, 1800, it is plain that Frederick has in his turn been neglected. But it must not be supposed that they have not had word of each other, as the officers and traders and merchants were constantly passing back and forth during the summer, and news and gossip of Detroit would be current in Pittsburgh. Undoubtedly messages, hearty if brief, were sent by word of mouth.

Tarleton assures Frederick, “[I] shall always feel pleasure in addressing one who has added to the ties of fraternity those of friendship . . . . How kind is my brother to excuse any seeming neglect merely upon the probability that some fair one monopolizes my attentions. I have sometimes been induced to believe that I possessed much misanthropic coldness, for extraordinary as it may appear, but four persons in existence ever shared my friendship. Thou art one, one has forgotten me, one is on the Mississippi, and one is here, the amiable brother of her weighed with whom in the balance in my estimation, the world is light, light as a feather. O could you see her, could you gaze on and admire her—I measure no beauty but by her face, no accomplishments but by her merits.

“I have almost forgotten to consider Charles in any other light than that of a cold, phlegmatic, selfish misanthrope. Fleming possesses little talent for the law. Wallace did not show your poetry. How should I know that you had entirely forgotten the vitiated pronunciation of the ancient dominion? I am persuaded you have not forgotten it but for a better, and a better you will scarcely find, unless by culling. I hope you have not adopted the Pennsylvanian!”

Tarleton thus shows the source of some of their information about each other. George Wallace, Junior, has been in town from Detroit during the summer.

According to this letter of Tarleton’s, Frederick has evidently made
some attempt to reconcile his present tendency toward the Federalist point of view by referring to any distinction between Federalists and Democrats, as an "invidious" one. It must be remembered that the parties were then in process of formation, and that the only question just at that time which they could use as a real political issue, aside from personal prejudice, was the approval of the new Constitution. This brought some of the Federalists and Democrats into the same camp.

Tarleton quite agrees with Frederick; he says that among about ten officers at the camp three miles from town, only two dared speak for the present Constitution; these two were Zebulon Montgomery Pike (then a lieutenant) and Captain Peter Shoemaker. Among those opposed to the Constitution were a number whom he refers to as "your hopeful set from Detroit." Frederick evidently knows of Tarleton's succession to Gilkieson; Tarleton says Gilkieson would not have been reappointed even had he lived, as he was very unsatisfactory. Certainly, if Ross had been elected, he would not have continued him. It is clear from Tarleton's letter that Brison, the deposed prothonotary, has been most polite about Tarleton's appointment, though Tarleton feels "it will not be forgotten that I am his successor at the second step." There is in the letter a hint that Presley Neville is for the moment divorced from the other members of the Federalist party, and that he and Tarleton are on confidential terms. This is a new alignment, as Neville had once been described by Tarleton as "abhoring the Democrats as so many imps of hell."

THE TREE OF LIBERTY FOUNDED

The important part of the letter is the announcement of the setting up of the "new press," foreshadowed in the forebodings of the Gazette of November of the preceding year. This is to be called the Tree of Liberty. The motto is quoted by Tarleton, "and the leaves thereof shall be for the healing of the nations." He sends Frederick the first impress.

Tarleton says "last Saturday the Tree of Liberty was planted in Pittsburgh," but the first notice of it in the Gazette is in the issue of August 25. One authority gives its first issue as of August 16, the same date as Tarleton's letter. The first issue so far found is labeled volume one,
number three, and is dated August 30, 1800. It is probable that two issues were run out in the first week, as otherwise the issue of August 30 would be the second number rather than the third. It is too bad that Frederick did not preserve this first issue which his brother so proudly sent him. We may suppose, however, that it was not so popular in the Ernest household as in Pittsburgh.

Who were Tarleton's four friends? The first, who "has forgotten" him, may have been Meriwether Lewis, for it is evident from his letters that Tarleton is often hurt at the long silences of Lewis, who is a somewhat careless correspondent. Or, Lewis might have been the one "on the Mississippi," where, as paymaster, he would have occasion to go often, and the one who had forgotten him might be someone in his old home. It is useless to conjecture; at any rate, the name of the fourth is known, the brother of her whom he adored, for this was Morgan Neville, who was to be by his side to the last. Never but once in all the letters is the name of the sister mentioned. It was not then the custom to bandy girls' names about in letters. Even in his journal, careful Ebenezer Denny refers to his future wife as one of "two or three gentle acquaintances" who were along on a certain occasion. (The phrase of Colonel Bird, "Our peticoats [sic] send their service," is yet more roundabout, though only meant for playfulness, not for concealment.) But of course Tarleton knew that Frederick knew from young Wallace just whom he meant, and he is glad of an opportunity to pour out this confidence about her to his brother.

It was the heyday of Tarleton's life, this summer when they started the Tree of Liberty. He had just been appointed to a lucrative office; he had the powerful backing of Hugh Henry Brackenridge, strong with McKean, the new governor. The campaign for the election of Jefferson, his idol and old neighbor, was waxing hot, and he had an organ to use to express himself. He was a little over twenty-five. That his romance was taking on a bit of rose-color may be surmised from the tone of his letter. Emily Neville was about fifteen at the time, and her brother, not quite seventeen. It is true, however, that both were children of quite extraordinary precocity, and this relieves the situation of a slightly ridicu-
lous aspect. Morgan Neville was undoubtedly a genius, as his later writings prove.

Henry Marie Brackenridge records that he, a mere boy, was a contributor to the *Tree* almost from its inception, and probably Morgan Neville was writing for it also at this time, when his father was inclining toward disgust with the policy of the more hidebound Federalists. During the short term of young Brackenridge at the academy, he and Morgan Neville had been chosen to dance a hornpipe at the annual exhibition of a local dancing school, and probably they now enjoyed in company their ventures into authorship. Henry Marie had been assistant to the prothonotary, his relative the late Mr. Gilkieson. Grateful to the father for his own appointment, Tarleton continued the son in his office. What good times the three must have had there with the other literary lights of the Democratic party! Later they were joined by young Walter Forward, and he and Brackenridge formed as close a friendship as Neville and Bates had done. Henry Baldwin, the young lawyer from Connecticut, became one of the literary guild.

Brackenridge gives one of the most illuminating portraits of Tarleton that has survived. He says that he himself was so dreamy and absent-minded that had not Bates "been one of the mildest and most indulgent men in the world, he would have knocked me down twenty times a day . . . . Mr. Bates often remonstrated with me in the most mild and delicate manner, which touched my feelings more powerfully than if he had treated me harshly."

It is probable that this contact with an apprentice recalled to the sensitive soul of Tarleton his own experiences with Miller and his own father's stern admonitions, and that he saw in the delicate, dreamy boy left in his care the image of his own childhood and the dependent condition of his brothers. For left in his care Henry Marie soon was; his father was appointed to the Supreme Court by Governor McKean. The *Tree of Liberty* was left to the superintendency of its nominal editor, John Israel, while Henry Marie Brackenridge took up his lodgings with Tarleton, and they two shared the much extolled benefits of association with the boarders at Mrs. Earle's.
Never in any letter do we find a mention of this young protégé, and only once is there a mention of the father, and then simply as "my benefactor." There is reason for this. The name of Brackenridge was to Captain Ernest anathema, for it is clear that Ernest still shared the opinion of Brackenridge that a number of his associates had held during the time that Ernest was secretary of the Pittsburgh meetings during the Whiskey Insurrection.

In Tarleton's letter of August seventeenth is a reference to one he has received from Richard. This was written after Richard had received Frederick’s of December 24, 1799, in which the latter expressed some sympathy with the Federalist utterances of his friend Captain Ernest. "Richard must be warm on the subject," says Tarleton, "he desires me to convince you of your heresies." Tarleton wrote Richard that he declined meddling, but his own alarm is unmistakable.

To understand the policy of the writer in the Tree of Liberty, it is necessary to follow the previous course of the Gazette, and its parallel course with the Tree after its establishment. It is also necessary to take into consideration the journalistic policy of the other papers in the new republic. Otherwise the style of personalities indulged in by the correspondents and allowed by the editor would condemn them utterly.

For so many years history was written by those who considered, as did Gay, that Hildreth was "a learned and judicious historian," that it was natural for their readers to believe that it was the Republican press that introduced the fashion of personal attack and scurrilous invective into politics. Because the Federalists were of the party that introduced the alien and sedition laws it was supposed by the thoughtless that there were no aliens and no seditious elements among them. The first real party organ was the product of an alien, and the style of journalism that Charles Dickens condemned, when he visited this country, as American and therefore vastly inferior to British, was instituted by a native of Britain, William Cobbett, who never relinquished his citizenship under the Empire.

At first the Pittsburgh Gazette had opened its columns to both sides, and however rancorous some of their attacks and counter-attacks may
seem to the present generation the poor taste in which they indulged was at least in a spirit of fair contest, for they each knew that any statements made would be open to contradiction and refutation in the next issue. It was when the Federalist sentiment commenced to cause the newspapers to close their columns to those opposed to Federalist doctrines that Jefferson's followers set up their own presses as John Israel did in Pittsburgh. How much Brackenridge was concerned in this journalistic adventure it is difficult to say; he is said to have left a statement that he had intended to set up a press, but finding that Israel, who already was publishing the *Herald of Liberty* in the near-by town of Washington, Pennsylvania, was about to start one, he gave up the idea. His son says that his father was responsible for the newspaper, and no doubt he furnished any encouragement that Israel lacked. In a letter to Jefferson, the newly appointed judge acknowledged that he had helped the *Tree* morally and financially.

**THE GAZETTE'S RECEPTION OF THE TREE**

On July fifth, in anticipation of the establishment of the new press, the *Gazette* lashed itself into a fury over "Jacobins, foreigners, and Herald of liberty men." The attachment of the Democratic adherents to the principles which they had fondly hoped were to characterize the revolution in France had long since faded away as the government of that country became more chaotic, but the anti-Federalists were never to hear the last of their well-meant enthusiasms, any more than the cry of Anglicism directed against the Federalists was ever to be stilled. From then on the honors between the rival papers were about equal, the dis-honors similar in character.

There is a letter from Tarleton to Frederick of September 8, 1800, recording the arrival of a body of recruits under the command of Captain Claiborne. This was Frederick H. Claiborne, a brother of W. C. C. Claiborne, who was afterward governor of Louisiana Territory. The rest of the first regiment under Captain Strong (not the plump gentleman described by Denny, but a younger officer) are to go to Niagara; the hundred Todd men from Detroit and the late garrison of Fort Fayette are to winter on the Ohio near Pittsburgh. He sends word of the
assignments of other officers, and of "my friend, Captain Lewis," so it is probable that if there had been any neglect on Lewis' part it is now forgotten. General Wilkinson, the commander-in-chief, is expected on the twenty-sixth to continue during the winter; Colonel Strong (the officer of Denny's letter) has lately arrived; and Captain Visscher has gone to Wayne for Madam Hamtramck. So it is plain that Pittsburgh has been selected for the winter headquarters of the army, and that there will be no dearth of society so far as "the military" are concerned.

In the *Tree of Liberty* of September 6, there is an explanation of the bias of the *Gazette*, charging that the closing of its columns to the other side was due to the fact that Editor Scull secured from Pickering the printing of the laws, being in this way subsidized by the Adams administration. From the first, the *Tree* had attacked Addison, the president judge of the circuit. He was the especial black beast of the party to Brackenridge. No doubt Addison and Ross had at first expressed themselves against the excise laws as strongly as anyone. Like Brackenridge, the lawlessness into which many were leading the rank and file alarmed them, and they attempted, as did he, to stem the tide. Unlike Brackenridge, they had never strayed from the Federalist camp, so they were able to make a good retreat from the position in which they found themselves, while he was caught between two fires. Ross came manfully to his aid, but Addison did not try so hard to assist him. Addison's charges to the grand juries, made more than usually emphatic and long-winded on account of his realization of his own peril, made the situation more difficult for Brackenridge and Gallatin. He was perhaps not more guilty than other Federalist jurists in filling his grand jury charges with political screeds, moreover he had been a preacher and had always firmly believed that he must guide the thought of the ignorant and unlettered country people of the district. The parties were then so nebulous in outline that he could excuse himself by the argument that what he said had no partisan bias, but he could not get Brackenridge to believe this. In addition, there was some dispute about the management of the academy which was just then agitating Brackenridge, and for which he blamed Addison. As a matter of fact, in this small frontier town, forces were arraying themselves for the political struggle that was to rend the social
fabric of every town and hamlet in the country. In Pittsburgh, the fight was particularly bitter on account of the background; other factors than politics, other enmities than factional, were involved. Ross and Addison are characterized in the Tree as landjobbers, and linked to Pickering and Dayton in their speculations. Reference is made to "A. Addison, himself but late a foreigner," and it is asserted that "Harper and Addison were once Jacobins." This was Robert Goodloe Harper, whose defection from the Jeffersonians was bitterly resented.

A letter from Tarleton, dated a week later than his last commences: "I received with the highest satisfaction your several sheets by Jones [probably Lt. Edward Jones of North Carolina who had lately been honorably discharged from the army and was on his way home] and had allotted last evening and this morning for a general answer." Other business has interrupted him—it is court week. He is jubilant over the prospects of carrying all the candidates in the district, and whereas in his previous letter he had been fearful that Pennsylvania would not have a voice in the Presidential election, Gallatin gives assurance that it will. He tells his brother of Adams' change of front, that Adams has said he would rather it be Jefferson than Pinckney. He predicts a Democratic victory, but jocosely warns Frederick not to say this to Elijah Brush of Detroit. Frederick's friend Wallace is married to a young lady whose full name it is difficult to decipher.

There is a paragraph making clear one that was rather obscure in the preceding letter; he offers to obtain for Frederick any favors he desires from St. Clair, and says he must hurry, for it is rumored that St. Clair is to be shortly superseded by "the Great Man whom you expected at Detroit in the Adams." Everything seems to indicate that this was Senator Uriah Tracy who was at that time engaged upon a tour of inspection of the western posts. The letter ends with a compliment he knew his brother would delight in delivering: "My respects to Mr. and Mrs. Ernest and say Mrs. Denny looked very well this day as did her two fine boys."

In the very next issue of the Tree of Liberty is opened a discussion which had Judge Addison for its object evidently, but in attacking him,
it rakes up and scatters about all the old affairs of the contracting firm of Scott and Ernest, bitter reading indeed to Frederick's closest friends and benefactors. Probably this message of Tarleton's is meant to let them know that there is nothing personal on his part in the flood of accusations that is let loose against Mrs. Ernest's brother on its way to overwhelm Ross and Addison, but it would scarcely alleviate their sufferings on the occasion.

In 1792 Alexander Scott of Lancaster, afterward a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and Matthew Ernest had taken the contract to supply Wayne's army with provisions. The march of the troops upon Pittsburgh to quell the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794 created such a scarcity of food and such a rise in prices that they were unable to fulfill their contracts as planned, and instead of making money by the deal were greatly in arrears. In order to help them, John Wilkins mortgaged to four of his friends some valuable lands to which he held title, thus inducing them to go on a bond to save Scott and Ernest from default to the government. The Tree charges on October 11 that "while Scott and Ernest were retaining upwards of $30,000 in their hands for nearly five years, the United States had to resort to the oppressive measure of borrowing money at 8% interest to make up the deficiency." That two of these friends of Wilkins were Addison and Ross gave the editor of the Tree a chance to draw all sorts of sinister conclusions.

On November 30 there is a letter to Fred from his father. He is delighted that Frederick is studying law. Although rather dubious about Jefferson's election, the prospect at this time being "less flattering than heretofore," he has obtained for Frederick two papers, one from William Miller as to his satisfactory apprenticeship and one from the "Gentlemen of the Bar and Magistrates of the County," to the same effect. The fond father expresses some dissatisfaction with these credentials, but anyone else reading them can hardly see where they could have expressed more of approbation. It is clear that Thomas Fleming Bates has in mind some post for Frederick in case their old neighbor is elected. He expresses frank delight with the good fortune of Fleming, who, he announces, has obtained the post of clerk of Northumberland County over eight opposing candidates on the death of the late incumbent, Catesby Jones, "an
There are no more letters from the brothers, either to those at home or to each other, till July 20, 1801. This does not mean that there were none written. And there was plenty to write about; events were following thick and fast. On November 28, 1800, the Gazette announced that there was a tie vote on President, and from then on things seethed. On February 27, the same paper announced the election of Jefferson; it was not till the next day that the Tree of Liberty published the letter from Samuel Smith that confirmed the news. In the meantime Tarleton was evidently at the seat of war. A letter to Jefferson from Brackenridge was probably carried to its illustrious recipient by that youthful worshiper.

By March 6 he is back in Pittsburgh and is writing to let Jefferson know that he has performed certain errands intrusted to him by the President-elect. Comparing the handwriting in this letter and that in Brackenridge's letter, it would seem likely, knowing the relations of the two, that Tarleton acted on this occasion as clerk to the older man. Tarleton's letter follows: "Sir, I have today the honor of your commands of the 26th ultimo. The letter to General Wilkinson I put instantly into the hand of his friend, Lt. Camp. Smith, the other I have delivered to Mr. Lewis, who arrived last night from Detroit. I cannot forego the present occasion of congratulating you, Sir, and my country upon the ascendancy which the principles of '76 have regained. With the most entire respectful consideration I have the honor to be your most obedient and very humble servant—Tarleton Bates. P.S. I should have said that General Wilkinson left this on Sunday last for the federal city."

The letter for General Wilkinson thus referred to states that the letter to Lewis is one asking him to be the private secretary to the Presi-
dent, "if his presence can be dispensed with without injury to the service," and asks the general's suggestions to him; refers to young Meriwether's "knowledge of the Western country, of the army and its situation," and ends with the words, "I pray you to accept assurances of high consideration and regard, dear General." On the face of it, this letter does not show whether it had or had not been delivered to Tarleton personally when he was in Philadelphia, but a letter "to Mr. Bates," in Jefferson's letterbook, although scarcely decipherable, gives that impression. He would be considered a trusty messenger.

Lieutenant "Camp. Smith" to whom Tarleton delivered the letter in the absence of the general, was his aide, Campbell Smith, "of the well-known Smith family of Maryland" [as Burnet says], who had loyally supported Wilkinson during his misunderstandings with General Wayne. Smith's family were intimate friends and loyal allies of Jefferson.

THE TRIAL OF JUDGE ADDISON

The trial of Addison took place during this March term of court, and called for much comment. Due to Quaker influences, Pennsylvania had many archaic laws and quaint customs—to call them by no harsher names—customs ranking with the old blue laws of the New England colonies. These were fastened upon the colony by William Penn and the succeeding proprietors, and continued by the state. Among them was that of appointing judges not learned in the law. As William Penn believed that lawyers started litigation rather than clarified it, he provided a system whereby disputes could be adjusted by arbitration rather than by judicial determination. By 1800, this idea had been so far modified that although the associate judges need not be lawyers, the president-judge must have been admitted to the bar. This arrangement resulted in the complete overawing of his colleagues by the presiding judge, although it was the duty as well as of the privilege of each of them to intervene and give their opinions if they did not in any way agree with the president-judge.

Judge Addison had for so long completely dominated the court that when Judge John B. C. Lucas, newly appointed by Governor McKean, and a Democrat, took advantage of this right and duty to intervene in behalf of those whom the Tree calls "the persecuted Lowries," his action
assumed to Addison's indignant eyes the proportions of a revolt against the foundations of a system which he supposed established. His reaction to it was as disastrous to himself as he had intended it to be to Lucas. He had been outraged by the appointment of Lucas, whom he considered an ignorant French trader and farmer, although he himself, a Scotchman by birth, was accused by the Tree of being an Anglomaniac; and he had signalized Lucas' appearance on the bench by turning his back on him and refusing to greet him with even the frostiest brand of courtesy. Good Judge McDowell, the mildest of men, a veteran surgeon of the Revolution, who was the other associate judge, was shocked and astonished by Addison's conduct and attempted to make up for it by extra cordiality to the newcomer. But later, he was equally shocked by Lucas' firm but courteous insistence on his rights. Judge McDowell had never realized that the lay judges had any. Lucas was a graduate of the University of Caen and had practiced law in France, so though his imperfect knowledge of English might hamper him, he was as fully competent as Addison to cope with the situation. His after success as a judge in Louisiana Territory, amid the varied complications of the French and Spanish code, is a better criterion of his ability than his career among the unlearned in the law judiciary of Pennsylvania. Judge George Turner, of the Northwestern Territorial bench, had evidently about as high an opinion of Judge Addison's infallibility as the latter had of Lucas. It is alleged that Judge Addison was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. He was a graduate, in theology, of Abelour, not Edinburgh, and had studied law with David Redick in Washington, Pennsylvania.

In Pittsburgh the Addisons as a family were immensely popular, and out on the circuit he was not without friends and adherents. Reading his long preliminary addresses to grand juries, touching every subject upon earth, it is quite pardonable to believe that his training for the ministry had made Judge Addison wont to confuse a Scotch sermon with a jury charge, and the patience of the people with his long strictures on the Whiskey Insurrection long after that issue should have been dead and buried is sufficient explanation of the three hundred names on the petition asking for his impeachment. It has been the custom of local historians to picture Judge Addison as the victim of persecution because the supreme court acquitted him in the trial before that body, although the legislature
later impeached him, but a reading of the supreme court opinion with its scathing condemnation of his conduct in seeking to suppress his colleague, upholds Lucas unreservedly, and shows a desire to rebuke Addison without disgracing him. It is probable that Addison understood this, even if his friends tried to ignore it. After his impeachment, he was tendered a banquet by his friends in Fayette County. His wife was a most charitable woman, and she and her numerous daughters were frugal and pleasant, doing much to increase his importance in the community. He remained prominent in local circles, especially in matters concerning the Pittsburgh Academy and the First Presbyterian Church, until his death in 1807.

That Tarleton’s love affair may not have been going so smoothly might be guessed from a communication printed in the *Tree of Liberty* a few months later:

For the Tree of Liberty

An outcry is raised by federal young gentlemen against the idea of marrying the federal young ladies to jacobins. What will become of them—the federalists? Where will they get wives? Marry the daughters and sisters of the jacobins. Brothers in law, and sons in law, the offices will be all in the family. But the jacobin girls are, many of them, without education, and want dress. Men of gallantry object to a young lady because she is naked; and men of taste and the means of wealth want spirit to take a young person and give her education themselves.

Some of the young ladies of the village have affected to take offence at having matches of the kind proposed to them, and well meaning individuals concerned for me have taken pains to impress the idea that I had no particular lady in view; that perhaps I did not think of this place at all. Worse and worse, say they, he ought to have thought of us. It is certainly the most unfortunate apology that could be made. But the truth is, I did think of this place and of almost every individual in it. There is not an unmarried lady that I had not in my recollection. I could show them my list where I have them down, according to my order of preference. Wherever may be found a young jacobin of talents that may make a Secretary of State, an Ambassador, etc., I mean to select him for a favorite in this village. It will be no trifling advantage to be in my books. It is not my intention to make a blowing horn of it, but as the original proposer of the measure, I shall have weight in opinion, and who knows but a commission in carrying it into effect . . . .

A bogtrotter! not have a bogtrotter! The ladies themselves, whatever they may affect, have more sense. Federal gentlemen may talk at this rate; but the females, my word for it, will not object to a limb of the government, to a
Prince of the blood, and I am in no danger of offending unpardonably by urging a match of this kind.

But federal gentlemen and federal ladies have some of them mutual attachments already. That may be what the lawyers call an equity case, and take it out of the statute. I have no idea of making war upon the feelings of the heart. When it can be made appear to the satisfaction of commissioners who may be appointed to take the affidavit of the parties, a certificate may be given of the prior engagement, and a dispensation follow from the general regulation. This much it may be sufficient to suggest at present.

Heraclitus.

This has all the composition earmarks of the author of *Modern Chivalry*, and from the account of the Fourth of July celebration, where he acted as president, he was in town when it was printed. It appeared in the issue of July 11, and would seem incredible were it not indicative of a condition obtaining throughout the United States at this time. That social leaders have a power to wound and destroy was never more fully proved than during the dying thrusts of the Federalist party, and they used the weapon of ostracism as it has never been possible for any party to use it since.

Senator Ross of Pittsburgh had been the author of a bill by which the Federalists had hoped to exclude certain states from the electorate and thus prevent the choice of Jefferson as President. This bill failed, and it was a bitter disappointment to the Federalists, almost their last hope. It did not make them any more tolerant toward the Republicans.

There is an incident related by Eliza Clayland, who wrote her Pittsburgh history in the form of fiction, which shows that the communication printed in the *Tree of Liberty*, anent the marriage of Federalists and Republicans, was not overdrawn. Writers are too apt to picture those early days as simple and democratic, with no caste prejudices. But put ten people on a desert island, and let two of them be women who had had a certain kind of society training, and there would soon arise questions of social precedence. Most of the ceremonials of courts were devised by men. It is not that the women make them, the question is, would they be made were there no women there? The men of the Federalist party were evidently the strongest adherents of the social autocracy, but the women were the strongest incentive to its continuance.
There was a tavernkeeper in the town, according to Eliza Clayland’s story, and he had a lovely daughter. He himself was a most prosperous and respected man, but a Republican, and the Republicans frequently held their meetings at his tavern. The son of one of the leaders of the Federalist party fell in love with the daughter of the keeper of the inn, and she returned that love. His father was a widower, with three children, a daughter near the age of the elder son, and a boy much younger. There is also mention of their haughty cousin, much more disagreeable in her attitude toward the tavernkeeper’s daughter than was the sister of the lover. Despairing of breaking up the match, the father sent his son away for a journey, ostensibly as escort to his sister who was going east to school. The son was to remain away at least a year, the supposition being that when he returned, he would have forgotten the lovely Evelyn. The time of his return drew near, and Evelyn lay dying. His father and an uncle, who is described as much more austere than the father ever thought of being, met the traveler on his way home. He left them hastily after dinner together, and it is the impression that he had heard of Evelyn’s illness from someone at the inn where they met him. In his haste to reach his sweetheart, he insisted, in spite of the remonstrances of his servant, in fording Turtle Creek at the flood, and he was drowned while crossing. Evelyn died before she heard of his attempt to reach her. This sounds like an old English romance, and it was on the English model that the Federalists had planned to mould society. There would be a lot more romance, at the present day could this model have been followed; King Cophetua and the beggar girl have in their story more of the elements that make for tragedy than the commonplace elopements of Mackays and Berlins.

There is available no letter from Tarleton to Frederick after the one of September 21, 1800, until one of July 20, 1801, though many may have been exchanged. This is in answer to a letter in which Frederick has told him that he is to speak at the lodgeroom and Doctor Scott is to play orator at the Council House. This was probably not a lodge meeting, as Frederick was not received into “Zion Lodge No. 10, ancient York Masons, on the Registry of the Grand Lodge of Lower Canada,” until June 7, 1802, but must have been an assembly of the Americans.
in the lodgerooms, either before or after the more vociferous meeting at the larger hall. The old Council House was built for the British for the purpose of their conferences with the Indians, and after the United States took possession of Detroit it became a sort of auditorium for the village. Dr. William McDougall Scott, the orator, was perhaps some relation to Tarleton's friend Doctor Hugh Scott, who had on April 24, 1800, been made postmaster at Pittsburgh.

The letter gives Frederick the benefit of what foreign news Tarleton has gathered, states that "there are here no letters for Benjamin Huntingdon & Co.," and then goes on to discuss their own political prospects. Tarleton is again disappointed at the silence of Meriwether Lewis, although he had "promised to write weekly," nor has he heard from his father or Fleming or Richard. It is clear that he has had some idea of getting some office on the island of Mackinac for either Frederick or himself or both of them; the collectorship evidently for Frederick. He says that Mr. Henry "seemed dumb-like" when he asked him about the salary of the latter office. This was James Henry, a friend of Frederick's in Detroit who had been there as a trader under the British regime, and whose bachelor history is an even stronger illustration of how much men risked of domestic happiness when they went into the wilderness than are the cases of the two older Bates boys.

From Tarleton's next words, it is apparent that the year has not gone well with his wooing: "I don't know; my determination was only a half-resolve; she is so lovely, so amiable, so sensible, although so volatile [light-hearted], and withal so exquisitely beautiful, I fear it will be absolutely impossible to forget her." Perhaps "the union would not be a happy one" (had Frederick been thus trying to console him?) "yet, my brother, I have not ceased to desire it more than wealth, more than honor, than life, than existence, than anybody or anything upon earth."

The next paragraph reminds one of the antidote theory, recommended by the elder Brackenridge, that he had successfully used in his affair with Betsey Murphy. He has turned to it again in his present unhappiness: "Yet I am trying to fall in love with another—a pretty little country girl, beautiful indeed, yet more modest than beautiful, as sweet
as she is modest, as amiable as sweet, and more sensible than either. Could you, brother, wonder if I accomplish it? I shall see her tomorrow. I lately spent at her father's two days which almost induced me to renounce my convictions to the contrary and to admit that there is something like the shadow of happiness upon earth."

The lady's name in this second case is given, and though only imagination can supply that of the beauty he has tried to renounce, no such anonymity shrouds the personality of the antidotal charmer. That she was too young to have been much impressed, and that she lived to marry happily, is all that needs to be recorded here. Her brother, a young law student in Pittsburgh, had taken the disconsolate Tarleton home with him for a visit, and they had ridden down along the Chartiers Creek road, ("Shurtess Creek" the early settlers called it), and had spent a delightful two days at "Morganza," celebrated for its hospitality all the country round. It must have been a wonderful journey in those days, when the roads were like bridle paths, with the branches almost meeting overhead. The wraithlike trunks of the slender sycamores shining among the stouter trees, the little rills and runs, now stained with waste from the mills but then clear in the September sunshine as they rippled over their mossy beds, and the songs of the birds lingering late among the fallen leaves afforded balm for wounded hearts. Reminders of the green valleys of Virginia wiped away the scars of disappointment. Their host, General Morgan, an old Revolutionary officer from New Jersey long Indian agent at Fort Pitt, has left a "commonplace book" which reflects his genial nature and family affection. He received his son's friend, the prothonotary, with due kindness, no doubt, and the stay had a salutary if not lasting effect.

THE ELDER BATES IN TROUBLE

As on a former occasion, a counter-irritant, more effectual than any counter-influence could be, was soon at work. His father's affairs had at last reached the climax. There is a letter from Thomas Fleming Bates to Frederick that reveals the whole story. His lands, stoves, and stock of furniture have been sold to satisfy his British creditors. Charles has purchased the lands at seventeen hundred and twenty-six pounds, as well as five of the stoves, and the family seems to have kept possession
of the furniture and a good part of the stock. The father is sixty-five years old, and says that although he is now unable to labor, he wants to obtain some employment to aid in the care of his family of little children. He reminds Frederick of his prosperity before the raids of Arnold and Philips, and recalls that Frederick was an "infant witness" to the spoliations of Cornwallis.

This letter to his favorite son is indeed pathetic. There is sufficient excuse for almost any degree of fancied or real ill-health. The struggle against the slowly engulfing quicksand of "the British debts" was one of the most discouraging of attempts to put off certain ruin that has ever been waged in America. The wealthy planters were the sufferers from a treaty that surrendered the posts on the Lakes, but did not guarantee compensation for the raids of the British marauders along the Chesapeake and the James. And the same treaty gave them no redress from the old debts, contracted before these raids had made it impossible for them to be satisfied. The funding system and the commercial arrangements of the first years of the Confederation directed no relief to the Virginians, and they were forced sooner or later to make what terms they could, and very poor terms they were. Jefferson, as well as his less eminent neighbors, was a sufferer from the old obligations to the British creditors. Conspicuous in this letter shines the aid which Charles, the "misanthrope," often charged by his brothers with being "cold and phlegmatic," was able and willing to give his father in his hour of need. Poor Charles, just because he had been successful in his laborious following of his profession, was doomed to be misunderstood by his nearest and dearest because he had not been overgenerous; it is more than likely that he was by no means as rolling in wealth as they thought he was, and it is probable that he had hard work to raise in cash the amount he devoted to his father's rehabilitation. It is a pity that his reward was not in proportion to his effort.

The stress on the importance of the "stoves," and the placing of them in the list before the "stock of furniture," is a tribute to these humble articles that is not so understandable today. They were a new invention then, and costly in proportion to their novelty; while their use and comfort seem to have been highly rated.

How this crisis, first mentioned in the letter from Tarleton to Fred-
erick nearly four years before, was held so long in abeyance is not known, but a comparison with the affairs of other, better-known men suggests some of the expedients that might have been used to stave off disaster. In reading the biographies of other Virginia planters, the same situations, the same expedients are apparent.

The next accessible letter is from Frederick to Tarleton, and does not mention their father’s affairs. It is dated January, 1802, and is sent to Pittsburgh, whence it is forwarded to Washington City, marked, “In case of Mr. Bates’ absence this will be delivered to Merrywether [sic] Lewis, Esq.” Frederick tells of a gruesome dream, and lightens the gloom of this recital by an anecdote of Tom Martin, a major in the First Regiment and “the merriest man in existence,” whose favorite boast is “I shall never die as long as I live and when I die, I’ll go to Heaven, I’ll be damned if I don’t.” Frederick confesses that though he found this and other sayings of the major, as well as his tales of the exploits of his youth, very amusing at first, they have become tiresome by repetition.

By January 14, 1802, the news had reached Detroit of the contemplated changes in the army, as outlined in Jefferson’s first annual message of December 8, 1801. Frederick says it would be impossible to describe the consternation of the gentlemen of the army, and prophesies that it will send many of them, himself included, to the grubbing hoe and the broadax. He himself is loyal to Jefferson, and feels no rancor, for he thinks that partial evil in this case is universal good. He voices his own dismay, but shows his brother that he does not blame him for his imprisonment at this far outpost, for he realizes that what Tarleton has done has been with the desire to help him. He does not know that Tarleton is on his way to Baltimore by way of Philadelphia and Washington, and will not receive his letter for some time.

The position that Frederick held evidently entitled him to consideration as one of the “gentlemen of the army.” He and Tarleton seem to have been on a social equality with the army officers. Tarleton’s reference to “St. George of Cappadocia,” in speaking of Frederick’s proposed employment, before he left Virginia, is corroboration of the idea that the clerks in the quartermaster’s department were officers of the army, and
this is further proved by the fact that part of their pay was in rations, as was that of the other officers.

In the meantime Tarleton writes from Carlisle, where he has stopped to see Brackenridge, asking Frederick to send some more marten skins like the ones he sent before, and which it seems he had presented to Mrs. Brackenridge, "the wife of my benefactor." He sends further particulars of the reduction of the army which he thinks will interest his brother in the wilderness.

The *Tree of Liberty* published items about deaths and marriages more often than the older *Gazette*. In the issue of July 3, is the item: "Married, May 26, (1801), H. Baldwin to Miss Marian Norton of the Genesee country." Whether Tarleton returned from his journey to the eastward in time for this marriage is unknown, but he and Henry Baldwin, the bridegroom, were by then firm friends, and the Yankee was to take the place of Meriwether Lewis, whose absence made so large a gap in Tarleton's list of associates.

François A. Michaux the younger, a French traveler, visited Pittsburgh in the summer of 1802, and arrived in company with an army officer who was very anxious to reach the place before the fete of July Fourth. He and Michaux had bought a horse in common, and alternated in riding it over the mountains. Michaux was a botanist and explorer whose father had made that same journey in 1793. He describes the town as a busy center. He says that "there is nothing military now at Pittsburgh but a feeble garrison, barracked in a fort belonging to the town," which "town," though it has lost its importance as a military post has acquired yet more in a commercial way.

This withdrawal of the military, with the constant passing and the sometimes long stay there of such men as Lewis, Pike, Edward Turner, Theodore Sedgwick, Benjamin Rand, F. L. Claiborne, John deBarth Walbach, Alexander Macomb, and others, created a gap in Tarleton's life that he soon realized. Lucky that he had already commenced to form ties nearer home. As he and Pike had studied French together under the earnest Visinier, so he and Forward were now attacking journalism, and their efforts were watched with interest by the shrewd young lawyer who had taken Brackenridge's place as a leader in the Democratic-Republican
ranks. Henry Baldwin had had the benefit of education and association with the men who were moulding opinion in New England, and though he seems to have been lacking somewhat in the social graces that were the criteria in Pittsburgh society of that day, he eventually won success and fame both at home and in a larger field.

There are few letters during this summer. By the time Tarleton returned from Washington, Frederick must have determined to set up as a merchant. It was in June that Ernest wrote a letter to Lewis Farquharson & Co., an Albany firm, asking them to extend credit to "my friend Mr. Bates," and in August that Whiley bought for Frederick the maple sugar in Mackinac. On October 14, 1802, Frederick was appointed deputy-postmaster at Detroit. This of course made his store a center and would have helped trade to some extent. Also, the precious franking privilege was once more available.

Frederick had another good friend at Mackinac, David Duncan, son of an old acquaintance of the Wilkins and Ernest families in Pittsburgh. This gentleman was a trader, and he writes to Frederick on November 9, 1802, "just getting ready to go to St. Joseph when the Wilkinson hove in sight." The postscript consists of one cryptic phrase: "Remember the Goddess!" Is there some toast that the young men of Detroit have agreed upon to shield the name of one of their gentle acquaintances? This symbol of divinity suggests an atmosphere of romance to which Frederick's letters give no key. The "Wilkinson" was a small schooner hired by the United States from some of the British traders for carrying dispatches and government supplies; she also carried freight, and the adjustment of her freight-carrying charges and the business of the government was a source of constant dispute. There was the same difficulty with regard to the "Adams." The "Wilkinson" was lost on Lake Erie in a great storm in November, 1805.

Frederick was admitted to the Masonic Lodge at Detroit in June, 1802, and Tarleton became a member of Lodge No. 45 in Pittsburgh on August 25. Perhaps both owed their membership to their friends of the army, as army officers were zealous in the cause. It gave Tarleton a standing in Pittsburgh that was sure to be of value.

[To be continued]