THE BATES BOYS ON THE WESTERN WATERS

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PART III

PARTY LINES were growing taut in Pittsburgh in 1802. That July, the Fourth was celebrated by the Federalists at the old place, but the Republicans chose Grove Hill, the “seat of Adamson Tannehill,” and an oration by James Mountain, to the delight of the old association. Growing out of the Scott & Ernest allegations, with their accusations against Addison, John Israel of the Tree of Liberty was tried for libel. The Gazette had singled out Tarleton Bates as a target for its most pointed shafts, and was belaboring the “Clapboard Row Junta” at every opportunity. This term was supposed to include the merchants and officials who were located in a certain section of Market Street. One merchant had advertised his store, long before this, as “in the Centre of Clapboard Row,” so it was then a definite term, but its use as a party designation was to develop later.

There is a letter from Frederick to Sally in April, 1803, which indicates that she had reproached him for not writing oftener to Tarleton. Frederick answers her letter affectionately, and says his heart is too full to answer Tarleton often. Some of the happenings not given in the let-

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1 This narrative, the first two parts of which were published ante, 29:1-34, 85-138 (March–June, September–December, 1946), began 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, after having worked for Major Isaac Craig, and for General James O’Hara, is serving as prothonotary of Allegheny County, and is a frequent contributor of political articles to the Tree of Liberty; Frederick, after serving as assistant to Captain Ernest at Detroit, is now a merchant and the deputy postmaster there; and the younger James and Edward are still at “Belmont.” Also at home or elsewhere in Virginia are the eight other children—Charles, Sara (“Sally”), Fleming, Richard, Susan, Margaret, Nancy, and Caroline Matilda.
ters, but which later had an influence on the careers of the Bates brothers, are culled from the Gazette and the Tree. On January 29, 1803, Aaron Burr arrived in Pittsburgh. This was his first visit; he was Vice President of the United States, and though the Tree of Liberty does not so state (the Gazette does not mention the visit), he was received with considerable ceremony, as is later demonstrated. As a remonstrance against the dinners and testimonials by which the loyal Federalists had sought to soothe Judge Addison’s feelings after his rebuke by the state supreme court, the Republicans had demanded a trial in the state legislature, and this was concluded on February 18 by a verdict that caused his removal from office; this was a matter that his friends in Pittsburgh could resent socially if not politically. He and his wife and daughters were immensely popular in their circle, and the old guard rallied to their support. This was not to Tarleton’s advantage. He was undoubtedly subject to many slights from the enemies of Brackenridge in revenge for Judge Addison’s downfall. This may have helped his resolve to give up the lovely and volatile Emily. Her people were none too keen on the match.

There were rumors of war. The hope was that Great Britain would fight France, and that the United States could gain some advantage on this account from Spain. Spain was closing the port of New Orleans, and that meant trouble was near.

On June 1, 1803, Frederick writes to Richard that he has had no letters in a long time. He speaks of his obligations to Mr. Miller, for whom he supposes Richard is yet writing; mentions Fleming’s good fortune, remembers “Woodson, with whom, I believe, we read Virgil;” in point of fact, he makes more inquiries about Goochland than he has in some time. “It is said Charles has made a fortune. Is Susan to be married?” Then he tells of his succeeding Charles Curry as postmaster at Detroit.

Susanna Woodson Bates, next younger of the children than Richard, was married about this time to Thomas H. Walton. She was the first of the family to marry, so this event was of considerable interest to them all. The Waltons were well known to the Bates and Fleming connection.

A letter from Tarlton to Frederick dated July 21, 1803, shows that
one letter at least is missing. He says that he wrote him last week a statement of Christy’s business. This appears to refer to a dispute he has had with William Christy, one of the merchants of Pittsburgh, and an ardent Federalist. It is evident that the hotheaded Tarleton has resented some remark of Christy’s and has deliberately insulted him. A duel was only avoided by Christy’s acceptance of a very scant apology. This letter called forth one from Frederick which must have contained some reproof for his rashness, for in his reply (August 15, 1803) Tarleton gives some explanations of the unpleasant situations into which politics have plunged them. It is evident from this that he has had differences not only with Christy, the merchant, but with John Woods, the lawyer, and Henry Haslet, a younger attorney. He evidently feels no fault on his part, but only malice on the part of others. All his friends but Frederick approve his course. He digresses long enough to mention some domestic matters: “I believe I informed you that Fleming was to have been married in July to Polly Moss, an orphan under the care of her brother. She is niece to the tavern-keeper in Richmond of that name.” In the previous letter, he has said that he has had a letter from their father, who fears he has not long to live; he reverts again to the “low state of Father’s health.”

A letter from Richard to Frederick, written a little before this date, says nothing about the health of their father, only speaks of his own. But for the sequel, one might be pardoned for thinking them both wholly self-absorbed. This letter of Richard’s, full of local news, says that Susan is married to a Mr. Walton, a merchant in Cartersville and a cousin of William Miller’s; and tells of his own friendship with Dr. Nicholas Vaughan, Tarleton’s acquaintance in Philadelphia, who is now settled in the county seat of Goochland. Fleming was to have been married to a Miss Moss, the last news that came from him. Charles, though increasing in financial prosperity, has had poor luck in his courting schemes so far. Richard has not been to “Belmont” in three weeks but expects to go there in a few days.

FREDERICK SEeks TERRITORIAL OFFICE

To Charles, Frederick now turns for help in an effort to obtain the secretaryship of the territory (Michigan), which it is rumored will soon
be set off from the Indiana territory. He was always sure of the help of Tarleton under any circumstances. In October, Tarleton writes to Frederick doubting the chance of change, "Lewis had not heard of it." He speaks of Fleming's misanthropy (a favorite word with him), says that after a silence of two years Fleming has sent him a letter of introduction (who the bearer was is not disclosed). A reading of the Tree shows that there is plenty to divert his mind in the exchanges with the rival Gazette in Pittsburgh. He says little of this to Frederick, but it is easy to guess that he never allows him to miss a number of the paper that is to keep him staunch in the faith. It is evident, too, that Frederick's Federalist friends in Detroit, despairing of the survival of their candidates, are not opposing his efforts to capture something out of the wreck. As with Tarleton, what had before been to his disadvantage was now to redound to his good; the Republicans were gaining. Charges and countercharges were rife; no wonder David Duncan wrote from his lonely aerie at Mackinac Island: "You have not the same excuse for not writing that we have; every day something happens in Detroit worth communicating."

Tarleton's next letter is mainly concerned with a discussion of the expedition which Lewis and Clark are to make to the Northwest. On July 15, Louisiana had been ceded to the United States, and Jefferson was about to take advantage of the fact by sending his young secretary at the head of an exploring party to determine the lay of the land. One can see that Tarleton is very proud of his first-hand information on the subject. That he has offended his brother in a previous letter is indicated, and he sends his compliments to Henry and Jouett, and intimates his scorn of Scull. There is something about a postcript from Scull which has caused all this pother. It was palpably in a letter to James Henry, which Henry has shown to Frederick. The Jouett referred to is destined later to cause each of them more trouble. He was Charles Jouett, Indian agent at Detroit, who had married one of the Dodemead girls, neighbors to the Ernest family when they first lived in Detroit. He was from the same section of Virginia as the Bates boys, and a favorite of Jefferson's from old associations. His father had been the rider who warned Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, of the coming of the enemy in time for him to make his escape from them during the British General
Tarleton's raid in 1781. "Jack Jouett's ride" was as celebrated in its day and locality as was Paul Revere's in New England. Even yet the route is well remembered in Virginia. Charles Jouett's careful report on conditions in Detroit as he found them in 1803 is said to contain little of permanent value, but it was evidently carefully compiled, and is quoted to this day for its attention to details not otherwise covered.

The *Tree of Liberty* of November 5, 1803, contained a retraction of the charges against Alexander Addison in connection with the Scott-Ernest matter. John Israel, the editor, with the trial for libel setting against him, had chosen this way out. Bruised by his rebuke by the supreme court and his removal from office by the governor, Addison was granted this balm, and one cannot help but rejoice with him. Though the justice of the other charges was proven, this of land-jobbery was evidently not deserved.

Tarleton is in no whit cast down by this event. He says in his next letter, written on November 24, that the Louisiana business has put Federalism in its true colors, and indeed the triumph of the Jeffersonians in the master stroke by which they had solved the question of the Mississippi navigation problem was worth all the revilings they had to take in consequence. Tarleton fears Frederick may be too sanguine about his chances of becoming secretary of the new part of the Indiana territory: "I fear you will have stretched your every inch of canvas in vain."

Home news is included: "Richard is living in Richmond with Charles, and is in the Treasury Office at $400 yearly."

Two statements in the letter are startling: "James goes to school here," and "I have fallen in love again!!!"

Just when did James come to Pittsburgh, and with just whom had Tarleton fallen in love?

In the letter of Frederick to his mother, dated April 15, 1800, he says: "Your seventh son alone remains with you." This seventh son is little Edward. Yet it is hardly likely at that date, though it is possible, that James was with Tarleton in Pittsburgh. There is a letter from Frederick to Sally which has been copied, though the original is not now on file. It refers to a visit Frederick made to Pittsburgh in the summer of 1802, when on his way to lower Canada. He describes a meeting
with his brothers in Pittsburgh: “The Court was sitting and Tarleton and James were at the table—a crowd intervened, but I caught Jim’s eye—the dear little fellow’s confusion—I looked away to suppress my own emotions. . . . James is a very fine boy, I was quite in love with him.”

It will be remembered that Tarleton, in January of 1802, was in Philadelphia and Washington; it is probable that he paid a visit home and took James to Pittsburgh at that time. At any rate James is there in 1803, and from that time becomes Tarleton’s peculiar responsibility, and a weighty responsibility he proves to be.

The identity of the lady with whom Tarleton had “fallen in love again” is scarcely to be doubted. General John Neville died on August 5, 1803. Would that make any difference in the attitude of his son’s family toward a Republican suitor? Tarleton had attempted blotting out from his heart the image of Emily Neville; it is manifest from the events to follow that he had to give it up as a hopeless expedient.

By December first, he is writing for some more marten furs; he wishes enough to make a handsome muff and tippet like the one made for Mrs. Brackenridge; eighteen martens made that one, and he believes that some were left over. For whom was this thoughtful gift designed? There can be but one answer.

Later in the month he writes about a matter which has already been the occasion of mention in other letters; a debt owed by Lieutenant Pinckney to Frederick, arranged, it transpires, through Lieutenant Hook and Tarleton. Mr. Hook is mortified by the delay and has paid Tarleton the eighteen dollars. Poor young officers often had troubles of that kind; one wonders, not that they had hard work to pay their debts, but that they managed to live at all. Then there is a note from Dr. Wilkinson, who, Tarleton opines, has treated him ill. “He should pay interest,” he observes, and adds hopefully: “Perhaps the difference between Hook’s debt and Wilkinson’s will pay for the furs.”

Tarleton has been writing letters to some of his friends about the secretaryship; it is an important office, amounts almost to deputy governor. “I am very sorry for your loss, it is great for a beginner.” From this, there is indication that Frederick’s meercantile business has received
a blow. "James is almost as tall as myself." (He has evidently grown quite a bit since Frederick saw him the year before.) "I had hoped he might have gone to college this spring coming—it seems not till fall. I shall be much straitened to send him since the diminution of the profits of my office—particularly if I am so happy as to succeed in my present vows to Cytherea which I cannot yet calculate upon except that Fortune should not be forever unkind."

Alas, when did Fortune ever consult Justice in her awards!

It is the last of January of the next year (Jan. 28, 1804) when Tarleton writes again, and he attributes his delay to his being again in love: "I have not lost hope of success—more anon—" he says cryptically. He has been making a lot of real estate investments; he hears good news of Frederick's success as a merchant, and is assured by Mr. Lucas that he will aid Frederick's candidacy for the secretaryship. Evidently Tarleton has been exerting himself on that score, and he has greater hopes of success than are expressed in his previous letters, "would think your chance about equal."

PITTSBURGH ARISTOCRACY CLOSES RANKS

Then comes the description of the social ostracism which the Federal ladies are using to strengthen their husbands' strategies. The early inclinations of the first families toward selective exclusiveness, which, had they tempered it with the spirit of noblesse oblige, might have become a real power for good in the building of the community, had, according to Tarleton's account, degenerated into a snobbishness which had in it few admirable elements. As did the old Dutch descendants in New York, as did the Tory aristocracy of Philadelphia, they endeavored to enforce their mandates by means of the "Assembly." Tarleton's estimate is corroborated by the very naïve narrative of Eliza Clayland, as unconscious of self-revelation as is Mrs. Van Rensselaer's Social Ladder. Eliza came to Pittsburgh as a bride in 1807, and on account of her Federal connections and her husband's business affiliations, was received at once into the inner circle. She has given a truer picture of that time than would have been possible had her narrative been colored by disapproval rather than by admiration.
Mar–June

Tarleton says that the Federal ladies refuse to visit any newcomers, however desirable, unless they are proven to be true-blue Federalists; even the officers of the new bank (which had been established on December 16) are not received, nor their families visited. At this time (and this condition was still worse by the time Eliza Clayland arrived) there were few marriageable men left in the narrow confines to which the aristocratic “Feds” had limited themselves. The assembly managers sent around subscription lists by those not managers (and therefore having no official status) to see how many democratic names they could get. This backdoor method of entering society did not appeal to the proud Virginian; he declined even an approach of that kind.

This must have been very hard for him; had he yielded, he would have been inside the circle where his beloved moved; but no halfway measures appealed to him.

Another letter (Tarleton to Frederick, February 6, 1804) makes plain that it is Solomon Sibley who is his great rival for the secretaryship. Sibley, an intimate friend of Frederick’s and afterward very prominent in Detroit history, had come to Detroit from the New England colony at Marietta. Tarleton writes, however, that he calculates “upon the support of Ab. Baldwin, Phelps, Smilie and Lucas, and probably three others.” These are all his friends: Abraham Baldwin of Georgia is the brother of his intimate friend, Henry Baldwin, and the others are ardent democrats who are locally prominent, owing their election to Congress partly to the journalistic efforts of the “Tree.”

If they are cut out of the Pittsburgh assembly, the Republicans (or Democrats, as Tarleton always chooses to call them) are not without social advantages. They have a party in celebration of the accession of Louisiana, with salutes from Fort Fayette, and rounds of toasts, and are gaining all the while in political power. This must console them for the slights of the haute monde.

As to politics, a rift was already forming in the successful party. Those whom Tarleton called the “hot-heads, or Irish party,” were becoming dissatisfied with McKean, the governor of the state. They felt that the men who were holding office under him were becoming as conservative and unprogressive as the Federalists had been when he was
elected. There was a general unrest, and a feeling among some of the more radical of the Democratic-Republicans that it would not be a bad idea to upset the applecart and see how the scramble would come out. The Federalists, now only a minority, really held the key position, as they were able, by shifting to one side or the other, to sway the pendulum whichever way they chose. It was of course inevitable that they should choose to ally themselves with the older branch of the opposing party, but they kept them guessing long enough to wring from the situation considerable profit.

In reading the newspapers of the day, some confusion is caused by the fact that each branch of the Republican (or Democratic) party called itself the original party, referring to its adversaries as "tertium quids" or a "third something," as it has been freely translated. It amounted to the same thing as the fifth wheel of a coach. This was shortened to "quid," and when reading about the "Quids," and what they are doing in the newspapers of the period, "quid" always signifies the other fellow, so it is very hard to tell just who is meant. This was further complicated by the changing from side to side which many indulged in, the man high in favor with the Tree of Liberty today might be a contributor and supporter of the Gazette tomorrow. For some time the policy of the Gazette seemed to be to encourage any opposition to the Tree, however radical, but as this waxed more violent, the Federalists were inclined to choose the lesser evil, and various expedients were tried for keeping in the middle of the road.

There is a letter from Richard to Sally in February, the news in which probably came as well to the elder brothers; he had attained his desire, and was working in the state treasury department in Richmond. A few days later Tarleton writes to Frederick of some changes in his own plans. The setting off of new counties has diminished his business, but he calculates it will never be much under one thousand dollars. This sum, which could once have seemed to him riches, is now looked upon as not much of a salary. He says that under the circumstances he will allow Frederick to bear part of James's expenses; an allusion that presupposes an offer of that sort from Frederick. He had intended to meet the expense by himself doing the work of a clerk, or as he rather grandly
phrases it "by keeping no adjutant." Tarleton is much relieved at Frederick's offer for he has feared "that I might be unexpectedly cut short and be obliged to take him from school in the middle [of the term]. Mr. Hopkins says that he is coming on very well, and that he thinks that he will excel particularly in the abstruse parts of learning at which many boys that are high in the languages balk." Benjamin B. Hopkins was the head of the Pittsburgh Academy at that time. In this letter, Tarleton says that Hopkins has advised sending James to Princeton as "the properest place for a lad of genius though unfortunate for one who is dull." As Mr. Hopkins was himself a graduate of Princeton, this bias is accounted for. But the influence of Tarleton's friend Baldwin is shown in the fact that Yale is Tarleton's choice. His means are rather straitened "on account of cheapness and frugality of manners."

Tarleton again discusses the political situation. He thinks the "Feds" will support Governor McKean. Mr. Lucas thinks that Detroit will certainly be set up as part of a separate territory. Tarleton is very proud of the efforts of Henry Baldwin in Frederick's behalf. The ubiquitous Peter Audrain was also a candidate for the office that Frederick wanted. But Tarleton's letter breathes a spirit of assurance that the office will fall to Frederick. He is secure in the power of "my friend, Henry Baldwin."

Only at the last does Tarleton turn again to his love affairs: "No," he says, "I am becalmed, waiting for orders. I thought I was in love, maybe so, maybe not—a few weeks, one letter, may decide."

In the interim, while waiting to know whether Detroit would be "set up," and whether he or Audrain or Sibley or Henry would be successful in gaining the office of secretary of the new territory, Frederick was busy with his mercantile affairs. He was no longer living with the Ernest family but probably in rooms connected with his store and post office. The Ernests would be at their home at Springwells most of the

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2 Audrain's neat and clerkly hand is on most of the documents concerning Detroit from the time when he accompanied Wayne from Pittsburgh, where he had been the friend of Marie and Gallatin before the Whiskey Insurrection, to the last hour of his official life as clerk of the Detroit court, when he was nearly ninety.
year, where he was ever a welcome guest, but he was needed to attend to the business in town. Thus, much of Ernest’s time could be spent near his home at the shipyard where the “Adams” had been built.

In the summer of 1804, Frederick sends the following note to the commandant of the citadel: “Some of the gentlemen of the garrison will take a glass of punch with me at half after twelve. Will Colonel Kingsbury honor me with his company?” Undoubtedly Colonel Kingsbury accepted the invitation, for they were old friends. Later in October, the colonel is arranging with Postmaster Bates to send his letters to Mackinac, where his little daughter was born just a few days after he took command of the island fortress, and later still he is writing to Frederick, “send me the news, public and private.”

That same October, Frederick was appointed receiver of public monies at Detroit. As his Federalist friends lost their offices, he was gathering them up, and no doubt administering them in a satisfactory manner.

The sisters continue to send shirts to Charles and Richard; Charles writes to Sally about the fit of one of them; and James, even, takes up his pen to address his brother in Detroit from under the elms of Yale.

JAMES AT YALE

James is the only one of the family that has not profited by his father’s instructions and become a good penman. He is a scrawler, and never seems to overcome this tendency, though he does improve somewhat in later years:

“Dear Brother,” he writes from New Haven on December 23, 1804, “excuse my long silence. Your much esteemed favor of the fifth of September came to hand on the 21st of November. I proposed immediately writing, but my time being much taken up with my necessary studies, I continually put it off from one day to the next thinking (tho very foolishly) that I then should have more time. By late accounts received from Belmont, I hear that Susan has a very fine son; Fleming had likewise a child (they were ignorant whether a son or daughter)
that died shortly after it's birth; they were all well. I expect to enter
the Sophomore (the 2nd class) next September, or perhaps the advanced
Freshman in May which will be the same thing; the authority of college
have lately made a great addition to the studies necessary for entering,
nevertheless I entertain no doubt but that I shall be able to comply with
the requisition."

He has noticed in the papers Frederick's appointment to be receiver
of public monies. This removes from his mind a worry that Frederick
may have been a Federalist, for he is sure that Jefferson, whom he con-
fesses he reveres, would not appoint Frederick if he were not a decided
Democrat. He has ever regarded any suspicion that Frederick was a
Federalist as "derogatory" to his honor. James was never good at
spelling, though excellent at phrasing. At the time this letter was writ-
ten, he was a few months over seventeen. He continued procrastinating
and being very sorry about it, for many, many years.

On January 14, 1805, Tarleton is able to write to Frederick that
Mr. Lucas writes him that the bill is reported, and Mr. Granger informs
him the division of the Indiana territory will take place in the spring.
From other sources it is learned that Gideon Granger was in Pittsburgh
at about this time and that Tarleton called on him, and it was probably
from this interview that he received the information about the territory.

On February 7, Tarleton writes: "I have very little to say but write
in remembrance. Not necessary to remit money for James till next fall;
he is said to be attentive and doing well. If Thomas Jones is in your
quarter, I wish he would pay you seven dollars which I lent him." This
was Thomas Rice Jones, afterwards of Vincennes; it was as hard then
as now, to escape collections.

For a personal note, he confesses: "I doubtless have peculiarities and
am not a little unstable." Does this refer to his love affairs? He seems
worried about Frederick's business—"you were dissatisfied when you
were last here." He alludes to an intimation of Frederick's, perhaps in
a recent letter, that he has made nothing by merchandise, at least by the
army, and hopes he may do better in the law.

It is patent that Frederick has been for some time working to rid him-
self of the mercantile establishment he had set up under Ernest’s patronage, for letters to him from John Askin in the spring of 1804 about the “house in which you now are” would indicate some negotiation. As soon as he received the appointment of receiver of public monies, he must have turned from commercial ambitions to the pursuit of the law in earnest. His father’s plans for his advancement were bearing fruit, as were also the unremitting efforts of Tarleton among his and Henry Baldwin’s political friends. On March 3, 1805, Frederick received an appointment as one of the Michigan judges. The territory had been at last set off, and as Tarleton had predicted, Sibley and the other candidates did not “muster as strong.”

The next letter available is one from Tarleton to Frederick dated May 10, 1805. From the fact that it does not mention Frederick’s advancement, it is probable that that was covered in a letter not in the collection. This letter of Tarleton’s introduces “your new Chief Justice Colonel Huntingdon” with whom Tarleton says that he has been acquainted for some time, and who is in high esteem as a judge. This was Samuel Huntingdon of Ohio, afterward governor of that state. He declined the appointment to the new territory, and in December John Griffin was appointed in his place. It is evident from this letter of Tarleton’s that Judge Huntingdon had intended to accept the office, or at least said nothing to indicate that he would decline it till he had been out and looked the field over.

Tarleton adds that the political violence in Pittsburgh is but just beginning. He expects to be in Detroit soon, and will them amplify his statement. It is evident that Henry Baldwin’s first wife did not live long, for Tarleton says that he expects his “friend Henry Baldwin was married last Tuesday in Lancaster to Sally Elliot, and that he will be here on Monday.” He says also that the governor and secretary of the new government “are expected here weekly.” This was Governor William Hull, and the secretary was Rufus Griswold. They did not arrive by way of Pittsburgh, but went by boat across the lakes from Buffalo. The law creating the new territory did not go into effect until July 1, 1805, and they did not arrive until the afternoon of that day.
From Frederick’s letters to various officials, it is shown that as land commissioner he was associated with George Hoffman, and the later letters between Frederick and Hoffman are testimonies of the friendship formed either before or during this association. Peter Audrain had acted as clerk of the commissioners. In a letter of Frederick’s to Tarleton, dated May 22, 1805, he tells him of some of the complications surrounding his life in Detroit. Charles Jouett had come back from Virginia, and Frederick waited on him at Dodemead’s. This was a tavern owned by John Dodemead, Jouett’s father-in-law. He found Jouett was in no good mood; he seemed wounded at the backwardness of the town in congratulating him on his return. Accompanying Frederick to his office, Jouett took occasion to claim, during the walk along the wharf, that it was to him that Bates owed his appointment. Frederick immediately replied that he had good reason to suppose that he owed it to his brother’s friends the Baldwins. Jouett was much embarrassed by this, and then suggested that Tarleton had sent word that it would be to Jouett’s and Frederick’s advantage to support each other.

Frederick then accused him of having caused Ernest to be ousted from his position, and of having caused a rift between Frederick and Dr. Joseph Wilkinson, Jr., the Dodemead’s and Jouett’s brother-in-law. Frederick told him that he would vindicate Ernest no longer than his conduct was defensible, but that Ernest’s accusers would probably have to answer for their own misconduct if there had been any.

It is obvious from this that accusations against Ernest had been started early, and also from other parts of the letter that Jouett had been trying for the high prize, the governorship of the territory. Frederick tells Tarleton he thinks that Jouett is worried about some investigations of his own conduct, and says Jouett has few friends as he is the friend of nobody. Jouett admitted promising Ernest’s office to his brother-in-law, but says he never intended to try to get it for him!

On June 11, 1805, the small stockaded enclosure known as the post of Detroit since the days of the French and British occupations was entirely consumed by fire. A more complete calamity could not have been devised by any of their enemies than now came to the American traders,
officials, and dwellers in the new territory. It was of especial moment to the family who had befriended Frederick. Captain Ernest had been superseded by Joseph Wilkinson, Jr., and his affairs must be liquidated. But as there were no banks, it is extremely likely that any resources he had perished with the town; his creditors, those merchants who owed money to him on behalf of the collectorship, lost everything. He left at once for the capital to make what arrangements he could and to answer the charges against him which had caused his removal and the substitution of Wilkinson in his place. A letter to Frederick from Tarleton, dated July 22, gives the probable date of Ernest’s leaving Detroit. “I have received yours from Captain Ernest of the 22nd ult. You are very sparing in the particulars of the Detroit misfortune and its consequences. James I hope has written you.” He says that Frederick’s lottery ticket has drawn a prize of twenty dollars. This was a small ray of light in the darkness of the late disaster. Whether this was the lottery carried on for the benefit of the church, or one for the improvement of the city he does not state. Lotteries were used to raise money for all kinds of improvements in those days. Tarleton has just made a 200-dollar bet on the election, and he says philosophically that if he loses his bet, he also loses his office; but he views any chance of Snyder’s election as “morally impossible.” The Federalists he regards as a negligible factor.

FOUNDING OF THE COMMONWEALTH

A new element now entered the field in Pittsburgh, and it was one that was eventually to change the political complexion of the place. A third party, offshoot of the old Republican organization which had elected McKean, was uniting against him, and there was established in its behalf, on July 24, 1805, the Commonwealth, a rival to the Tree of Liberty; a merciless rival, willing to use every weapon to annihilate McKean and advance Simon Snyder. The editor was Ephraim Pentland, a recent arrival in Pittsburgh, though no stranger to the locality. In his very first statements he attacked “Bates,” and he proceeded to harass him by the most ingenious personal attacks. It was alleged that McKean had referred to Snyder’s followers as “clodhoppers,” and this title was proudly accepted by the leaders of the opposition to the gover-
nor’s re-election. The editor of the *Commonwealth* charged that the *Tree of Liberty* was apostate, that the Democratic-Republican party no longer had an organ in Pittsburgh, and thus justified the existence of the new press.

From the painting of Tarleton Bates now owned by a descendant of one of his brothers, it is easy to see that he had a delicate and sensitive nature; from contemporary allusions it is suspected that he was below the usual height; from Henry M. Brackenridge’s characterization of him one may surmise that he was a fastidious dresser, and very courteous and gentle in his manners.

All these things contributed to the glee of his opponent. While James Mountain, in his Fourth of July address of that year, was guardedly lamenting “the unhappy difference of opinion” which was dividing the party, Pentland was preparing new shafts to wound Bates, Baldwin, Richardson and the rest of the followers of McKean. By July 31, he was referring to “Master Bates” who was alleged to have written some communication for the *Tree* “with his usual candor”; again it was the “simpering sweetness” of “Master Bates” that aroused his satire; then he must needs refer to the purely courteous calls Tarleton had made upon “Mr. Bur . . . Gideon Granger, Mat. Lyon, and all the great men, and shadows of great men who have been in Pittsburgh,” and allege that “Master Bates” was about to “get a full court suit . . . that he may do honor to his master.” By August 14, he was attacking the state “from which Mr. Bates came” as “feudal,” its consequence due only to its officeholders. By August 21, he dared to go even further, openly taunting Tarleton with his need of the office he was holding, and suggesting that after his intimacy “with A. J. Dallas, with Tench Coxe, with Mat. Lyon, and having bowed to Aaron Burr, he would not wish to return to Major Craig’s office, or to again become Mr. O’Hara’s clerk and butler.” This reference to his former humbler positions was intended to have a peculiarly maddening sting. Probably during his stay at the O’Hara’s, Tarleton had assisted at many social gatherings, and had helped dispense the hospitalities of the O’Hara mansion (as it was often then called) as would anyone who was clerk as well as an inmate of the household. That his innocent participation in these events should
be turned in such a manner was doubly humiliating to him after he no longer frequented that house on account of the change in his politics. There was a move at that time by the more radical branch of his old party to lament the situation of the veterans of the Revolution, who were declared to be getting little patronage from the government. Tarleton held a lucrative office, so the Commonwealth took delight in questioning the military record of "Mr. Bates, who had scarcely put on his first breeches when Burgoyne was captured," although "it appears the brave lad actually did march . . . to attack liberty poles and disperse the whiskey boys." All this was intended to undermine his popularity, as well as to goad him into some intemperate reply.

Whether or not Frederick had an opportunity to read the Commonwealth is not known, but he had a good deal to occupy his own mind. He is really a judge now, and on September 4 he writes proudly to Richard about his first charge to the grand jury. He says that it was applauded, and that he was glad "when it was at last ended." Reading it today, the wonder is that anyone was left with the heart to applaud, for it covers ten closely printed pages, and the grand jurors were probably as glad as he was (if not gladder) when it was over. Like Judge Alexander Addison, he brought into a charge all the subjects on which he wished to free his mind. He refers to the late "calamitous conflagration which has lately reduced wealth and opulence to indigence and distress," which gives a rather more flattering picture of the condition of Detroiters previous to the fire than is found anywhere else, and devotes some words to "the singularity of our situation." From the phrases, "here, in the fields, in an elegant bower, which the ingenious arrangements of the Marshall has prepared for our reception," and the adjuration to them to "retire, then, to the leafy chambers to which the Marshall will conduct you," may be built up a fair picture of the sylvan substitute for the old council house, or the taverns where court had sometimes been held, all now leveled by the fire.

This same letter gives the first comment on the news of their father's death, which occurred at "Belmont" on May 26 of that year (1805). He says that scarcely had he accustomed himself to that grief, when he had news of the death of a beloved sister. This was Susan, the wife of
Thomas Walton. Her only child, a boy, was only a year old when she was struck by lightning, on Sunday, July 14, 1805. A rather unusual pet name had been hers when a baby. Her father wrote of her in a letter to her mother in 1785, when that enterprising lady was absent in Richmond on a shopping expedition: “Lucky has a regular cry for her mama about sunset every day.” Peggy (Margaret) seems to have been near her, but sustained no lasting injury. She lived to marry not once, but twice, and was the mother of several children.

The *Commonwealth* continued its abuse of Baldwin and Bates. “Bates’ Virginian sycophancy and adulation to certain officers of the general government who have been in Pittsburgh” again engrossed the editor. “Bates, a ragged boy at school at Frog’s Manor,” is supposed to be an especially sarcastic thrust at the poverty of the Bates family. By September, the *Commonwealth* editor is outraged to find that the Feds and Quids have “joined in a perfect coalition.”

A letter from Tarleton to Frederick about the middle of September says nothing of these personal diatribes, but predicts McKean’s election as certain, so he is probably well aware of the support which the Federalist remnant is giving to his own branch of the party. This alliance, which meant that he was friends once more with the people whom he had first known in Pittsburgh, and above all with the relatives and associates of his beloved Emily, could not but be a source of satisfaction to him, especially as he felt that that alliance was to save the country from anarchy. His and Frederick’s orbits are approaching nearer, also. He has ordered the *Tree* to be sent to Frederick, and he himself is taking the *Freeman’s Journal* instead of the *Aurora*. The *Aurora*, with Duane as editor, has adopted the cause of Snyder.

Appeals to actual settlers against landjobbers, to farmers and mechanics against lawyers are not enough for the editor of the *Commonwealth*, who is rapidly lashing himself to a fury. His attack on one attorney for drunkenness in court causes him to be summoned for contempt. He is losing control of himself, and commences to descend to even more depths of personal invectives against Tarleton. His references are stated to be not about “Mr. Bates who lives on the bank,” but “Mr. Bates the pro-
thonotary." Here is a thrust at James who was undoubtedly accustomed to spend all too much of his leisure "on the bank," this phrase having about the same significance that "down on the levee" would have in some communities. "On the bank" was where the rough characters of the town gathered to drink and carouse in the grog shops along the river. Here James and his young companions could listen to Mike Fink and the other rivermen as they boasted of their stirring adventures. James, spending his vacation with Tarleton, had added little to his older brother's comfort or prestige.

The references so carefully differentiated were of a most insulting nature, and practically charged Tarleton with association with a negro woman, a servant of the Presley Neville's. This created for him a most unfortunate situation. It is very probable that he and Emily had been exchanging their missives of friendly import through the mediation of her maid. He could make no explanation in reply to this attack which would not involve Emily's name in the controversy.

Another trouble came to Tarleton at this time. In a letter to Frederick of October 17, he explains his perplexity: "I have delayed to communicate what I think is bad intelligence of James. He is allowed to be a lad of parts, a good scholar, and I hope will enter the Junior at Princeton,—but he is an extravagant dog! He has expended at Yale at the rate of $570. a year besides travelling expenses. We expected only $350. I have put him on an allowance but do not know how he will take it. You are poor and so am I. He is a heavy tax and will continue so four or five years more. It can't be helped."

He rejoices at the victory of McKean, now a fact, and looks forward to the sitting of the supreme court in banc at Pittsburgh next spring, when he hopes to add something to his profits. He expresses a wish that Frederick could get some subscribers for the Tree.

On December fourth the Commonwealth claimed: "We understand, from good authority, that Israel has sold the . . . Tree of Liberty to Messrs. Bates & Baldwin—and—that——Forward, a young student of morality from Connecticut, and who for three months preceding the late election, in company with a spurious branch of the Bracken—
ridge family, employed his leisure hours in pasting obscene caricatures on the market house in this borough, will shortly commence his editorial career, immediately under the patronage of these gentlemen."

Whether the Tree of Liberty was really bought by Bates and Baldwin is problematical; it is more likely that a syndicate of the men allied in a common cause and who had been assisting Israel financially merely took hold of it in earnest. At any rate, Walter Forward, a young man of seventeen who had walked all the way from a small town in Ohio to study law with Henry Baldwin, was soon installed as the editor. His parents were originally from Connecticut. The name "student of morality" was the satirical way in which the editor of the Commonwealth chose to refer to students of the law.

On December 25 the Commonwealth reported: "The Tree, though issued from the Western forest in the name of Forward, is the product of two of the most abandoned political miscreants that ever disgraced the State—despicable sycophants. Both have been caned and kicked and excluded with disdain from Federal Society, yet like spaniels they lick the foot and court the favor of those inhospitable and despotic wretches."

This was an accusation that Bates could get his teeth into. Here was no occasion to bring into the discussion the name of a lady—there was sufficient provocation without that. The intention of the editor of the Commonwealth had been to induce Tarleton to challenge him to a duel; as there was in Pennsylvania a stringent law against duelling, he would thus be subject to removal from office, and a member of Pentland's party would have a chance to secure the plum. Tarleton avoided this scheme by attacking Pentland and giving him a chastisement with a "cowskin," or what is now known as a rawhide whip. Pentland fled, but in the next issue of his paper gave the following highly colored account of the occurrence: "On Thursday evening last, a considerable time after dark, the editor of this paper was way-laid, and attacked in a most outrageous manner, by Tarleton Bates, the prothonotary of this county, and co-proprietor and editor of the Tree of Liberty. Bates was in company with some persons, who were no doubt to act as aides, should their assistance be wanted, but owing to the mistiness of the eve-
ning, and their quick disappearance, all of them could not be recognized—Baldwin, Bates' colleague in infamy, and the brave and redoubtable Steel Semple, 'who never feels afraid, but when he is in danger,' were in the gang—both limbs of the law,—students of morality!"

Tarleton published his account of the affair in the *Tree of Liberty*, the account being dated January 4, 1806.

Referring to his antagonist as "too pitiful for anything but a Cow Skin notice and too recreant even to resent that," he avers that "when the cause of the recreant is espoused by a party, some notice is indis-
pensible." He continues:

Ephraim Pentland, an apprentice of the *Aurora* office, is the editor of a paper printed here under the patronage of the "friends of the people." This paper from its establishment has teemed with every slander and abuse of a private as well as a public nature. It was hoped that with the election, its private slanders, at least, would cease. Not so. In *The Commonwealth* of the 25th of December, I am aspersed in a manner to leave no alternative but chastisement. I purchased a Cow Skin, and the first moment of my meeting this knight of the heels was in the street on the evening of the 2nd January after sun set; but the moon shone bright and there was sufficient light for every purpose of attack or defence. That, like one of *Shakespeare's heroes*, his fears have converted a Cow Skin into a stiletto; a single arm into a host of "six or eight gentlemen," the following certificate may show:

On the evening of the second inst. immediately after the letters and papers were delivered from the post office, we left the post office in company of Dr. Kennedy of Meadville and Mr. Bates;—we were walking up Market Street, and being opposite Mr. M'Laughlin's store, Mr. Bates and Dr. Kennedy behind us, we met Mr. Pentland—he passed and had passed Mr. Bates, who turned about and followed him—we heard three strokes of a Cow Skin, and saw Pentland run across the street, into the alley between Joseph Davis and James Riddle's, & Mr. Bates in close pursuit but unable to overtake him.—We continued opposite Mr. M'Laughlin's; Mr. Bates and Pentland were nearly opposite Briceiland and Bracken's store. It was a very bright moonlight. No persons were present in any way assisting Mr. Bates; and at the time of the attack we saw no person in that part of the street but those we have mentioned.

*Steele Semple*

*H. Baldwin*
I had remained in the street that afternoon, had gone to the post office alone, and, despairing of meeting the object, was returning with three gentlemen, but they did not stop on passing Pentland; I was behind, and they, at the moment of his Cow Skinning and dastardly flight, were not within twenty paces and if anyone was, it must have been by mere accident. From the lash, he appealed most promptly, “to the civil authority” for the protection of his “person” from Cow Skin assassination. The following note was left at my lodgings very early in the evening:

Thursday evening, January 2, 1806.

Mr. Bates,

Your assassin-like attack on me this evening is perfectly in character; and is cowardly, dastardly and mean. In order to secure my person from a repetition [sic] of such conduct, I have applied to the civil authority.

E. Pentland

But his friends, it seems have made an appeal to arms by way of gasconade if I refused, for the purpose of depriving me of my office if I accepted. Friday evening, not “morning,” one of his friends called on me. He wished to know “what explanation I would make to Pentland.” He expected “the satisfaction due to a gentleman.” He was not entitled to it. He had fled under the smart of the Cow Skin, and had appealed to the civil authority. I was persuaded that the bearer was ignorant of the circumstances, for no gentleman knowing them could be the bearer of such a message from such a man, and if I had no more respect for him than for his friend, I should treat him as his friend had been treated. He said, “I knew the situation in which he stood with his party; that two persons had declined to take the message, that he could not avoid it . . . I pray the indulgence of the public, for it is the last time that I shall trouble them with this subject, and I trust that they will think with me that the present is a case where it is indispensable to put in practice the maxim of our great Franklin that “the licentiousness of the press should be corrected by the liberty of the cudgel.”

Tarleton Bates.

It is hoped that the printers who publish Pentland’s attack will have the candor also to publish this statement.

Two columns following are devoted to printing Franklin’s Account of the Court of the Press, which is cited as applying “with a singular force to Pentland’s case.”

As manifesting the change of sentiment which was coming over
Tarleton’s branch of the party, it is interesting to note, on the same page as this account of the circumstances of his encounter with Pentland, the following quotation from the Freeman’s Journal, which he had written Frederick he had substituted for the Aurora, under the Tree of Liberty heading, “Symptoms of Union and National Harmony”:

The Washington Federalist, conducted by Mr. Reid (?) has hitherto been one of the bitterest opponents of Mr. Jefferson’s administration. In his last paper, however, Mr. Rind (?) speaks thus handsomely of him:

Yesterday at 12 o’clock the President’s Message was presented to both houses by Mr. Coles, private secretary to the President.

The message is such a one as we should desire to see from a President of the United States. Dignified, firm and spirited. In fine, we consider it federalism revived.

There is also a treasury report of Albert Gallatin’s which reads more like one of Andrew Mellon’s than anyone would believe possible.

THE BATES-STEWART DUEL

Perhaps the story can best be continued by a letter of Walter Forward, written to Frederick Bates some weeks afterward. In the meantime, Henry Baldwin had written substantially the same account to Richard, as is noted in a letter from the latter to his mother dated January 27, 1806. The Tree of Liberty had come out all in mourning on the fourteenth, with the following announcement: “With deep regret we announce to the public the death of Tarleton Bates, late Prothonotary of this county, who fell in a duel with Thomas Stewart on Wednesday the 8th inst. On no occasion was public regret more general and sincere. Public sensibility was never more excited.”

Richard was not aware, nor is it anywhere clear, whether the mother had news of this heartbreaking event before she received Richard’s letter. It is very likely that Frederick, with the constant communication between Pittsburgh and Detroit, had heard of it before he received Forward’s letter, and it is quite likely that he had read the copy of the Tree that announced the great loss he had sustained.

Walter Forward’s letter is dated February 14, 1806, and is written
in a clear and clerkly hand. It is possible that he had never met Frederick, as he begins:

Dear Sir;—Some weeks since the death of your amiable and endeared brother Tarleton Bates Esq. was announced in the "Tree of Liberty." The ferment which succeeded it, the pressure of correspondence and other circumstances have hitherto prevented the communication to you of a circumstantial detail of the causes which led to it. Mr. Baldwin has now entrusted me with the task which I shall execute in as brief a manner as is consistent with a thorough understanding of the subject.

From the first establishment of the Press of the "Commonwealth" in this place that paper had teemed with the most infamous slanders of every kind against the character of your brother.

His political principles, his private conduct, were the constant theme of ridicule and abuse. Till shortly before his death, he did not take any notice of them, but treated them with silent contempt. A publication however appeared which was of a nature too cruel to be endured. It charged him with everything base and mean. He could no longer brook the outrage offered to his feelings; he purchased a Cowskin, and determined to chastise the villainous [sic] Pentland wherever he could meet him. On Monday evening [December 24?] returning from the Postoffice, he met the editor of the Commonwealth and chastised him, though but slightly for the recreant took to his heels and fled to the house of his protector Riddle. Shortly after he sent a note to your brother, with a notification that he had appealed to the civil authority for the protection of his person. On the Tuesday following he sent a challenge by Mr. Stewart. It was justly declined on the ground of Pentland's having appealed to the civil authority and not being a gentleman. He told Stewart the circumstances which induced the chastisement of Pentland, and added that he presumed he (Stewart) was ignorant of these or he would not have been the bearer of such a message. That if he had no more respect for him than for his principal, he would treat him in the same manner. Stewart retired chagrined and disappointed, and your brother on the same evening in printed placards which were stuck up through the town was "proclaimed to be a coward and a poltroon." In the "Tree" of Wednesday [January 1 or 7?] a fair statement of the circumstances above related was given to the public with the signature of your brother. The exceptions which were taken to this by Stewart will be seen in the enclosed correspondence.—you will discover that no cause of challenge existed—The conduct of Wilkins is an enigma which no one pretends
to solve. He had long been on terms of intimacy with your brother, and treated Stewart with contempt and disdain. But one day before he carried the challenge he declared to your brother that he ought to have horsewhipped Stewart for becoming a party in the affair of Pentland—that he was a fellow deserving of no other kind of notice—Alas! the hypocrisy and perfidy of man! This same Wilkins was accessory to the death of the best of citizens the world has ever witnessed, the most constant friend of which he could boast. Mr. Bates went into the field with a mind calm and unruffled and a heart unconscious of injury or offense. This dreadful scene he deemed unavoidable. He had declined one challenge, had been stigmatized a coward, and was hunted down by the fiends of faction. This was too much for a man of his delicate honor to bear. He sought to silence his pursuers at the risque of his life. Alas! he fell the second shot and expired in a few moments. No man ever left a more untarnished character, no one was ever more deeply lamented. He was charitable to the needy, a patron of merit—a faithful friend, an honest patriot. His loss is severely felt by everyone and to his relatives must be peculiarly poignant. But the anguish it occasions must be alleviated by the blessings which are bestowed upon his memory. The poor drop a tear over their hapless benefactor; and even his former adversaries say, Bates was just and humane.

For myself, no language can do justice to the emotions with which the tidings of his fall rent my heart. To me he was kind and munificent, a benefactor, a father, a friend. He laid me under obligations which I can never discharge but which shall never be forgotten.

I condole with you in your affliction. You have lost an amiable and endeared brother; the honors which have been paid to his memory are sufficient testimonials of his worth.

Adieu,

WALTER FORWARD

To this Henry Baldwin added a few words in the same vein, but his writing is almost undecipherable and totally obscured in places on the worn paper.

Inclosed in the Forward letter were three by William Wilkins and one by Tarleton Bates, all written on January 7, 1806, the day before the duel. They read as follows—misspellings and all. First is a letter from Wilkins to Tarleton:
Sir,

Mr. Stewart has just spoken to me on the subject of your statement in your “Tree” of this morning, of the affair which took place last week between you and Mr. Pentland—That part of the statement which relates to his conduct in the affair, he alledges to be highly exceptionable and incorrect—inasmuch as it charges him with being concerned in a base and dishonorable plot, which you say “was formed for the purpose of depriving you of your office”; and as it has mutilated and distorted the conversation which took place between yourself and him on friday evening and in some parts totally perverted it.

In this uncandied publication he considers himself injured and insulted, and looks for at your hands a prompt reparation.

With me, Mr. Stewart regrets the necessity which has produced the present communication, but a sence of duty, justice to himself, and a regard to his character will not suffer him to pass over your statement in silence. Your communications on this subject to Mr. Stewart you will please to make through me.

    With respect, sir,
    Your very humble servant,
    Wm. Wilkins

Another followed on that “Tewsday afternoon”:

Sir

Everyone who reads your publication of today will plainly see that it contains an unequivocal charge against Mr. Stewart of being concerned in a dishonorable plot to deprive you of your office, that his conduct (from your relation) has not been correct, and that the peice [sic] is injurious and wounding to his feelings. Hence Mr. Stewart conceives himself aggrieved [sic] and asks a satisfactory apology or the alternative.

He will accept of the enclosed as an atonement for the injury—but your publication is such that nothing short of it can do justice to his character.—

    With respect, sir,
    Your most humble servant,
    Wm. Wilkins

Follows the “enclosed” which alone would be accepted as “atonement for the injury”:

Having been this morning called upon by Wm. Wilkins on the part of Mr. Stewart, and informed that the latter conceived himself injured and insulted,
by some expression in my statement in the “Tree” of this morning of the affair which took place last week between Mr. Pentland and myself, I make this apology to Mr. Stewart, and hope it will be satisfactory to his feelings and remove any unfavorable impressions which my statement may have made on the public mind.

I regret that anything in my publications should have wounded or insulted the feelings of Mr. Stewart for nothing was more foreign to my intentions. So far from wishing to make any imputation against the character of Mr. Stewart, I now declare that his conduct and expressions in delivering the message of Mr. Pentland was correct and honorable. Altho’ I cannot but believe a plot was laid to entrap me into an acceptance of Mr. Pentland’s challenge and thereby deprive me of my office, yet I am far from harboring a belief that it was with Mr. Stewart’s knowledge and privity;—but on the other hand I believe him too much of a gentleman to be concerned wittingly in so ignoble a design—should any expressions in my publications mitigate against his character, they must be incorrect and made from mistake, for my good opinion of him as a gentleman and a man of spirit precludes the possibility of injuring his feelings or insulting him intentionally.

Tarleton promptly replied:

I have the honor of your communication of this afternoon, and it is not necessary for me to read more than the first paragraph of your inclosed project of attonement to reject. In my publication I did not especially intend an imprecation of Mr. Stewart nor specifically mean to excuse him; I have no reason to doubt the veracity of that gentleman. Of course am disposed to believe that he had not such part in the transaction of Mr. Pentland as I had believed; yet it is perfectly fair to concede him as a co-agent in the subsequent placard and however under other circumstances I might feel a disposition to sacrifice much to the feelings of Mr. Stewart, being unconscious of any improper calumny or distortion of our conversation, it is a duty I owe myself to grant nothing but what truth demands.

I have the honor to be with every sentiment of respect, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Tarleton Bates

Upon receipt of this Wilkins wrote to Morgan Neville:

As the friend of Mr. Stewart, I must at once reject Mr. Bates's note as quite unsatisfactory to the feelings of that gentleman—and, sir, however I may regard the course which the affair is about to take, Mr. Stewart will expect a
personal interview as soon as possible, and for which purpose I will wait on you any time to make every necessary arrangement.

Believe me, sir, with respect,
Your friend and humble servant,

WM. WILKINS

It is but fair to state that the spelling is that of the copyist of these letters, as they are all written in the same hand, and that hand is neither Forward's nor Baldwin's.

The letter about the extravagance of James seems to be the last one from Tarleton to any of the family before the "Affair with Pentland," as his friends seem to have united in calling the duel and the events which led to it. He left no farewell note, but he did leave a will, drawn by himself and unwitnessed.

He called upon one family to bid them farewell, but let fall no hint of where he was going. The story of his call came from the venerable Mrs. Sarah Collins, the wife of a lawyer in the town, Thomas Collins. She survived her husband many years, and told the tale to her daughters, one of whom in her old age repeated it to a chronicler of the duel. She had evidently been a good friend to the young prothonotary, and it was to her that he is supposed to have paid his last visit.

Henry Marie Brackenridge, over half a century afterwards, wrote of the death of the man who had so gently guided him in his studies: "During my stay at the college an incident occurred which affected me deeply—the death of my friend Mr. Bates in a duel. He was one of the most perfect gentleman I ever knew, and a philanthropist whose heart was the ready and sure refuge of the unfortunate. There were few handsomer men, and when brought from the field into the diningroom where he had passed so many social hours, and laid upon the carpet, he seemed to be asleep, his countenance having undergone no change, as the ball had passed through his heart, and his death was instantaneous." This diningroom was the one celebrated in Brackenridge's Recollections as the salon where the young professional men of Pittsburgh, the officers

3 Brackenridge was then at Jefferson College in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, where he had gone to finish the education in the law which Tarleton had aided.
of the army, and any distinguished visitors to the town were accustomed to meet. Here Henry Marie had boarded with Tarleton when he was in the office of the young prothonotary. It was the only home that Tarleton knew in the later years of his life in Pittsburgh, and to this house he was brought back to lie in state till his burial. "Many a tear of genuine feeling was shed by those who came to take a last look at the once elegant Tarleton Bates."

The will was dated January 7, 1806, the day before he was killed, and read:

This is my last will. I constitute Henry Baldwin, my very dear friend, my sole executor. He is to sell all my estate, real and personal, except my watch. The last I give to him with any money he may be indebted to me. With the proceeds of my estate he is to pay first my debts, and burn my body, or at least bury it without any direction. Next to support James at school, to finish his education by the study of law at Litchfield, if there be a sufficiency; otherwise my brother Frederick will make up the deficiency. And my residue to go to my adored mother. Signed, being written wholly by myself, this 7th day of January, 1806.

There were no witnesses, but the paper was found among his effects after his death, and on January 11, John Woods and Thomas Collins, who in the former divisions of politics had been among his opponents, but who had become, under the new affiliations caused by the shifting circumstances, his friends and allies, testified that they knew and identified his writing, and the will was allowed.

He bade goodbye to his friends in the town,
   They knew not where he was going—
With a single comrade he rode down,
   No backward glance bestowing,
To where Three-Mile Run's deepcleft ravine
   Wound down to the frozen river

There he took his stand, and firm was his mien,
   With never a doubt or quiver.
No need of words, the die was cast—
   Soon was his life-blood streaming,
End of life, and end, at last,
Of love, of deeds, and of dreaming.

'Tis another day. The steel-mill's roar
Drowns out the tragic ending;
But men's hearts yet thrill to that tale of yore
How he died his name defending.
Whether mistaken or justified
Is a matter of opinion,
He lived by a code; by that code he died,
True son of the Old Dominion.

Another code he mingled with the code of the Virginian; he was a true son of the Old Dominion, but he was also a Quaker by long inheritance. Thus it was that he asked that he be buried in an unknown grave. Did he feel that since he had so broken one of their tenets, he would be true to another? A minister of the town sought to fill his church by announcing that he would preach a sermon on the death of Tarleton Bates, but watchful comrades of the Masonic fraternity prevented it; they were bound that their brother's wish for anonymity should be respected. His grave in Trinity churchyard, unmarked and forgotten, lies near that of Emily Neville, how near no one today knows.

The respective ages and standings of the men concerned in this affair are of some moment in understanding it. Henry Baldwin was Tarleton's best friend at that time, and like Tarleton, was inclining toward the more conservative political paths, though they had been ardent Democrats and had helped to elect Jefferson. He held an appointment from McKean as assistant state's attorney, much to the disgust of Pentland, who included him in many of his paragraphs against Tarleton. He himself had been concerned in a duel, if an early chronicler of Pittsburgh history can be taken on his own word. There has been no corroboration of the story. But as the penalty for duelling was fine and imprisonment and loss of citizenship for seven years, there was very little publicity courted on these occasions. Baldwin became congressman in 1817, and in 1830 was appointed a justice of the United States Supreme Court.
Had he not been newly married, he would undoubtedly have seconded Tarleton in the duel, but they followed the naval code, it was the unmarried who must uphold the honor of the ship.

So many of Tarleton's friends had been of the army. Meriwether Lewis was far away in the unknown country beyond the ranges, on the exploring expedition which was to make him famous. Zebulon Montgomery Pike was setting out to the Southwest on his memorable explorations; David Thomson had long since departed upon that adventure from which none can expect to return. But there was left the friend of whom Tarleton had written to his brother in such extravagant terms, "the amiable brother of her weighed with whom in my estimation the world is light, light as a feather." This was Morgan Neville, only twenty years old at the time when he was selected to arrange the preliminaries of that contest which was to end so tragically for his childhood idol. Before the year was over, he was to follow Burr down the Mississippi on an expedition as foolhardy as was this one to Three-mile Run. His description of that second expedition was to make him a fame that his later fugitive writings enhanced, and he was to know, as Tarleton had known, the pangs of poverty and failure in an alien environment.

Mr. Stewart, who was evidently the victim of a party allegiance of short duration, was not so well known in Pittsburgh as the other participants in the duel. If one may believe a subsequent issue of the Commonwealth, defending him from the description of some of the friends of Tarleton Bates, he was the son of an Irish clergyman, "not inferior to Mr. Bates in any way." The editor is sufficiently cowed by criticism to add: "Let us not be understood, however, as wishing to detract from the merits of Mr. Bates. As a man he certainly possessed many endearing and estimable qualities, he was a faithful public officer, but as a politician, he was ————." This Thomas Stewart was a merchant, the junior partner of Robinson & Stewart. He is said to have fled to Baltimore never to return and certain it is that in February the firm was advertised as dissolved.

William Wilkins, who seconded Stewart, and whose conduct is designated by Forward in his letter as an enigma, was about twenty-seven
years old at this time. He was the younger brother of Catherine Ernest, the wife of Frederick's friend and patron in Detroit. His father had been attacked as savagely by the Commonwealth as had Bates, if not so personally. After the duel William Wilkins left the country and spent nearly a year with that brother in Kentucky whose hospitality Frederick had several times enjoyed. He had been admitted to the bar at Pittsburgh in 1801, after attending Dickinson College. In 1816, ten years after the duel, he was made president of the common council of the city. He was elected to the legislature in 1820, and four years later was made president-judge of the fifth judicial district of Pennsylvania. Afterward he was successively United States Senator, candidate for the vice-presidency, minister to Russia, and secretary of war under President Tyler.

Although the editor of the Commonwealth complained that "several papers have given very erroneous accounts of the late duel," mentioning especially the "quid papers at Carlisle and Greensboro," and the United States Gazette of January 10, the only account found in any issue of the Commonwealth was the one printed under duress, and introduced as follows:

The following particulars respecting the late duel are extracted from The Pittsburgh Gazette of yesterday. From motives of delicacy, we decline, at present, making any remarks on the subject—reports, however, injurious to the character of the editor, and entirely destitute of foundation, having gone abroad, and been seized upon with avidity, by his political enemies, to blast his reputation—a vindication of his conduct will shortly be given to the public—until then he requests a suspension of public opinion.

The statement extracted is a model of brevity, and whoever prepared it (it may have been Henry Baldwin) was a master of his craft. It is addressed to Mr. Scull, the editor of the Pittsburgh Gazette, to which Tarleton had once contributed, and which had become the target of the shafts of the Tree of Liberty when that paper was established in opposition to it; shafts, it must be owned candidly, not less personal than those of the Commonwealth. The Gazette was later on the order of "neuter," as Tarleton had said, between the two parties:

A friend of the gentlemen who were seconds to Mr. Bates and Mr. Stewart, in the duel which lately occurred, to prevent improper representations of that
affair, requests you to insert the following statement, which he believes will be approved of by them both.

A duel took place on Wednesday the 8th inst. between Tarleton Bates, Esq. and Mr. Thomas Stewart, merchant, both of this place. The latter thought proper to require of Mr. Bates an apology for what he considered improper expressions, respecting him, in a publication by Mr. Bates which appeared the day before in the Tree of Liberty. No apology having been made, or agreed to, the parties, each attended by a friend, met near the Monongahela river three miles from town. Previous to their positions being taken on the ground, the friend of Mr. Stewart mentioned an apology, which would be accepted—but as it was the same in substance, as had been proposed before, and as it had been perfectly well understood before the parties went to the ground that no apology would be made by Mr. Bates, he rejected it. The distance (ten steps) was then measured, and the pistols loaded by the seconds in the presence of each other. They each fired twice. In the interval before the first and second fire, no proposition of adjustment was made. The second fire proved fatal to Mr. Bates, who received the ball of his antagonist’s pistol, in the upper part of his breast, and expired in an hour.

The behaviour of the principals on the ground was perfectly calm and undaunted, and this unfortunate transaction was conducted in conformity to the arrangements, which had been previously made, and to the strictest rules of honour.

That the malignancy of the editor of the Commonwealth was of uncommon quality is shown by the fact that, as Dahlinger phrases it, “on the day that Bates lay dead in the ravine that has ever since been haunted by his memory,” the paper brought out another reference to the slanderous charge by which he had been goaded to his death. The editor says: “I shall not engross the columns of this paper with remarks on the private character of Mr. Bates, because, that ‘already appears to the public in colours, dark as the skin of his mistress.’” Of course when this was printed, Pentland did not know whether Tarleton had accepted the challenge and he was preparing ammunition that would surely cause his opponent to adopt such measures as would give a pretext for his removal from office. That this was Pentland’s object, Bates firmly believed. The moral is all too unsatisfactory. Though the allied Federalists and Repub-
licans succeeded after Tarleton’s death in obtaining the vacant appointment for the father of the girl he had so long adored, the “Irish, or hot-head party,” as Tarleton had called them, became in time more powerful, and in 1815, in Riddle’s directory, Ephraim Pentland is listed as prothonotary of Allegheny County. The mills of the gods grind slowly, and very few people live long enough to appreciate the fineness of the meal.

**TARLETON AND EMILY NEVILLE**

It is obvious, from the locally famous double acrostic written by Tarleton Bates to Emily Neville, that they were in the habit of exchanging verses, for he refers to the “little ditty” which she “has enclosed.” This is confirmation of the guess that they exchanged letters, and if anything remains of romance, it was not through the postoffice that these missives were sent. Neither would it be likely to be through the brother, especially if her family was not enthusiastic over the friendship. From the acceptance by Presley Neville of the office of prothonotary, it may be safely asserted that his fortunes were even then on the downward path financially, and that the suit of Tarleton for his eldest daughter’s hand may not have seemed the most promising in the circle of their acquaintance. She was probably about twenty-one at this time, if Tarleton had accurately defined her age in 1798, when he said she was twelve. The difference between her age and his might still appear as a barrier to her parents, though the lovers would not have minded it. The fact that she married so soon after the death of Tarleton has been assigned as a circumstance which would lead to the conclusion that she was indifferent, but much can happen in a year, and a year is a long time to a young girl; it is possible, also, that there was pressure brought to bear from many quarters.

For confirmation of some of the surmises which must occur to one who studies the letters, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, who cast some light on Tarleton’s first love affair in Pittsburgh, may again be quoted, in the form of excerpts from his *Modern Chivalry*:

Will Snickley had come to these woods, a short time before Tom Snilloc. Snickley had absconded on account of a duel in which he had been second, and
in which the principal was killed. For though not valiant himself, Will Snickley could be the cause of valour in other men. Not altogether destitute of ingenuity, and where he had to do with a simpleton, sufficiently successful, this Snickley attacks an unsuspecting man in the Gazette; whom he advises to cow-skin the Journalist. It is done; and the Journalist challenges. The unsuspecting man declines, because the Journalist had shewn himself a blackguard. But that the unsuspecting man might have no excuse, a red hot Irishman is prompted to offer himself, as no man could dispute, but that he was a gentleman; Snickley in the meantime offering himself to be his second. The unsuspecting man could not well tell what to do, and was under the necessity of accepting; and being in love with a young lady, took her brother, a young man, for his second. It was proposed that an apology should be made which Snickley drew up, and couched in such terms, that it became impossible for the unsuspecting man challenged to adopt. Snickley took care to have the Irishman's pistol loaded skillfully, and having the first fire, shot the unsuspecting man dead.

Snickley did not stay a long time in these woods. He returned to the old settlement; and the matter blew over. Party supported him; family connections gave him countenance, the ladies danced with him; Judges supped; he was elected to office, became director of banks; and is in a fair way to be —— just what he pleases.

I will acknowledge that I have no idea, that Snickley, when he projected this duel with the unsuspecting man, had any idea of the ultimate catastrophe; or that death would ensue. There are so many chances in favour of a wound, that a wound only was contemplated; and the pistol was loaded upon the same principle that a gaff is put upon a cock, by young men of silly minds, who take delight in such amusement. But I would not have the compunctions of Snickley, for all the sensations of present pleasure, that he derived at the time from the contrivance of the tragedy.

These are undercurrents in the politics of that time that render it difficult to judge of the justice of the above parable, or its application to the Bates-Stewart duel. In an issue of March 26, the Commonwealth editor says: “Mr. Baldwin is the public prosecutor of the county, sworn to maintain the peace—he knew the whole affair of the duel from beginning to end—advised the assault on the editor of this paper—offered to be the second of his friend—prepared the instruments of destruction
In fact, Pentland seemed to be still eager to draw Baldwin into the net. Perhaps they wanted his office, too.

In the same issue, Baldwin is accused of bowing to "General Wilkins." This is the former quartermaster general, John Wilkins, Jr., who, as was the Pittsburgh custom started in the case of O'Hara, was known as "General" forever after holding that not very warlike office. John Wilkins, Jr., was the older brother of William Wilkins. There were eleven children of John Wilkins, Sr., by his first wife, of whom William was the youngest son; eleven children also by his second wife. In so large a family, there would be considerable room for difference in political opinions, but they seem to have hung together in social matters.

It was January 27, 1806, when Richard wrote to his mother, giving the particulars of the fatal duel, and inclosing a copy of the Tree of Liberty of the fourteenth of January, which came out with mourning borders. He had received a letter from Henry Baldwin, and it was thus that he obtained the copy of the Tree. There is no record of any letter from Frederick. Later on he kept a letterbook, but none has survived from his Detroit experiences. On the third of February, 1806, Charles wrote to his mother; he also had received a letter from Baldwin. Charles communicates some particulars, not many, about the will, and says that he will soon be in "Belmont," when he will tell his mother more about it. He closes with this sentence: "I believe the affair is neither better nor worse than what we before conceived it. Accept the dutiful assurance of my most sincere affection."

About a week afterward, Richard again writes to his mother. He is very despondent, though he claims to be in perfect health. He has evidently been deeply affected by Tarleton's death, and wishes to go to Pittsburgh; he thinks that either Charles or he should go. As far as known, neither of them did go.

The situation with regard to the duel was a particularly harassing one for Frederick. He had lived in such intimacy with the Ernest family, he was so indebted to them, he had such affection for them and their children, yet it was Mrs. Ernest's brother who was accused of having fomented the trouble that had led to the duel. There is a vague hint in his letters of a misunderstanding with Mrs. Ernest at this time, but it was
quickly adjusted. Her situation was scarcely less happy than his. Her husband was in disgrace, and had gone to the seat of government to adjust his affairs. His office had been given to one whom they had looked upon as a friend. Frederick could not well desert the little family, so betrayed, in the hour of their need, when they had stood by him so faithfully through all the years of his loneliness.

Tarleton had somewhat reproached his brother for not giving him a better account of the fire in which Frederick had suffered so great a loss in June, 1805, but other accounts leave no doubt that it was so great a calamity that it paralyzed the inhabitants of Detroit with dismay, and made it hard for them adequately to describe what had happened.

Solomon Sibley, a friend of Frederick's, had married a cousin of Mrs. Ernest's, a young Marietta woman, Sarah Sproat. She was visiting her parents in the Western Reserve when the fire occurred. From her husband's letter to her, it is manifest that the leading citizens of the town had a great deal to occupy their time besides writing letters. He says that they had been exerting themselves since the fire to relieve the distressed. He speaks also of the arrival of the governor, General Hull, and says that not a single house is ready for his reception or accommodation.

The Ernest farm, "Springwells," was not disturbed by the fire. No doubt Mrs. Ernest did her best to help out her neighbors. From the intimacy shown in letters later written by Ann Hull, the governor's daughter, and some others written by Anthony Ernest, one of the older sons of Captain Ernest, it seems likely that part of the governor's family were for a time received into the Ernest home. The governor, as soon as it could be arranged, built a very fine mansion, but this took time.

Left in charge of the farm by her husband, and with so many cares, Mrs. Ernest must often have consulted their old friend Frederick. Thus, as well as through his official relations with her father, the young judge and the governor's daughter became very well known to each other. Like Tarleton, he found it easier to fall in love with a Federalist than a Jacobin, and in his case it was doubly easy, as his real inclinations, through his Detroit associations, were on the side of the "friends of order," as the Federalists called themselves.
Ann Hull must have been a most delightful girl, and it is indeed tragic that she and Frederick could not have met at a happier time. He had been bankrupted by the fire, and his friend, upon whom he could have depended as upon a brother, was in disgrace and poverty. True, Frederick had his appointment as judge, but his salary was so small that he would have needed some other income of very substantial proportions before he could ask the lovely and cultured girl from Massachusetts, whose father was reputedly wealthy, to share his life with him. The menace of poverty stalked between him and the object of his affections, as it had baffled the realization of the dreams of his brothers, Tarleton and Richard.

Charles alone seemed destined to marriage, and in his case a belated one. On July 19, 1806, James writes to Frederick: “Charles is married to Mary H. Miller, daughter of Colonel Heath J. Miller.” He speaks with the scorn of a youth of nineteen of the disparity in their ages, she being but sixteen. Charles, however, was only thirty-four. James also says that Fleming has been to “Belmont” to take Edward to Northumberland, to be sent to school at Charlotte Hall Academy in Maryland. The prosperous Fleming was quite ready, it seems, to do his share in helping out the younger members. It must have been hard for the mother, so soon after Tarleton’s death, to let her youngest go. Education meant much to that family, however, and she was a Spartan, and sensible enough not to withhold good from her son for the gratification of her own affectionate instincts. James’s letter is from Nassau Hall, Princeton, where he was then studying, his career at Yale, where the “extravagant dog” had dazzled the thrifty New Englanders and grieved his hard working brother by his expenditures of over $595 in one year, having terminated the year before.

There was plenty besides romance to occupy Frederick, and even news from home must have taken second place to the exciting events that were occurring in Detroit. The judges and the new governor were busily engaged in plans for rebuilding Detroit along lines copied by Judge Woodward from the plan for the national capital, and were having many discussions on the subject, as they did not by any means agree. The governor had also started a banking scheme destined to make him
and everyone else a great deal of trouble. About August 18, Frederick was on the island of Machinac, and addressed the grand jury there. This was as long and involved an address as his earlier one in Detroit, but he discovered the next day that so few of them understood English, that he made short work of his introductory remarks on that occasion.

The Indian-like stoicism with which the French voyageurs and traders were wont to conceal their impish enjoyment of a ridiculous situation probably carried them through the long harangue of the grandiloquent young jurist, without apparent disturbance of the gravity of the occasion.

It was after he returned to Detroit that Frederick received a letter from Henry Baldwin, who was charged by Tarleton's will with authority over the property left for James's education. Baldwin had written him in April that he would see James soon, as he was on his way to Philadelphia. This last letter calls Frederick's attention to an account enclosed, and says: "You will see by this that James has been very extravagant. I remonstrated with him... I found him not much disposed to curtail his expenses. Your brother's intentions were to have limited him to $450. a year." Baldwin also expresses the happiness it will give him to gain the confidence of Frederick, the "brother of my dearest and best friend." The account referred to appears to be the following paper:

Your account in your brother's book is as follows:

Frederick Bates, Dr.
1804, July 19  To half expenses of James, $595 till now... $297.50
To half Yale expenses.
Cr. 1804, Dec. 5  By bank notes on account of James... $125
1805  By prize of 4246 Catholic 20$... 20
1806 June  By draft on Mr. Madison... 200

Expenditures for James Bates
From 1 May, 1802 to 19 July, 1804, boarding, clothing,
schooling, etc. at $200... $445.
1804, July 19,  For a horse, saddle and bridle... 46.
Enclosed to S. P. Staples... 50.
Gave James on account of expenses 75$ of which he is to [illegible] to Mr. Staples what remains after paying expenses [illegible]... 75.
Sundries at New Haven $15, saddlebags, 4.50, umbrella, 6.25 .......................... 25.75
Cr.  Mr. Staples—Cash of James .......................... 90.
to be received by do.
1804, Nov. 27, Enclosed to James for do .................. 100.
1805, Aug. 9, Enclosed to S. P. Staples draft on Bank of
Penna. .......................... 150.
23, Enclosed to J. Madison to be given to
Oct. 25, Enclosed to S. P. Staples by post ............... 200.
Do. to James by Fayette Neville ............... 40.
29, Cash by C. F. Bates .......................... 75.
Nov. 19, To draft enclosed to James on Penna Bank ............... 100.
Dec. 31, To a note ten dollars by post ............... 10.
1806, Jan. 8, To a draft on Bank of Penna. enclosed to
S. P. Staples .......................... 104.

The following sums have been sent him by me.

1806, Jan. 31, Cash sent by post .......................... 40.
March 7, Cash sent by post .......................... 10.
April 4, Cash sent by post .......................... 20.
19, Do. from Phila. .......................... 10.
Gave him in Phila. .......................... 30.
Do .......................... 20.
June 17, sent by post a draft on bank of Penna .......................... 200.
Aug. 25, By an order on S. M. Thompson .......................... 100.

Whether this letter, or a desire to aid Ernest, or some business connected with his territorial office induced Frederick to go to Washington at this time has not been determined, but in December, 1806, nearly a year after Tarleton’s death, Frederick was in Pittsburgh on his way to see the President and other officers of the republic. He was accompanied as far as Pittsburgh by Anthony, Captain Ernest’s son. It is probable that Anthony was the second son, John Doughty being the oldest, born while his father was commandant at Fort Pitt. Anthony was to remain in Pittsburgh with his mother’s relatives. It is from Anthony’s later letters to Frederick, from Pittsburgh, that the romance of Ann Hull and Frederick can be pieced into narrative form.

THE BURR EXPEDITION

A letter from Judge Bates to his colleague on the bench, Augustus B. Woodward, was found among the Woodward papers. He says that he
finds all Pittsburgh in commotion, as Colonel Burr’s enterprise appears to be matured for execution, that large supplies of provisions are loading on board the boats for the supply of his troops in the lower countries. Natchez will be the rendezvous, but their object and destination are altogether unknown, except to a few, perhaps. Frederick speaks of the most intelligent with whom he had conversed (this would of course include his brother’s intimate friend and second, Morgan Neville) as believing that the army would consist of ten thousand men who were to remain in the neighborhood of the Spanish settlements until the daily expected declaration of war or other political events, which events would authorize the government to justify the preparations and avow them as their own. He states that most of the more prominent young men in the vicinity are planning on going.

This account coincides with that of Henry Marie Brackenridge, as given in his Recollections of Persons and Places in the West. He says of Burr: “His projects were discussed in our little senate [a club of young law students], and at the dinner-table [at Mrs. Earle’s] for months before the attempt was made to carry them into execution, and were as well known to us as to anyone else, except Burr himself, or Wilkinson. Whatever subordinate plan Burr may have had, I am well satisfied that the main object was the liberation of Mexico, and the splendid fortunes which would be acquired by success.” Young Brackenridge scouts the idea that the separation of the West was ever discussed in Pittsburgh, or any design on New Orleans. A study of the characters engaged by the expedition in Pittsburgh assures that Bates and Brackenridge were right as to his followers. But when the shadow of war became dimmer, Burr was reluctant to give up the scheme; he had embarked upon it with ulterior motives; in case of war, these could have been justified; as the war clouds melted into thin air, he endeavored to carry out his plan, which had enlisted officers and patriotic civilians, without letting them know that the real need had passed. H. M. Brackenridge says that the idea was constantly held out that the scheme was approved by the President. Wilkinson had been ordered to make certain moves which might have precipitated war. Delayed by the critical illness of his wife, the commander-in-chief was kept from the scene just long enough to make such action seem less warlike than had been intended. He adopted pacific
measures, in response to intimations of the disposition of the Spaniards, and under instructions from Jefferson, who knew that the United States was not prepared to beard so formidable a rival as Spain, especially with the alliance with Great Britain or France which might result. Word came to Burr to give up his expedition, but he persisted.

Morgan Neville was one of the most enthusiastic of Burr’s colonists. His father, the prothonotary, and another officer of the civil government, Judge Samuel Roberts, were called to the bedside of Colonel George Morgan, who, though not related to the Neville’s, felt it his duty to warn Morgan Neville’s father both as a parent and a magistrate. The prothonotary and Judge Roberts wrote a joint letter to the President, warning him that they suspected, from what Colonel George Morgan had told them, some plot not far from treason.

President Jefferson had his investigators on the trail, John Graham, a man of unquestioned loyalty, being the most important. Jefferson had received word from dozens of men, among them General Wilkinson, that the project was turning from its first innocent appearance to more devious paths, but he was not able to move a step to head off so popular a man as Burr (one whom he would be suspected of ruining by design) without positive evidence. So it was that “all Pittsburgh was in commotion,” so it was that Morgan Neville and other young men of prominent families were allowed to depart, for when Presley Neville’s letter was left unanswered, it was taken for granted that there must be no opposition on the part of the government. Leading families were proud to entertain the Vice President, who is said by the editor of the Commonwealth to have stayed at O’Hara’s while in town. The succeeding generations preferred to forget that, and claim Louis Philippe instead. The same editor also states that there were “no Demo-Republicans in it, all high-toned gentry,” and this accords with the accounts of H. M. Brackenridge and Frederick Bates. Bates speaks of them as “the young men of this vicinity respectable by birth, education and property” (again the use of that word respectable as though it meant important or prominent). Brackenridge relates that on his arrival at Carlisle on a visit at this time, he found his father very uneasy about him. “He had heard of the movements of Aaron Burr at Pittsburgh, and was apprehensive that I had joined the expedition with other young men of the place.” No
doubt, the old judge, who had always been a faithful correspondent of Jefferson, favored the President with an account of this interview, and was able to draw from it ideas of which his son was innocent.

When Frederick reached Washington, he must have been surprised that so much was known of Burr's movements. To the proper officers, he was able to offer his knowledge of the situation at Pittsburgh. That his errand had been partly to find out about Ernest's continued absence, and to do what he could to help him, subsequent letters indicate unquestionably. For this, his interview would be with Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, a comparative stranger to him, and not with his father's old friends and kin, Jefferson and Madison. The warning given to him by Gallatin was certainly intended to separate him from his Federalist friends. It is obvious that Jefferson and Madison were determined that he should no longer be exposed to the contaminating influences of the Ernests, the Hulls, and other more or less anti-Republican elements at Detroit. A man was wanted on the Mississippi who could be depended upon, and this young Virginian needed to be removed from his old environment. Meriwether Lewis, his brother's intimate friend, had been chosen to be governor of the Upper Louisiana Territory, but could not at once take this office. Dr. Joseph Browne, then the secretary of the territory, was a brother-in-law of Burr; Frederick Bates was directed to divest him of his office, and occupy it himself, acting till Lewis arrived as both secretary and governor. "Circumstances which I knew not how to control prevented my immediate return to Detroit," writes Frederick. "I have been confided in beyond my merits and will repay that confidence by a continued fidelity." His commission was dated February 4, 1807.

In this connection Frederick apparently sought appointments of Detroit friends as officers of the territory, but in vain, for he writes: "I have already been admonished on this score—in gentle terms, it is true; but in a style sufficiently peremptory, to prevent my making again the fruitless experiment"; and in another letter, "the Secretary of the Treasury, to whom alone I could write, did not expect to hear from me on such subjects."

Later letters show something of the affection for Ann Hull which he
felt at the time of his departure for Washington, and the regret with which he gave up his dream of sometime winning her for his wife. Thus was added sorrow for his entrance into the new and untried field, where he was admonished to tread so carefully.

There is no mention of his seeing James while he was east of the Alleghenies. A letter to him from James, dated February 9, 1807, at Nassau Hall, Princeton, comments on his stay at “Belmont.” James says he is “glad to be counselled” by Frederick. Charles has been cool toward him; “a rough hewn mortal,” “not suave,” are phrases which James chooses to describe their oldest brother. James expects to visit Pittsburgh “next October.”

Almost as soon as it was known in Detroit that Frederick had obtained so important a position in Louisiana, requests began to come to him from his friends there, asking about prospects in the new territory. Abijah Hull, a surveyor and a nephew of the governor of Michigan Territory, wrote on March 7, 1807, that he “does not think prospects in Detroit as good as in Louisiana.” Joseph Watson, who succeeded Peter Audrain in 1807 as secretary to the governor, and held the office for seven years, wrote Frederick to inquire about his chances of appointment as receiver of public monies in place of Bates. He added: “More than one person here is in fond expectation of seeing you here as soon as your business will permit.” He asks: “What are prospects for a young man in your new abode?”

FREDERICK IN ST. LOUIS

From Frederick’s manuscript letterbook, the date of his arrival in St. Louis is ascertained as April 1, 1807. On April 8, he was sending for the following books, which he deemed essential to his proper understanding of the duties of his new position:

Dallas’ Reports; Washington’s Reports; Burrows’ Reports; Gilbert’s Law of Evidence; Encyc. of Practice; Lilly’s Entries; Baccaria on Crimes and Punishments. Also Hume’s History of England with continuation, and Blair’s Lectures on Belles Letters, 2 vols. The Travels of Anarcharisis the Younger into Greece, also ordered, might be put down as lighter reading.
It is probable that it was after he had left "Belmont," and was on his way down the Mississippi to St. Louis, that Ann Hull, on May 12, 1807, took up her pen to let him know what was happening in Detroit. The first words reveal that there had been some kind of misunderstanding between them, perhaps after he left Detroit, and knowing the proud nature of each, and their affection for each other, it is easy for one to see how such misunderstandings might have arisen, under all the circumstances.

She writes: "I had determined when last I wrote you that you should not receive another line from me until by your frequent letters I should be convinced that mine would give you pleasure, and this determination would still remain unbroken had it not been the request of Mrs. Ernest that I should act her secretary,—her time being so much occupied with preparations to leave the country that she has not one moment to spare to so worthy a friend as she considers you.

"The trunk that you left in her care she will take with her to Pittsburgh and see that Mr. Denny forwards it to you. With respect to your leaving the country she says she believes you have sacrificed your happiness at the shrine of ambition. She regrets that her friend whose attachments she had always believed were so strong suffered them to be so much weakened by the fickle goddess of fortune, but although she censures you in this respect, she still feels the same interest in your future prosperity and happiness as ever. She says also that if you are not too much taken up with the bells of St. Louis [sic], she shall expect to see you at some future day at Pittsburgh, but it is said here by some that you are married. If so, we may despair of seeing you. We wish you would give us a particular description of her person, as we have heard that she is very tall and perfectly Spanish in the rest of her appearance." Why does this suggest that Ann Hull was short and plump and fair? And was she the secretary only, or did she put into Catherine Ernest's letter the questions and the comments of Ann Hull?

She tells him that "poor Ann," by which name she means the little daughter of the Ernest's who is usually called Nancy, has been very ill, "which will prevent Mrs. Ernest from setting off today, as she had intended. Her situation is the most unhappy of anyone I ever knew. She has confessed lately to her friend that she knows nothing at all of her
husband. By selling the remainder of her furniture she has been enabled to pay all her debts. She is a charming woman, and I shall feel the loss of her society extremely. Do, my dear friend, fix some period for your return if it is in your power. No situation or stile [sic] of living could be unpleasant to me were I but with you. It is said here that you have made a most happy exchange. Judge G— is continually lamenting that it was not his good fortune—he is a poor creature and is thought so by every man of sense in this country.

"Farewell, my dear friend, and be assured that no cordial can be administered to the heart of your friend equal to that of hearing from you.—Ann Hull."

Could any girl say more?

And if poor Frederick could only have written as freely as his brother Edward did, over fifty years later, when he explained his brother's reasons for going to St. Louis, stating that "he was transferred against his will"! But now Frederick could not tell Ann that he must be in that quarter to stifle what remained of the Burr conspiracy, and that it had been put to him as a sacred duty to guard that frontier from the effects of treasonable plots. He must suffer her to think that it was ambition that had led him hither, and must make no reply to her reproaches.

That he too suffered, later letters to Anthony Ernest and to his own sister Nancy, prove beyond a doubt. But here and now he is silent. There is for him no other course.

On July 20, 1807, Frederick is obliged to write to James that he is surprised, mortified and astonished at receiving from Baldwin a letter on James's expulsion from Princeton. He laments that James has been unfortunate in being associated with young men born to an inheritance of property, and "to beds of down and roses." He reminds him that "our mother and sisters are dependent on our elder brother, and are entitled to the remainder of Tarleton's estate, after your expenses are economically defrayed. You might give a lustre to your family, your education has been liberal. Remember the privations of Charles, Tarleton, Fleming and myself. Baldwin assures me you have genius and an excellent heart." He implores James to reform.

James had written to Frederick from Richmond on June 6, but
Baldwin’s letter arrived first. James’s letter puts as good a face on the matter as possible. "Three of our fellows had, unjustly, in our opinions, been subjected to collegiate punishment, dismissed. We wrote short remonstrance, ‘respectfully requesting reconsideration’ of their cases. Our conduct was construed into an act of rebellion. The examinations were to begin the next day and the vacation would have commenced within a week from that time. The faculty immediately dismissed college for five weeks—knowing that they could not punish all of us, (or if punished it would be no disgrace as 11/12ths of the students had signed.) A committee was appointed . . . I was one of the committee . . . we, the committee, were expelled. I could have been reinstated by renouncing our compact and making abject concessions. Am now writing in the Treasurer’s office . . . shall commence study of law in a few days.” He adds that the trial of Burr is the theme of conversation, and that large bets are pending that Wilkinson will not appear.

In the history of Princeton University, this disturbance is known as the "Riots of 1807," and is substantially as related in James’s letter. About one hundred and twenty-five of the two hundred students left, and only about fifty-seven returned. Several, it is said, and James was among them, went to William and Mary College for a time, but trouble there suspended their activities. It is quite certain that James did not graduate from William and Mary. The historian of Princeton comments on the excellent careers that some of them achieved. One was Andrew Hunter Holmes, the Mackinac hero of the War of 1812, for whom Fort Holmes is named. Fayette Neville and Neville B. Craig, old friends of James from Pittsburgh, were among the “rioters.”

By September 6, 1807, James had received Frederick’s letter of reproach, and writes again to explain his position, saying that Mr. Baldwin never intimated to him his disapprobation.

There is a letter of September 10, from Detroit, which shows that although Frederick was almost bankrupt at the time himself, he had taken what means he could to safeguard his old friend’s family. It is from Joseph Hosford, a merchant of Detroit, to Frederick, and says: "Mrs. Ernest’s account has been paid by Mr. Brush, all but ten dollars, and as I cannot lose that sum and you made yourself accountable to me
for the full amount of her account, pay Robert Sanders, who has Sanders and Ogden's business."

George Wallace, another old Detroit friend, the one who had shared with Frederick the scorn of the haughty daughter of the Navarres' in the matter of the tobacco juice, had gone to Vincennes after the fire. He writes now to inform Frederick that Meriwether Lewis' delay in reaching his post is said to be due to a love affair with a handsome Virginia lady. This was not calculated to soothe Frederick, enmeshed in the thousand and one complications of the new government, and awaiting with anxiety the arrival of his superior.

A letter from Caroline Matilda, written from "Belmont" on July 17, had given Frederick various items of news. Since his visit, their sister Margaret (who had married John Spears) has borne a little girl, Susan Matilda Ann. Caroline Matilda tells Frederick that Edward, who was with his brother Fleming at Northumberland at the time of Frederick's visit, "laments very much not seeing you."

About this time, also, Frederick becomes aware of the articles published in the *Aurora* in Philadelphia, and in the *Commonwealth* in Pittsburgh, articles written by an anonymous contributor, attacking the administration of the governor and judges of the Michigan Territory during the time just after the fire. These attacks involved Frederick, and were a source of much worry to him.

On September 15, William B. Foster was in St. Louis, and brought word of the arrival of the Ernest family in Pittsburgh. Mrs. Ernest had at length given up hope of her husband's returning to Detroit. Her intention had been revealed to Frederick in the letter received from Nancy Hull, and she had reached Pittsburgh, and the shelter of her relatives' homes, sometime during the summer.

Frederick takes this opportunity to send to his old-time friend a letter, dated September 15, which he is careful to word so as not to confirm any suspicions she may have that she will never see her husband again:

Dear Madam,

Mr. Foster, with whom I became acquainted in Pittsburgh, has unexpectedly visited our country. I cannot omit the occasion which his return affords me of renewing to you those assurances of inviolable friendship which I have so often
made. I never reflect on the past without the deepest regrets, nor look forward to the future without the most painful solicitations.

How unaccountable are the events of this world! The occurrences of the last ten years appear like the illusory creations of fancy, rather than the incidents of real life. Everything is distinctly remembered, and yet the whole appears to be involved in a mysterious cloud, which my reason can neither penetrate nor dispel.

Where is Captain Ernest—the husband, the father, the friend? Whose presence was happiness; whose departure was accompanied with a tear; and whose return has been expected from day to day, until the soul sickens with despair and ceases to confide in those vain and empty hopes in which it has already been so fatally disappointed. He is laboring, perhaps, in the rich mine of commerce, and will, at an unexpected moment, bless his family with the unexpected rewards of his industry.

Pray God it may be so, and surely there is no solution of his unaccountable absence so probable as this.

Fortitude is strengthened by exercise, and the many distinguished evidences which you have given of your superiority over fortune and accident of every kind, convince me that you cannot always be unhappy. Human life is a checkered scene in which pain and pleasure continually succeed each other and this succession we can as little control as the vicissitudes of rain and sunshine. Then why repine at them, since they are the lot of mortals. I pity those whose embarrassments are drawn upon them by their own follies and indiscretions; but those like yourself who have nothing with which to reproach themselves, may preserve their serenity and happiness in despite of the adverse accidents from which all the amiable virtues have been insufficient to guard them.

When I next visit Pittsburgh, I shall take the liberty of visiting a family to whose hospitalities I am so largely indebted, at which time I hope to prevail upon you to give up your little son, who, through the partial friendship of his father, bears my name. To Captain Ernest and to you I owe a debt of friendship which you must permit me to repay to your child. Will you not let me hear from you? Your children are all dear to me. Susan and Nancy were sweet girls... When I ask you to write, it is not that you should yourself take that trouble. Anthony will say whatever [you wish him to]... I hope you will oblige me in that.

William B. Foster, who carried this letter back to the sad woman in Pittsburgh, was a partner of her sister's husband, Major Denny. Nancy Denny, who had visited her in Detroit in the days when all looked hope-
ful to them, was gone now—she had died a year before Catherine Ernest returned to Pittsburgh.

JAMES AND HIS GUARDIAN, HENRY BALDWIN

On October 16, James writes another characteristic letter. He has been in council with Brother Charles. It is suggested that Frederick become guardian for James in place of Henry Baldwin. He says naively: "I have by nature a very stubborn disposition, can be persuaded to almost anything, but not coerced, and never could I conceive that any merit attached to acts unless they were spontaneous." How James would have enjoyed himself under some of the advanced systems of education in contemplation today. He had been allowed by the kindly Tarleton to work out his own system of discipline. He might have been all right had there not been so many other people in the world who believed that they, too, must never be coerced. Strange to say, these are not the people who produce milleniums.

James also writes that he has lately seen Richard, and that the "Belmont" family are well.

There is a letter to George Wallace, written by Frederick on November 14, 1807. "After a long interval of mutual forgetfulness, I was much gratified by yours of 20 Sep. handed me by Mr. McGiffin. His being your friend entitled him to every attention in my power to bestow; his own worth will conciliate the regards of all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance. You were expected at our place, or I should sooner have written. It would have given me much pleasure to renew at St. Louis the intimacy which formerly subsisted at Detroit. I beg you to make my respects to Mrs. Wallace."

Frederick’s acceptance of the post at St. Louis, with the paucity of explanation for the move, had created some misunderstandings in the minds of his old Detroit friends; they felt themselves deserted by one who should have remained with them after the disaster. He was sensitive, too, about his inability to be more explicit in giving his reasons for the acceptance of his new office. One by one, he and his friends renewed their old relations, and their letters were really of great value in assuaging the grief and disappointment that was his lot.
After the receipt of James’s letter of explanation about the riot and expulsion incident, Frederick took a less severe view of that youthful indiscretion. On November 15, he encloses for James’ perusal a letter written by Henry Baldwin in which the latter says he does not wish James to return to Nassau Hall. Frederick does not want James to let Baldwin know he has seen the letter. James must have accused Baldwin of not sending him all the money he should, for Frederick says, referring to Tarleton’s estate: “Mismanagement was talked of but it came from Mr. Baldwin’s enemies. I paid little attention to it. The fairness of Mr. Baldwin ought not to be disputed lightly, yet it might be proper for some of us to inform ourselves on these matters, for your sake and our mother’s. I beg you to recollect if you can the moneys disbursed for you by the executor. It may be necessary in the adjustment of his accounts.”

This readiness to believe James and to question the administration of Baldwin reveals the hold of his brother upon Frederick’s affections. Otherwise he would have remembered that James had been just as extravagant during Tarleton’s lifetime. Tarleton had never had much spare money, while his investments were chiefly in land, which at this time would have been very difficult to turn into an income of any kind, although if held, they might in time become of value.

There is a letter from William B. Foster saying that Frederick’s barrel, and the trunk referred to in Ann Hull’s letter, are now in Pittsburgh, and asking instructions about forwarding them to Massac on their way to St. Louis. The receipt of these was a genuine joy to Frederick, as he had long missed the papers and books they contained. There can be no better evidence of the nebulousness of his plans when he left Detroit, than the traces shown in later letters of the value of these papers in settling his affairs.

On January 9, 1808, James, still in the treasurer’s office at Richmond, sends more complaints of his guardian: “Baldwin promised $200 annually at Richmond, only $60 received . . . his statement of expenses exceeded my own . . . I know I am not accurate . . . meet with many interruptions to study at Richmond. Baldwin has urged more foundation for law studies. Charles wants me to study and go in partnership
[with him]. I have not yet determined whether I should accede to it." The colossal condescension expressed in this last sentence is a good key by which to read James's character. Charles should have been honored indeed by his brother's consenting even to consider a course so benevolent!

In the meantime, the "impertinences in the Aurora," as Frederick had called them in a former letter to Judge Woodward, continued. They had caused dissension and suspicion to take the place of the former friendly rivalries of Detroit. Poor Joseph Wilkinson, Ernest's successor, had been removed, and on account of failing to give satisfaction in the settling of his accounts, was confined in the jail at Detroit on an execution at the suit of the United States. His wife was in far worse trouble than was poor Catherine Ernest, albeit the latter was to suffer longer. The manner of the United States in dealing with deficient public servants, as exemplified in the case of Ernest, Wilkinson, and another unfortunate debtor, John Reddick (an army contractor who was ruined by the demand of the government for its pay in gold, although he had received his in continental currency), suggest that it is necessary to study these cases carefully in order to arrive at a just conclusion.

The anonymous letters in the Aurora and the Commonwealth continued to hurl all sorts of charges at all the territorial officers, past and present. These squibs were posted up on buildings in Detroit, in case all could not read them in the papers. Detroit had no newspaper of her own at that time. Judge Woodward manfully defended Bates against any animadversions and sought to turn the attacks away from his colleagues. But it was like fighting in the dark, no one knew who was the assailant. Each suspected another, and rumors were constantly causing fresh breaches of friendship. Frederick Bates read the Aurora, if not the Commonwealth, and letters coming to him from Detroit kept him aware of the progress of the affair. Nothing shows better than do these newspaper letters the difficulties which must have beset Frederick in Detroit after the arrival of Governor Hull. When consideration is given to the fact that his admiration of the governor's daughter made it exceedingly difficult to oppose her father in some of his odd schemes, it appears that his course must have been attended by overwhelming embarrassments.
On April 27, 1808, Judge Woodward was able to announce who was the real author of this mass of accusation and invective. It was John Gentle, a native of Scotland, a British subject. This man who “had no rights in Detroit, donation or otherwise,” had been stirring up all the dissatisfaction with the allotments of the parcels of land given in exchange for the old properties owned before the fire, on much the same difficult to oppose her father in some of his odd schemes, it appears that his could by boring from within.

One of the misunderstandings which this state of affairs at Detroit had produced came near resulting in a duel for Frederick. Judge Griffin descended upon St. Louis in August, 1807, breathing vengeance upon him, but upon their meeting, each disavowed the threats which he had heard credited to the other, and their old animosities and disagreements (Bates had nearly always supported the opposite side in their former association) were forgotten. The account of this incident in a letter of Frederick’s to Richard does not reveal any alarm on Frederick’s part, but he does solemnly advise Richard that in a similar emergency he should choose a wise second. To his second, Frederick attributes the fortunate termination of this disagreement.

George Hoffman, Frederick’s one-time associate on the land board in Detroit, who had married “little Miss Audrain,” Peter’s daughter Margaret, wrote him from Mackinac in August, 1807. This young man was from Virginia, though from a very different part of it, and from a very different environment than that of the Bates boys. He came from Woodstock, whence Peter Muhlenberg had led his loyal German troops out of the church to fight for liberty in the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Hoffman’s father and mother had come on to the Western Waters from the valley of the Shenandoah, and settled there with their numerous family. George had received the collectorship at Mackinac that Tarleton had once coveted for Frederick. Had Frederick availed himself of some of the good advice that Hoffman sent him about the British traders whom Hoffman knew at Mackinac, he would have been spared many mistakes, and the United States would have been the gainer.

[To be continued]