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# Our Rebellious Neighbors : Virginia's Border Counties During Pennsylvania's Whiskey Rebellion

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# OUR REBELLIOUS NEIGHBORS

## Virginia's Border Counties During Pennsylvania's Whiskey Rebellion

by KEVIN T. BARKSDALE\*

WESTERN Pennsylvania's 1794 Whiskey Rebellion has achieved almost mythic status. Across the rolling hills of western Pennsylvania, the infamous insurrection remains a celebrated event, with local parades, festivals, and reenactments occurring annually to mark the occasion's anniversary. Symbolically, the event has come to represent a plethora of nostalgic and patriotic notions in the nation's collective memory. Participants in so-called "Whiskey Rebellion Festivals" are often drawn to the recreations of frontier life, the celebration of America's tradition of resistance against governmental tyranny, and above all else, the opportunity to assert vigorously their pride in being Pennsylvanians. Western Pennsylvanians have clearly embraced their rebellious forbears and the historical moment that occurred in the region.

The Whiskey Insurrection has continued to capture the attention of scholars, inspiring a remarkable amount of historical analysis. Several monographs, dozens of articles, and countless local studies have chronicled the events and analyzed the importance of this moment in time. Almost all of this historical scrutiny focuses on the epicenter of the rebellion, the "four western Pennsylvania counties in a state of rebellion." These counties were Washington, Fayette, Allegheny, and Westmoreland.<sup>1</sup> Indisputably, the vast majority of incidents related to the passionate resistance to the 1791 excise tax on distilled spirits were concentrated in this section of western Pennsylvania, but the Whiskey Rebellion did not occur in a vacuum. Pennsylvanians were not the sole participants in the historical drama, nor did the effects, sen-

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\*Kevin T. Barksdale is a doctoral candidate at West Virginia University. He would like to thank Ken Fones-Wolf, Ronald L. Lewis, Mary Lou Lustig, Kelli D. Cadden, the staff of the West Virginia and Regional History Collection, and the anonymous readers of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for their suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> This number of Pennsylvania counties should be expanded to include Bedford as well. The terms "rebellion" and "insurrection" are used interchangeably in this article.

timents, and resistance sparked by Alexander Hamilton's whiskey tax remain contained within Pennsylvania's borders. The events surrounding the Whiskey Rebellion had a dramatic effect on the emerging United States as a whole. Nowhere outside western Pennsylvania was the backlash against the whiskey excise felt more strongly than in the Virginia counties that bordered Pennsylvania. Residents of Virginia's border counties, principally Ohio, Harrison, and Monongalia, became embroiled in Pennsylvania's Whiskey Insurrection, and in the process they faced many of the same social, political, economic, and personal consequences experienced by Pennsylvania's western settlers.

Before the publication of Thomas P. Slaughter's *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* and Steven Boyd's *The Whiskey Rebellion: Past and Present Perspectives*, the Whiskey Rebellion had long been viewed as an isolated occurrence on Pennsylvania's western frontier. Slaughter devotes part one of his work to the development and synthesis of a broad national backdrop against which post-Revolutionary frontier unrest might be understood. The local and regional tensions surrounding North and South Carolina's Regulators, North Carolina and Virginia's Franklinites, and eighteenth-century statehood movements in Vermont and Maine demonstrated many of the same historical characteristics, stemmed from similar economic, political, and social motivations, and resulted in strikingly similar outcomes to those of western Pennsylvania's Whiskey Rebels. Additionally, essays by historians Mary K. Bonsteel Tachau and Roland M. Baumann, collected in Steven Boyd's edited work, illustrate the extensive nature of anti-excise sentiment in post-Revolutionary America. These works "expand the geographic perimeters" of the rebellion, illustrating that resistance to the excise tax also occurred in Kentucky, Maryland, and the Carolinas.<sup>2</sup> The efforts of these historians to expand their historical scope beyond the confines of western Pennsylvania provide much of the inspiration for this essay.

The response to the excise tax and the effects of western Pennsylvania's Whiskey Rebellion were particularly dramatic in the Virginia border counties of Ohio, Harrison, and Monongalia. Virginia's portion of the Monongahela Valley during the years surrounding the Whiskey Insurrection bore a remarkable resemblance to the tumultuous communities in western Pennsylvania. The Virginia border counties were unquestionably entangled in the

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York, 1986), pp. 3-8; Steven R. Boyd, ed., *The Whiskey Rebellion: Past and Present Perspectives* (Westport, Conn., 1985), pp. 97-118, 135-64, 183-85. Slaughter's introduction offers a brief summary of the historical context within which the Whiskey Rebellion must be viewed. Mary K. Bonsteel Tachau's essay is entitled "A New Look at the Whiskey Rebellion," and Roland M. Baumann's essay is entitled "Philadelphia's Manufacturers and the Excise Tax of 1794: The Forging of the Jeffersonian Coalition." Both essays are contained in Boyd, ed., *Whiskey Rebellion*.



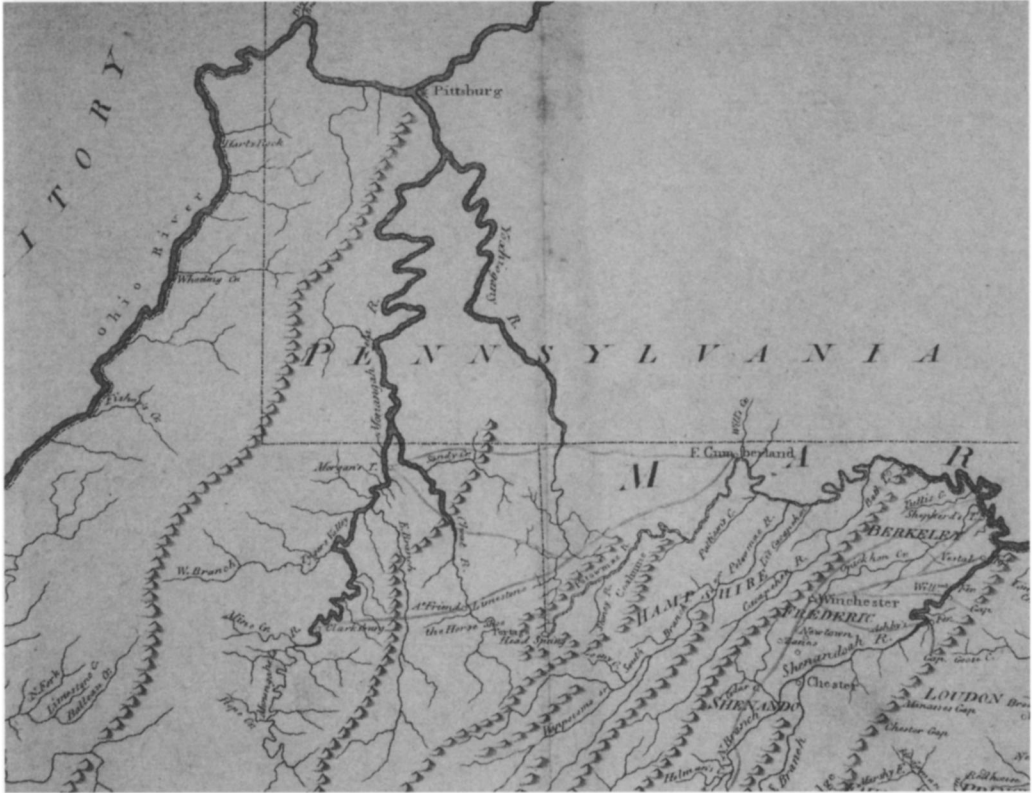
The Virginia counties of Ohio, Harrison, and Monongalia were the most affected by the Whiskey Rebellion in neighboring Pennsylvania. Ohio and Monongalia appear at the southwest corner of Pennsylvania on this map engraved for Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (1787). The map does not show Harrison County, which was created out of Monongalia. (*Virginia Historical Society*)

events surrounding the resistance to the excise tax on numerous fronts, and the resulting insurrection altered the social, economic, and political landscape of Virginia's Appalachian frontier.

To understand the relationship between the western Pennsylvania Whiskey Insurrection and the Virginia border counties, it is necessary to be aware of the frontier dynamics occurring in Appalachian Virginia after the American Revolution. Two principal concerns dominated the lives of the mountaineers: the Native American "menace" and the material concerns that were associated with frontier existence. Despite years of constant frontier conflict between Native Americans and whites, many historians agree that these Indian wars reached their most brutal and vicious peak after the American Revolution. Virgil A. Lewis states, "The barbarian warfare which devastated the settlements west of the Alleghenies, after the close of the Revolution, was merciless in the extreme."<sup>3</sup> Several factors led to the esca-

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<sup>3</sup> Otis K. Rice, *West Virginia: A History* (Lexington, Ky., 1985), p. 48; Virgil A. Lewis, *The Soldier of West Virginia in the French and Indian War; Lord Dunmore's War; the Revolution; the Later Indian Wars; the Whiskey Insurrection; the Second War with England; the War with Mexico* (Baltimore, 1978), p. 119.



By the end of the eighteenth century, Native Americans had effectively been subdued along the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania, shown here in a 1796 map entitled *The State of Virginia from the Best Authorities*. But the memory of a century of frontier violence was the context in which the Whiskey Rebellion took place. (*Virginia Historical Society*)

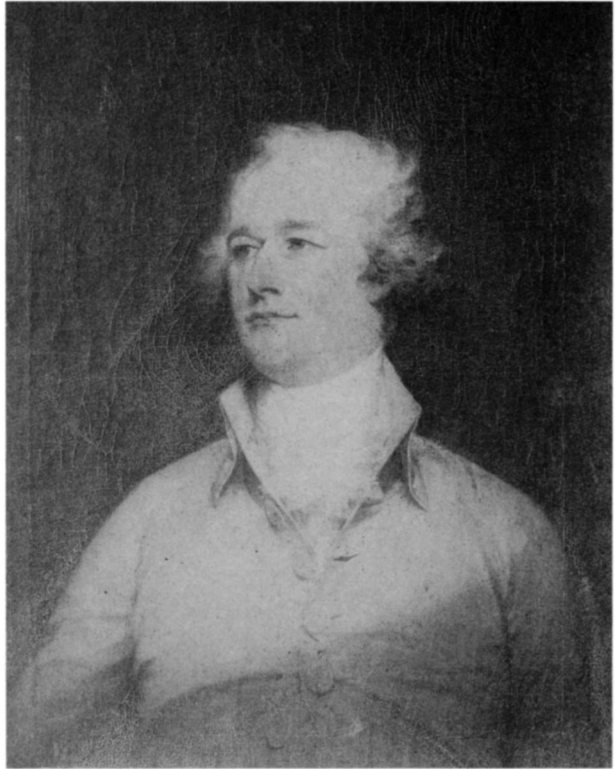
lation of antebellum frontier violence. The British, in an effort to maintain their western trading posts and perhaps eventually reclaim their territories and authority in North America, launched a campaign aimed at inciting the tribes occupying the Monongahela Valley and central Appalachia against Americans. Western Virginia's residents realized their immediate peril from the British-backed Indians, asserting that "they were in greater danger than ever before."<sup>4</sup>

As the Native American tribes of the Northwest struggled to maintain their presence in the Appalachian region and preserve their ancient traditions, the newly formed United States and its land-hungry citizens were equally as determined to expand frontier settlements to the western borders established by the treaty of Paris of 1783. Land speculation remained one of

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<sup>4</sup> Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 48; Lewis, *Soldiery of West Virginia*, p. 119. The British refused to relinquish their northwestern trading posts as agreed upon in the 1783 treaty of Paris. They continued to supply the Native Americans of the Monongahela Valley with guns, ammunition, knives, and logistical information.

Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton (1755–1804) proposed the 1791 tax on distilled spirits to strengthen the power of the federal government as well as raise revenue. Hamilton's four-cent-per-gallon levy provoked an immediate and angry response from frontier farmers. (*Virginia Historical Society*)



the most lucrative business ventures in the Virginia mountains, and the principal impediment to the expansion of the Upper Monongahela Valley frontier settlements was the indigenous population. The volatile mixture of greedy land speculators, ambitious white settlers, and determined Native American tribes ultimately led to a protracted period of frontier violence. Throughout the eighteenth century, Native Americans clashed with whites, resulting in tremendous bloodshed and loss of life. The French and Indian War, the American Revolution, and the numerous expeditions and campaigns launched by England, France, and the United States escalated frontier violence.<sup>5</sup> As western Virginia's frontier settlements matured into stable com-

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<sup>5</sup> Rice, *West Virginia*, pp. 15, 22–48; Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars: Of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from 1763 to 1783 Inclusive, Together with a Review of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western County* (Akron, 1824), pp. 26–28. Essentially the treaty of Paris provided the victorious Americans with all British lands east of the Mississippi River, excluding present-day Florida and a portion of Alabama and Mississippi. Land speculation existed in northwestern Virginia from as early as the 1760s. George Washington launched a much-heralded expedition into the Virginia mountains in 1754, and his efforts paved the way for much of the early settlement in the region. Several excellent monographs examine the eighteenth century “Indian Wars.” Joseph Doddridge’s *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars . . .* (Wellsburgh, Va., 1824) is one of the earliest publications to chronicle these events. Additionally, Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare . . .* (Cincinnati, 1895) and Willis De Hass, *History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia . . .* (Wheeling, Va., 1851) offer interesting narrative accounts of the violence between Native Americans and whites in the Virginia mountains and the Upper Ohio River Valley.

munities, the Native American threat cast a perilous shadow in the mountains. Western Virginians turned to both the state and federal governments for protection, ultimately demanding the systematic annihilation of the regional tribes. During the late eighteenth century several government-backed military expeditions were launched to control and destroy the tribes that threatened the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers. Expeditions led by Josiah Harmar in 1790, Arthur St. Clair in 1791, and Gen. Anthony Wayne in 1794 attempted to extinguish the Indian threat.<sup>6</sup> By the end of 1795, the natives were effectively subdued, but the memory of a hundred years of frontier violence played a critical role in the events that surrounded what became the Whiskey Rebellion.

It was into this unsettled atmosphere on the frontier that Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton introduced his 1791 excise tax on distilled spirits. In an effort to bolster the power of the new federal government and alleviate financial pressures brought on by the American Revolution and by constant Indian warfare, Hamilton enacted his unpopular tax of four cents per gallon on whiskey. He established an extensive network of revenue officers, taxation districts, and government agencies to administer and collect the new tax.<sup>7</sup>

For mountain residents, the taxation of distilled spirits caused enormous financial hardships. Farmers in the mountainous western portions of Virginia and Pennsylvania had little choice but to distill much of their surplus grain. Inadequate transportation and the potential income offered by whiskey because of its popularity led to the expansion of distilling operations and profits throughout the frontier period. A farmer who distilled his grain into whiskey could transport the resulting product to both local and regional markets with greater ease and for a far higher profit than he could the raw material. With the regional popularity of western Virginia's principal whiskey, Monongalia rye, Virginia distillers stood to suffer greatly from the imposition of the federal tax. The combination of these financial burdens, back-country localism, and the perceived advantages the excise provided to larg-

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<sup>6</sup> Rice, *West Virginia*, pp. 48–49; Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement*, p. 16. Both Harmar's and St. Clair's expeditions ultimately met with catastrophic consequences and failed to end the Indian conflict. Gen. "Mad" Anthony Wayne's expedition in August of 1794, about the same time the Whiskey Rebellion reached its pinnacle, succeeded in defeating the native tribes that threatened western Virginia and the entire Ohio River Valley. His victory in the battle of Fallen Timbers (1794), near present-day Toledo, Ohio, and the subsequent treaty of Greenville (1795) effectively ended any real threat to western Virginia.

<sup>7</sup> *History of Monongalia County, West Virginia; From its First Settlement to the Present Time, with Numerous Biographical & Family Sketches* (Kingwood, W.Va., 1883), pp. 95–96; Leland D. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising* (Pittsburgh, 1967), pp. 67–69. Taxes on distilled spirits were nothing new to Americans. There had been a series of whiskey taxes beginning as early as 1764 aimed at generating revenue for the royal colonies and helping alleviate the financial burdens of the French and Indian War and the American Revolution. Before 1791, however, enforcement of such excises was nearly impossible.



Ease of transporting their product as well as the lure of higher profits enticed many western Virginia and Pennsylvania farmers to convert their surplus grain into alcohol. This whiskey still is from the Oliver Miller Homestead, in what is now Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, where the first violence of the Whiskey Rebellion occurred. (*Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*)

er distillers led to immediate public outrage among mountaineers.<sup>8</sup> Over the next four years, opposition to the whiskey tax spawned rhetoric rivaling the patriotic fervor that preceded the American Revolution. As mountain distillers braced for an economic crisis, regional and state newspapers published the first detailed reports of the impending internal taxation.<sup>9</sup>

Between the passage of the whiskey excise tax and 1793, the state of Virginia scrambled to comply with the new federal regulations. During the first few months that followed the passage of the excise in Congress,

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<sup>8</sup> Kevin T. Barksdale, "Whiskey Distillation in Antebellum Western North Carolina," *Tuckasegee Valley Historical Review* 5 (1999): 1–5; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, p. 70; Melba Pender Zinn, *Monongalia County, (West) Virginia: Records of the District, Superior, and County Courts, Volume 1: 1776–1799* (Bowie, Md., 1990), pp. 66–68; Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, pp. 4, 22–24. Slaughter uses the term "localism" to describe the anti-excise sentiment on the western frontier. According to him, backcountry localist sentiment, as it was applied to the Whiskey Rebellion, combined several "disparate issues," including concerns over representation, taxation, governmental frontier policies, and "the tensions between eastern mercantile and western agricultural regions."

<sup>9</sup> James Morton Callahan, *History of the Making of Morgantown, West Virginia: A Type Study in Trans-Appalachian Local History* (Morgantown, W.Va., 1926), p. 71. John Alexander Williams notes "Monongahela Whiskey was famous in America long before the frontier reached Bourbon County, Kentucky" (*West Virginia: A Bicentennial History* [New York, 1976], pp. 102–3). Western Virginia did not have a newspaper at the time of the passage of the excise, but with the wide circulation of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* and several papers published in the Richmond area, Virginia's mountaineers were painfully aware of Hamilton's measures.



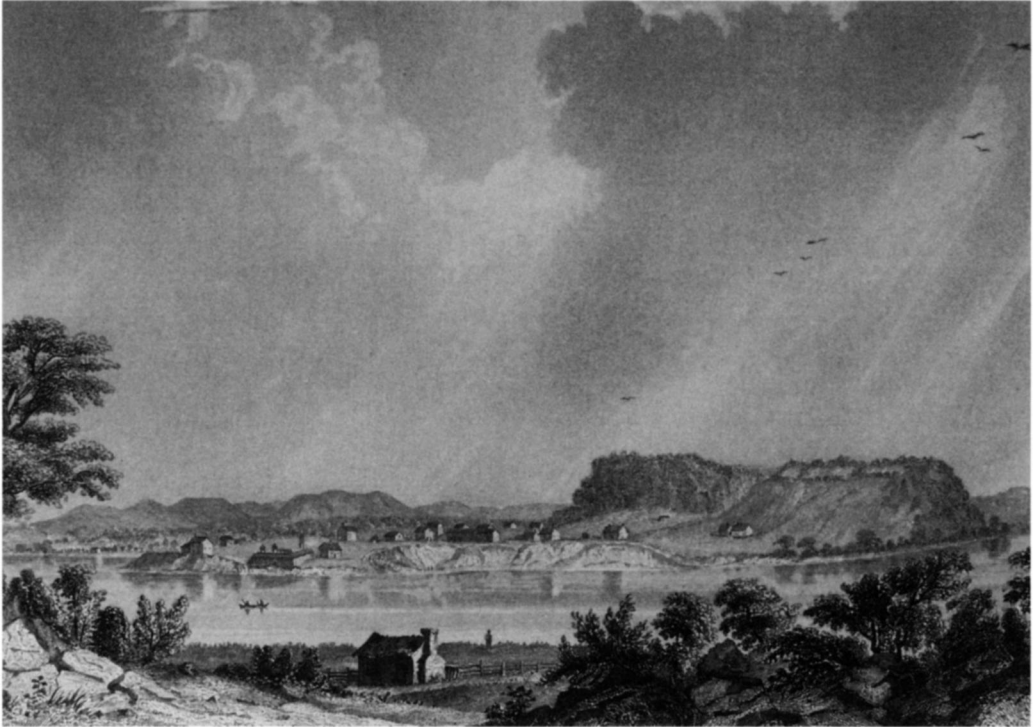


Men who accepted commissions to collect the new excise duty of 1791 soon discovered they were the targets of angry protest. Robert Johnson, an excise officer for Washington and Allegheny counties, Pennsylvania, was “tarred and feathered and his hair cut off, and required to promise not to show his face again west of the mountains.” This conjectural drawing by an anonymous artist shows irate Whiskey Rebels tarring and feathering an excise officer. (ART145364, ©Art Resource, NY)

Hamilton dispatched federal surveyors into northwestern Virginia and western Pennsylvania. These men were directed to establish revenue districts with a single, county-appointed revenue officer in charge. At least two districts were established in northwestern Virginia, one encompassing Monongalia County and the other in Ohio County.<sup>10</sup> Ohio County appointed Zachariah Biggs as “Revenue Officer of the United States,” and Monongalia County named Col. William McCleery its “collector of internal revenue,” to be stationed in Morgantown. With the districts surveyed and revenue officers

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<sup>10</sup> Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 76–80; H. M. Brackenridge, *History of the Western Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, Commonly Called the Whiskey Insurrection* (Pittsburgh, 1859), pp. 18–22; Callahan, *History of the Making of Morgantown, West Virginia*, pp. 71–72; Zinn, *Monongalia County, (West) Virginia*, pp. 81–83. Although not explicitly stated, Monongalia County court records (which include Ohio, Harrison, Randolph, and Monongalia counties) and additional sources make it clear that two districts existed, encompassing both the northern panhandle and the southern border of Pennsylvania with Virginia.



Though the epicenter of the Whiskey Rebellion lay in four western Pennsylvania counties, the uprising also embroiled residents of Virginia's border counties. The most important community in the center of the disturbed region was Pittsburgh, built at the point where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers flow together to form the Ohio. Louis Brantz, a Philadelphia merchant, sketched Pittsburgh in 1790, and Seth Eastman redrew the original for Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States . . .* (1851–57). (*Virginia Historical Society*)

in place, all that remained was the implementation of Hamilton's tax.<sup>11</sup> This would prove to be easier said than done.

The passage of the excise tax in March of 1791 brought immediate protests from Pennsylvanians. Local political and community leaders organized petitions, protests, and meetings to demonstrate their opposition to "Mr. Hamilton's excise." Several meetings on the issue were held throughout western Pennsylvania in the summer and fall of 1791, and the first signs of the impending violent backlash emerged in a fiery anti-excise meeting held

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<sup>11</sup> Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, p. 206; Zinn, *Monongalia County, (West) Virginia*, pp. 82–83; Earl L. Core, *The Monongalia Story: A Bicentennial History* (5 vols.; Parsons, W.Va., 1976), 2:222–23. It must be noted that Ohio County revenue officer Zachariah Biggs was also known as Zacheus Biggs. "The excise provided for inspection districts, in each of which an inspector was appointed whose duty it was to examine all distilleries, the capacity of the stills, gauge their barrels, brand their casks, and note in his book the result, and to crown the most odious feature—the duty" (Alfred Creigh, *History of Washington County from its First Settlement to the Present Time, First Under Virginia as Yohogania, Ohio, or Augusta County until 1781, and Subsequently Under Pennsylvania* [Harrisburg, Pa., 1870], pp. 61–62).

Pittsburg, July 20, 1794.  
**F**INDING the opposition to the revenue law more violent than I expected, regretting the mischief that has been done, and wary from the continuation of measures, seeing the opposition changed from disguised rabble to a respectable party, think it my duty and do resign my commission.  
**ROBERT JOHNSON.**

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Mr. Scull,  
 I am under the necessity of requesting you to put the following in your next paper—It was found posted on a tree near my distillery.  
**JOHN REED,**  
 July 23, 1794.

**RESIGNATION.**  
 IN taking a survey of the troops under my direction in the late expedition against that insolent exciseman John Neill, I find there were a great many delinquents, even among those who carry on distilling; it will therefore be observed that, I Tom the Tinker, will not suffer any certain class or set of men to be excluded the service of this my district, when not fit to attend on any expedition carried on in order to obstruct the execution of the excise law, and obtain a repeal thereof.  
 And I do declare on my solemn word, that if such delinquents do not come forth on the next alarm, with equipments, and give their assistance as much as in them lies, in opposing the execution and obtaining a repeal of the excise law, be or they will be deemed as enemies, and stand opposed to virtuous principles of republican liberty, and shall receive punishment according to the nature of the offence.  
 And whereas a certain John Reed, now resident in Washington, and being at his place near Pittsburg, called Reedsburgh, and having a set of stills employed at said Reedsburgh, entered on the excise docket, contrary to the will and good pleasure of his fellow citizens, and came not forth to assist in the suppression of the execution of said law by aiding and assisting in the late expedition, have, by delinquency manifested his approbation to the execution of the aforesaid law, is hereby charged forthwith to cause the contents of this paper, without adding or diminishing, to be published in the Pittsburgh Gazette, the ensuing week, under the no less penalty than the consumption of his distillery.  
 Given under my hand this 19th day of July, 1794.  
**Tom the Tinker.**

in Washington County, Pennsylvania, on 27 July 1791.<sup>12</sup>

Following the assembly in Washington County, anti-excise delegates held a series of organizational meetings aimed at formulating a concise resolution, garnering public support, and coordinating local leadership. Surprisingly, no Virginians were involved in the anti-excise conventions held in Pittsburgh (7 September 1791 and 31 July 1794) and Mingo Creek (23 July 1794). It was not until the largest such gathering took place at Parkinson's Ferry, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1794 that the first formal participation by Virginians occurred. After months of planning, on 14 August 1794 three delegates from Ohio County, Virginia, met with western Pennsylvania's anti-excise leadership.<sup>13</sup> There appear to be no definitive reasons explaining why only Ohio County sent delegates to the meeting nine miles east of Pittsburgh, but historian Leland Baldwin asserts that, "In Ohio County, Virginia, the opposition [to the Whiskey tax] followed the lead of the rioters of adjacent Washing-

<sup>12</sup> Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 56, 75–84; Brackenridge, *History of the Western Insurrection*, pp. 22–23. William Findley, John Smiley (Smilie), James Marshall, Albert Gallatin, and Edward Cook led the western Pennsylvania anti-excise meeting in Washington County.

<sup>13</sup> Creigh, *History of Washington County*, pp. 67–72, 75; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 174–75; Core, *Monongalia Story*, 2:222–23. Creigh offers a detailed account of the resolutions, leadership, and activities of these meetings, which brought together dozens of local leaders to formulate plans for the resistance to the excise tax. The delegates chose Parkinson's Ferry (present-day Monongahela City) because of its central location within the region.

At the top of this 1794 clipping from the *Pittsburgh Gazette* is the resignation letter of the tarred and feathered excise collector, Robert Johnson. At the bottom is a warning left near John Reed's still by "Tom the Tinker," a leader of the Whiskey Rebels.

ton County, Pennsylvania.” The willingness of Ohio County residents to align themselves with what was arguably Pennsylvania’s most vocal anti-excise opposition possibly explains their initial participation. Additionally, Pennsylvania’s anti-excise leadership issued a formal invitation, written by Maj. Gen. David Bradford of Washington County, to “the inhabitants of Monongahela, Virginia” to attend the meeting at Parkinson’s Ferry.<sup>14</sup> The circular implored Virginians to “come forward and join us in our deliberations,” and “hear our reasons influencing our conduct.” Bradford’s invitation, combined with Ohio County’s sympathy for Pennsylvania’s Whiskey Rebels, prompted the attendance of Robert Stephenson, William McKinley, and William Sutherland.<sup>15</sup> The meeting at Parkinson’s Ferry was the most important one regarding the excise to that point.

In conjunction with this early phase of relatively peaceful organization, Pennsylvania’s Whiskey Rebels engaged in a series of violent acts. Anti-excise supporters, under the guises of “Tom the Tinker’s Boys,” “Whiskey Boys,” and the “Black-faced Boys,” engaged in guerrilla tactics to demonstrate their opposition to the tax. Across western Pennsylvania, the newly appointed excise officers and supporters of the excise were subject to verbal threats, physical intimidation, and ultimately assaults on their persons and property. On 6 September 1791, Robert Johnson, excise officer for Washington and Allegheny counties was “tarred and feathered and his hair cut off, and required to promise not to show his face again west of the mountains.”<sup>16</sup> The assault on Johnson was followed by several incidents, including the 22 November 1793 burning of the home of Fayette County excise officer Benjamin Wells, the June 1794 burning of the home of Westmoreland County excise officer John Wells, the destruction of the still and grist-mill of excise supporter William Conghbran, and the notorious assault on “Chief Inspector of the Revenue” Gen. John Neville’s home in mid-July 1794.<sup>17</sup> Soon, excise officers and many local law enforcement officials found themselves powerless to enforce the law in western Pennsylvania.

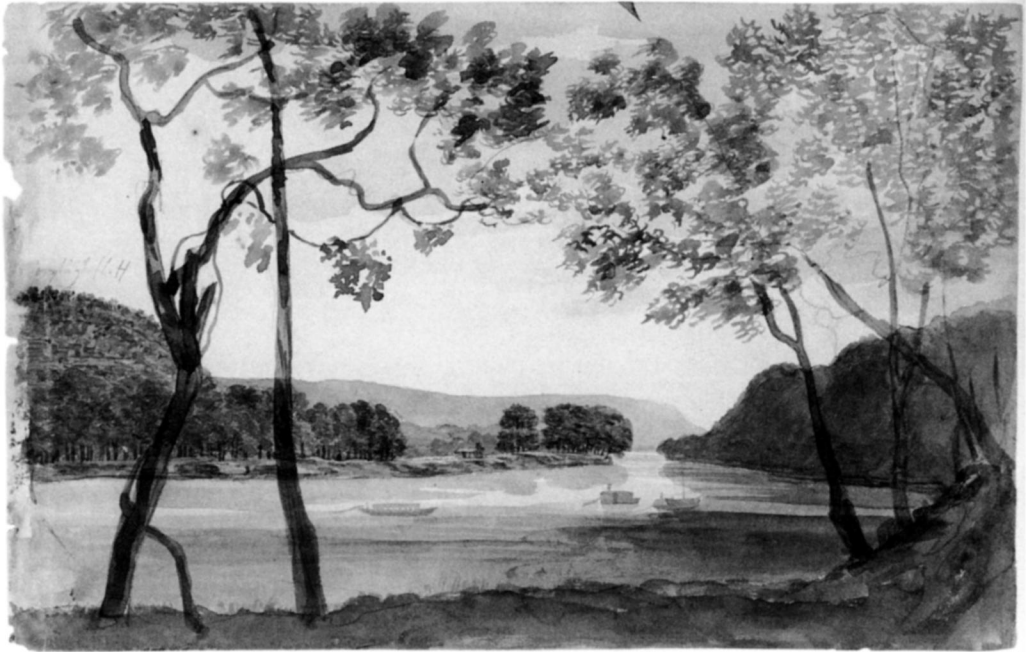
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<sup>14</sup> Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, p. 267; Creigh, *History of Washington County*, pp. 69–73. Alfred Creigh states that anti-excise leader David Bradford was a lawyer “who had been a member of the legislature of Virginia, when Washington and Allegheny counties were considered as belonging to Virginia.”

<sup>15</sup> The complete letter from David Bradford to the “Inhabitants of Monongahela, Virginia,” dated 6 August 1794, is contained in Creigh, *History of Washington County*, pp. 72–75, and in *Pennsylvania Archives* Second Series (19 vols.; Harrisburg, Pa., 1876), 4:95–96. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 173–76.

<sup>16</sup> Creigh, *History of Washington County*, pp. 64–66; Jerry Clouse, “The Whiskey Boys Versus the Watermelon Army,” *Pennsylvania Heritage* 17 (1991): 27–28. “Tom the Tinker” was the moniker taken by Washington County resident John Holcroft, one of the most vocal leaders of the rebels, and he often used this pseudonym when submitting editorials to the *Pittsburgh Gazette*.

<sup>17</sup> Creigh, *History of Washington County*, pp. 65–67; Brackenridge, *History of the Western Insurrection*, pp. 46–49. Both Creigh and Brackenridge include detailed accounts of these events in their works.



This watercolor by Benjamin Latrobe (1764–1820), *View on the Ohio River*, suggests why the river and its watershed became a magnet for migration in the late eighteenth century. Broad and navigable, the river is formed by the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers at Pittsburgh and runs for almost a thousand miles before emptying into the Mississippi. Settlers on the Ohio or its tributaries were thus afforded a vital connection to U.S. and world markets that many backcountry dwellers did not enjoy. (Courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland)

The violence and intimidation occurring in western Pennsylvania eventually spread into Virginia’s western reaches. According to contemporary accounts, the first attacks on Virginia excise officers occurred in the spring of 1794. In Ohio County on 8 August 1794, in an effort to increase public support among Virginians for their scheduled 14 August anti-excise meeting at Parkinson’s Ferry, a determined group of Pennsylvanians and Virginians launched a campaign of terror against local revenue officer Zachariah Biggs. A group of approximately fifty men approached Biggs and demanded that he “ignore the [excise] law.”<sup>18</sup> The men then proceeded to remove “certain bonds” from the officer. Several Virginia men, including Alexander Campbell, William Laidley, William Sutherland, and John Edie, were subse-

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<sup>18</sup> Zinn, *Monongalia County, (West) Virginia*, pp. 67, 71, 78–79; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts* . . . (11 vols.; Richmond, 1875–93), 7:33–34; Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 50. It hardly seems a coincidence that the first publicized assaults on Virginia excise officers occurred during the month of August 1794. The summer of 1794 witnessed the issuance of the circular inviting the “Monongahela inhabitants” to Parkinson’s Ferry, a thwarted assemblage of anti-excise men at Braddock’s Field in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, in late July, and rising concern evinced by regional newspapers, state governments, and the federal government.

quently indicted in Ohio County District Court for the “robbery against Zachariah Biggs.”<sup>19</sup> The next day, a large group of approximately thirty men entered Monongalia County to continue their assault on Virginia’s excise officers. Several local citizens joined this mob, which immediately targeted the excise office in Morgantown.<sup>20</sup> Several accounts of this event are in existence. A contributor to the *Pittsburgh Gazette* stated

The insurgents have been quite outrageous, and done much mischief. Here [in Morgantown] we have been quiet until a few days ago, when about 30 men, blacked, came in the night of the 9th instant, and surrounded the house of the collector of this county [William McCleery], but the man escaping, and advertising that he had resigned his office, they went off peaceably.<sup>21</sup>

Before the Morgantown incident, Monongalia County excise officer William McCleery received a letter stating, “if he did not resign he would be forced to give up his commission and his property would be destroyed.”<sup>22</sup> McCleery offers this account of the warning:

I am threatened from all quarters in my own country, and the Pennsylvanians came into our Town and ordered me to give up my papers, as they would come and destroy them with all my property; in the meantime no collection can go on, as our distillers will not pay 'till they see the event.<sup>23</sup>

McCleery ignored the warning, and his decision ultimately forced him to disguise himself as a slave as he “fled from his home, swam the river and escape[d].” As historian Earl Core states, “[McCleery] had no desire to come to blows with the party that had come to Morgantown on August 9.” “A considerable party” of anti-excise men did pursue McCleery, but upon hearing of his resignation, they did not destroy his property.<sup>24</sup> After the aborted assault on McCleery, the band of Whiskey Rebels settled down for a prolonged siege of Morgantown’s excise supporters.

For the next three days, the anti-excise men recruited local citizens and terrorized the inhabitants of Morgantown. A heightened sense of fear settled upon the county of Monongalia, as Morgantown briefly became the national center of anti-excise activity. An excise officer from the Virginia counties of

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<sup>19</sup> Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, p. 206; Zinn, *Monongalia County, (West) Virginia*, pp. 67–79. Court records describe these “bonds” as official papers that included “an entry of William Griffith’s stills and diverse other documents of his said office.” Ohio County offered Campbell, Laidley, Sutherland, and Edie clemency, but the county’s anti-excise delegates refused the deal.

<sup>20</sup> Core, *Monongalia Story*, 2:223; *Bowen’s Virginia Centinel & Gazette* (Winchester), 18 Aug. 1794 and 3 Sept. 1794; *History of Monongalia County, West Virginia*, p. 96. Accounts of the incidents occurring in Morgantown are contained in contemporary newspaper accounts. There is little information to indicate that any Monongalia County citizens joined the mob, comprising Pennsylvanians and Ohio County residents.

<sup>21</sup> Core, *Monongalia Story*, 2:223; *History of Monongalia County, West Virginia*, p. 96.

<sup>22</sup> Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, p. 206.

<sup>23</sup> *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 7:267–68.

<sup>24</sup> Core, *Monongalia Story*, 2:223.

Hampshire and Hardy, Edward Smith, refused to travel to Morgantown. In correspondence to Virginia governor Henry “Light-Horse Harry” Lee, Smith recounted a letter he had recently received from a Morgantown tax “Collector,” identified only as Weaver. He wrote that his “intended visit was well known, and that he is confident that I would be in the hands of the Pennsylvanians in a short time after my arrival at Morgan Town. Under the circumstances, I deemed it needless to proceed.”<sup>25</sup>

The effects of the Morgantown siege were not isolated to Monongalia County. There was growing alarm among Governor Lee and various Virginia excise officials that additional western counties might be influenced by the incidents in Morgantown. Edward Smith stated, “Some of the Distillers in Hampshire and Hardy counties, which join the boundaries of Monongalia express their doubts of longer paying the duties, and would embrace the earliest opportunity of non-compliance [to the excise tax] if they could calculate on protection in their opposition.” Concern also emerged that distillers in Harrison and Randolph counties would be unwilling to comply with the excise law.<sup>26</sup> The efforts of the Whiskey Rebels in Virginia seemed to be paying large dividends, and the siege of Morgantown had not yet ended.

On 12 August, two days before the meeting at Parkinson’s Ferry, the anti-excise men launched another attack on Morgantown’s excise supporters. A letter in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* detailed the event: “Three days after [the initial raid on Biggs], at our court, a number of men, mostly from Pennsylvania, came to Morgantown, and in the evening, began to beat up for proselytes, but they were in a few minutes driven out of town.” The citizens of Morgantown had banded together to “clear the town of trouble makers.”<sup>27</sup> It is difficult to gauge the level of support or opposition regarding the Whiskey Insurrection using this isolated incident, but Monongalia County residents were clearly divided on the subject. Morgantown’s position as the center of northwestern Virginia’s tax collection network and its connections to the state capital at Richmond undoubtedly helped lead to the repulsion of the Whiskey Rebels. What is apparent is that the Whiskey Insurrection transcended the borders of Pennsylvania and forced Governor Lee to confront anti-excise resistance in his home state.

Amidst the violence and turmoil that had ravaged the western Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers, anti-excise delegates rallied at Parkinson’s Ferry,

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<sup>25</sup> *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 7:267–68.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*; A. S. Bosworth, *A History of Randolph County, West Virginia: From its Earliest Exploration and Settlement to the Present Time* (Parsons, W.Va., 1961), p. 234. William McCleery, Monongalia County excise officer, wrote, “We are all in this, Harrison & Randolph counties in Peace & also Ohio with some exceptions; a state of neutrality is all we are able to support, and indeed we are in a town much threatened now for lying still by our Powerful neighbors.”

<sup>27</sup> *History of Monongalia County, West Virginia*, p. 96; Core, *Monongalia Story*, 2:223; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, p. 206.

Pennsylvania. On 14 and 15 August, 223 delegates from across western Pennsylvania, and the three Ohio County, Virginia, delegates, assembled in an “open field on the banks of the [Monongahela] river, with fallen timber and stumps, with a few shade trees, instead of buildings for accommodation of this important assembly.” The gathering, which was dominated by prominent western Pennsylvanians such as Albert Gallatin, Edward Cook, and Hugh Henry Brackenridge, had two principal objectives: the organization of the excise resistance and the drafting of a definitive anti-tax declaration. After erecting a large liberty pole emblazoned with the inscription “Liberty and no Excise! No Asylum for Traitors and Cowards!” heated debates began among the attendees. The ultimate result of the two-day event was the formation of three committees: a standing committee of safety of sixty delegates, a committee of conference composed of twelve members, and a smaller sub-committee of three leading delegates. The meeting also resulted in the drafting of a series of five resolutions that would be presented to President Washington and Congress.<sup>28</sup> The resolutions covered a broad range of issues, including establishing the illegality of “taking citizens of the United States from their respective abodes . . . for real or supposed offenses,” creating a standing committee of safety in the western country, drafting “a remonstrance to Congress, praying the repeal of the excise law,” establishing a committee to meet with President Washington, and finally, pledging their compliance to all United States laws, except the excise law.<sup>29</sup> The resolutions and activities of the Parkinson’s Ferry delegates were widely published in regional newspapers and were immediately brought to the attention of President Washington, Governor Lee, and Governor Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania.

Despite their election to the committee of conference of twelve, the three Ohio County delegates did not participate in that body’s deliberations, which occurred on 20 August in Pittsburgh.<sup>30</sup> Immediately following this meeting, however, the delegates from both western Pennsylvania and Ohio County met with a group of federal commissioners dispatched by President Washington and a smaller commission assembled by Mifflin to mediate a

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<sup>28</sup> Brackenridge, *History of the Western Insurrection*, pp. 152–55; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 174–79; Albert Gallatin, 14 Aug. 1794, Papers of Albert Gallatin, 1761–1849, New-York Historical Society (microfilm; Philadelphia, Pa.: Rhistoric Publications); Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, p. 207; Core, *Monongalia Story*, 2:225. Brackenridge offers a detailed account of the meeting at Parkinson’s Ferry in chapter 7 of his book. Gallatin includes a partial list of delegates to the Parkinson’s Ferry meeting. Gallatin served as secretary of the convention and Cook served as chairman.

<sup>29</sup> Brackenridge, *History of the Western Insurrection*, pp. 156 (first quotation), 160 (second quotation); Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 175–82; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 6 Sept. 1794.

<sup>30</sup> Brackenridge, *History of the Western Insurrection*, pp. 155–57; Creigh, *History of Washington County*, pp. 74–75; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, 4:155. The committee of conference of twelve comprised three delegates from each of the four Pennsylvania counties and three delegates from Virginia. The Virginia delegates did not participate in the deliberations, a fact reflected in the body’s name.



peaceful conclusion to the insurrection. These negotiations produced a tentative agreement, as the anti-excise delegates reluctantly agreed to “temporary submission” to the law, under the condition that the United States commissioners recommend to President Washington that he refrain from using the army to force compliance with the federal tax.<sup>31</sup> Presumably at Governor Lee’s behest, the federal commissioners requested a separate meeting with the Ohio County delegates. On 23 August, Stephenson, Sutherland, and McKinney met with the government representatives. In a series of subsequent communications, the three Ohio County delegates stated why they were inclined to suspend formal negotiations.

Gentl.- Having Considered your Letter of this Deate since the Departur of the speachel Comatie delegated from Westmoreland, Washington, Featt, & Aleganie countis, in Pensilvenea, & Considering our Selves a Justifyabel repretation of those inhabtents of Ohio County, by whome we were Deligated, & a part of that speachell Comitee to whom your proposals wear mead and Accepted yesterday, and the day posding and relying on the faith alr’dy pledged by you, and Accepted by the Speachell Comatee, we d’clin entering any further on this Bussens, untell we Consult our Constaituents & the Cometee of Safety. We are, Gentl., with esteem, your most Obed. Humble Serv’t

Robert Stephenson, William Sutherland, Wm. McKinley<sup>32</sup>

The series of negotiations produced few results, and the three delegates from Ohio County, who had also been elected to the sixty-member standing committee of safety, prepared to meet on 2 September at the Old Fort at Redstone (now Brownsville), Pennsylvania, to decide their next course of action.<sup>33</sup>

The escalation of frontier violence against federal excise officers, the resolutions passed at the meeting at Parkinson’s Ferry, and the unsuccessful series of negotiations forced President Washington to confront the insurrectionists. On 7 August 1794, a week before the Parkinson’s Ferry meeting, Washington had issued a proclamation that voiced his contempt for the “vindictive menaces” and demanded that those responsible for the assaults on the Pennsylvania excise officers be brought to justice. Washington’s proclamation became the focus of anger among the Parkinson’s Ferry delegates. Additionally, Washington issued an order to the governors of Pennsylvania,

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<sup>31</sup> Otis K. Rice, *The Allegheny Frontier: West Virginia Beginnings, 1730–1830* (Lexington, Ky., 1970), pp. 350–51; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 185–92. The federal commission consisted of William Bradford, James Ross, and Jasper Yeates; the Pennsylvania delegation included Thomas McKean and Gen. William Irvine.

<sup>32</sup> Boyd Crumrine, ed., *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania, with many Biographical Sketches of many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 289; *Pennsylvania Archives Second Series*, 4:201–3. The complete letter, dated 23 August 1794, is contained in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*.

<sup>33</sup> Crumrine, ed., *History of Washington County*, pp. 288–90; Gallatin Papers (microfilm), pp. 253–55. The Redstone meeting was moved to 29 August to comply with a request made by the United States commissioners. Led by Gallatin, the fifty-six delegates in attendance passed a series of resolutions that further demonstrated their resolve to resist the tax.

Serving as governor of Virginia when the Whiskey Rebellion erupted, Henry Lee (1756–1818) was a natural choice to assume overall command of the military force assembled by President George Washington in August 1794 to quash the insurrection. Lee had served as one of Washington’s most trusted and successful lieutenants during the Revolution, when he earned his nickname “Light-Horse Harry.” Sadly, upon the completion of his gubernatorial term in 1794, Lee’s fortunes, political and otherwise, deteriorated. He bequeathed a troubled legacy of debt and imprisonment to his family, including the fourth child of his second marriage, Robert Edward. (*Virginia Historical Society*)



Virginia, New Jersey, and Maryland to call up thirteen thousand militiamen from their states to suppress the rebels, and he added, “I also require all officers and citizens to bring under the cognizance of the law all offenders in the premises.”<sup>34</sup> Washington was prepared to quell the insurrection by force. Lacking a strong regular army, however, he was forced to rely on local militias, citizens, and state governments for assistance.

In Richmond, Governor Lee was deeply concerned about the rebellious activities occurring on his western border. Lee’s disdain for the “lawlessness” of the Whiskey Rebels, and the underlying conspiracy he attached to the insurrection, fed his antipathy for the rebels.<sup>35</sup> Lee’s alarm increased

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<sup>34</sup> John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799* (39 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1940), 33:457–61, 509; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 184–85, 225; Crumrine, ed., *History of Washington County*, p. 286. The complete proclamation is contained in Fitzpatrick’s work. The governor of Maryland was Thomas S. Lee and that of New Jersey, Richard Howell. The initial troop estimates were to total 12,950, but the final number was probably closer to 15,000.

<sup>35</sup> Boyd, ed., *Whiskey Rebellion*, pp. 124–25; Jeffrey A. Davis, “The Whiskey Rebellion and the Demise of the Democratic-Republican Societies of Pennsylvania,” *Journal of the Liberal Arts* 45 (1994): 22–38. Charles Royster states, “although Lee later called the insurrection ‘a comedy,’ he took its warnings seriously” (*Light-Horse Harry Lee and the Legacy of the American Revolution* [New York, 1981], pp. 130–31). Washington, Hamilton, and Lee believed that the Whiskey Rebellion was part of a much larger scheme, enacted by political partisans, Democratic-Republican Societies, and subversives, to destroy Hamilton’s financial policies and Washington’s foreign policies. Historian James Roger Sharp, in an essay entitled “The Whiskey Rebellion and the Question of Representation” in Boyd, ed., *Whiskey Rebellion*, argues that, “while Washington and Hamilton undoubtedly

when he learned that delegates from Ohio County participated in the Parkinson's Ferry convention, fearing "the prospect that the insurrection might find support in Virginia." Lee's concerns were warranted. In response to Washington's call to arms, and voicing his growing concern that "loyal" western Virginians might not be able to hold off the Whiskey Rebels, on 20 August 1794 Lee issued a defiant proclamation.<sup>36</sup> In it, he denounced the 9 August assault on the Morgantown excise officer, Biggs, demanded the "banditti" be brought to justice, and finally called "on all officers, civil and military, to exercise with zeal, diligence, and firmness, every legal power vested in them respectively for the purpose of detecting and bringing to trial every offender or offenders in the premises."<sup>37</sup> Soon after Washington's request for militiamen, Lee was appointed military commander of the yet-to-be-assembled multi-state militia force.<sup>38</sup> Lee would have his chance to suppress the Whiskey Insurrectionists and secure Virginia's western borders.

Assembling the thirteen thousand militiamen requested by President Washington became a far more challenging assignment than the actual suppression of the Whiskey Rebels. Across New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, men who opposed the government's economic policies and supported the rebel cause refused to enlist in the volunteer state militias. The lack of enthusiasm for enlistment prompted Washington to call for a military draft. Passionate resistance quickly emerged in all four states.<sup>39</sup>

Despite resistance to conscription in eastern Virginia, on 15 August, Governor Lee, commander-in-chief of the militia, commenced with Washington's orders and "issued a General Order stating that the President of the United States had called upon the Commonwealth [of Virginia] for three-thousand Infantry, and three hundred Cavalry for immediate service." Revolutionary War hero Gen. Daniel Morgan was placed in command of the

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exaggerated the extent of the connection between Democratic-Republican Societies and the Whiskey Rebellion, it is clear that western Pennsylvania rebels and members of the societies had a common purpose" (pp. 124–25).

<sup>36</sup> Boyd, ed., *Whiskey Rebellion*, pp. 124–25; Henry Lee, proclamation of 20 Aug. 1794, Draper Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin (microfilm; Chicago: University of Chicago); Lewis, *Soldiery of West Virginia*, pp. 136–37. Lee's alarm was made clear in a proclamation issued "To the Inhabitants of Certain Counties lying west of Laurel Hill, in the State of Pennsylvania, Friends, and Fellow Citizens." In it Lee offers "loyal citizens" the reassurance that military preparations are underway to ensure their safety and also issues a warning to the insurrectionists that they will be dealt with swiftly.

<sup>37</sup> Lewis, *Soldiery of West Virginia*, pp. 136–37. Lee called upon Monongalia County residents to protect themselves and their government from the Whiskey Rebels, but Lee knew they would need additional assistance in their efforts. Lee's proclamation was published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* and appears in his papers as well as those of George Washington and Albert Gallatin.

<sup>38</sup> Noel B. Gerson, *Light-Horse Harry: A Biography of Washington's Great Cavalryman, General Henry Lee* (Garden City, N.Y., 1966), pp. 190–91; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, p. 192. Lee's previous military experience, loyalty to Washington in the American Revolution, and intense contempt for the Whiskey Rebels made him the natural choice to command the militia force.

<sup>39</sup> Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 220–23.

To help suppress the Whiskey Rebellion, President Washington ordered Virginia to contribute three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. Gov. Henry Lee appointed Revolutionary War hero Gen. Daniel Morgan (1736–1802), pictured here, to command this Virginia force. When voluntary enlistment lagged, Washington called for a military draft. Despite resistance to conscription, Morgan expressed confidence in Virginia's ability to raise this force. (*Virginia Historical Society*)



two brigades that constituted the Virginia militia force.<sup>40</sup> General Morgan appeared extremely confident in Virginia's ability to recruit soldiers. He averred, "The State of Virginia seems to be unanimous and determined to suppress it [insurrection]: and it is my opinion that we shall in a very few days have men enough at this post to do that business." Virginia's western brigade, commanded by William Drake of Berkeley County, consisted of militia regiments from Ohio, Randolph, Monongalia, Hardy, Hampshire, Berkeley, and Pendleton counties. Out of the eventual 4,800 soldiers taken from the state of Virginia, "fully twelve hundred were from Military Organizations then existing within the present limits of West Virginia."<sup>41</sup> Barring a peaceful resolution to the insurrection, militiamen from western Virginia would face their neighbors on the field of battle.

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<sup>40</sup> Lewis, *Soldiery of West Virginia*, pp. 140–41; Don Higginbotham, *Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman* (Chapel Hill, 1961), pp. 188–89. Morgan's past military accomplishments made him a logical choice to command the Virginia units, despite the fact that he was in his late fifties and had recently been ill. The 3,300 Virginia troops formed a division commanded by Morgan, and the division was divided into two brigades. Brig. Gen. James Mathews of Norfolk commanded the eastern brigade (comprising men from the eastern part of the state), and Gen. William Drake of Berkeley County commanded the western brigade (comprising men from Ohio, Monongalia, Randolph, Hardy, Pendleton, Hampshire, and Berkeley counties).

<sup>41</sup> James Graham, *The Life of General Daniel Morgan of the Virginia Line of the Army of the United States, with Portions of His Correspondence; Compiled from Authentic Sources* (New York, 1856), pp. 141, 427. Before the Whiskey Rebellion, Brig. Gen. Benjamin Biggs commanded Virginia's 10th Brigade (comprising the following regiments: 4th [Ohio County], 11th [Harrison County], 76th and 104th [Monongalia County], and 107th [Randolph County]). During the rebellion, Biggs's 10th Brigade became part of Drake's larger western brigade and, according to Virgil Lewis, Biggs assumed joint command of the 11th and 107th regiments (*Soldiery of West Virginia*, pp. 139–41).

In the western Virginia border counties, as Morgan and Drake assembled local militiamen to “suppress the black hydra rising in the west,” violence against excise supporters and officials subsided. By mid-September, under growing threat of military intervention, continued warnings, and the peril of federal prosecution, Virginia’s anti-excise protesters appeared to have withdrawn from the rebellion.<sup>42</sup> Even one of Ohio County’s leading whiskey rebels, William McKinley, altered his stance on the use of extra-legal violence. McKinley stated, “the more I think of the excise the more I hate it, but I have no Intention of opposing it, but in a Constitutional way.” West Virginia historian Otis K. Rice states that McKinley’s ideological shift “undoubtedly reflected the thinking of the majority of the inhabitants of trans-Allegheny West Virginia.”<sup>43</sup>

Despite the decline in violence within Virginia border counties, the ongoing military preparations and intense law enforcement scrutiny occurring there meant that the tension and fear lingered. In a letter dated 24 September 1794, Gen. Daniel Morgan described the situation in the Virginia mountains. He wrote,

For my part, I wish I was at Morgantown at this time with 2,000 men, which would be as many as I could ask with what would join me at this place, to bring these people to order. They are very much alarmed at this time. This I have from the best intelligence.<sup>44</sup>

Meanwhile, western Virginia’s local militia commanders scrambled to assemble the soldiers necessary to fulfill President Washington’s demands. Brig. Gen. Benjamin Biggs, of Ohio County, spent the next few weeks coordinating the assembly of militiamen drawn from the northern panhandle of Virginia, and Morgan and William Drake did the same for Monongalia, Hardy, Hampshire, and Pendleton counties. By early October 1794, Morgan commanded a substantial number of “western men,” and the military force was complete.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, p. 224. This assumption is based on the fact that after the scheduled 2 September 1794 meeting at Old Redstone Fort, there is no mention of the participation of Virginians in any anti-excise meetings, rallies, or assaults. Additionally, no accounts exist of violence occurring in the Virginia border counties after the 9 August assault on Morgantown’s excise officer.

<sup>43</sup> Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, p. 350. Rice cites a letter dated 23 August 1794, from William McKinley to James Ross, Jasper Yates, and William Bradford (federal commissioners) to substantiate his claim (William McKinley to James Ross, Jasper Yeates, and William Bradford, 23 Aug. 1794, Jackson MSS, 1781–1832, Eli Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.)

<sup>44</sup> Graham, *Life of General Daniel Morgan*, p. 427; Daniel Morgan to George Washington, 24 Sept. 1794, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress (Presidential Papers on Microfilm).

<sup>45</sup> In a document written by Benjamin Biggs, the brigadier general states that the western Virginia regiments were commanded by Mores Chapline (Ohio County), William Lowther (Harrison and Randolph counties), Vincent Williams (Hardy County), Peter Hull (Pendleton County), Samuel Hanaway (Monongalia County), and Andrew Wodrow (Hampshire County). Biggs gives little indication that he had difficulty recruiting Ohio County volunteers into the militia (attachment by Benjamin Biggs, June 1794, Draper Manuscript Collection [microfilm]; Lewis, *Soldiery of West Virginia*, pp. 140–41).

In late October, Drake and Biggs marched their troops to Moorefield, Hardy County, where they rendezvoused with Morgan and the remainder of the Virginia troops. From Moorefield, General Morgan advanced the entire Virginia militia contingent to the designated meeting point at Cumberland, Maryland. Upon arriving in Cumberland, the entire force underwent inspection by President Washington and Governor Lee. The latter subsequently devised his strategy for the suppression of the Whiskey Rebels. He directed the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops to serve as the right wing of the army, “to take position, with their left towards Bud’s Ferry, and their right towards Greensburg.”<sup>46</sup> He ordered the troops from Virginia and Maryland to serve as the left wing of the army, “to occupy a line between the Monongahela and Youghigany Rivers.”<sup>47</sup> Lee’s strategy aimed to surround the western Pennsylvania Whiskey Rebels and systematically sweep the counties of the insurgents and their leaders. As the army advanced across the Allegheny Mountains, Lee’s troops arrested known rebels and imprisoned them at various locations throughout western Pennsylvania. By 16 November 1794, troops under the command of Daniel Morgan, with almost no resistance, had marched into Pittsburgh and effectively suppressed the rebels there. As one historian summarized the surprisingly quick end to the hostilities: “Thus happily terminated, without spilling a drop of blood or the firing of a hostile shot, the event in our national history popularly known as the whiskey insurrection.”<sup>48</sup> The rebellion had been suppressed, but its effects on the western Virginia border counties would linger for years.

The communal concerns, social tensions, and alarm created during the Whiskey Insurrection remained after the rebels had been suppressed. In western Pennsylvania, General Morgan, on the orders of Governor Lee and President Washington, remained camped with 2,500 men a few miles outside Pittsburgh. Washington instructed Morgan to arrest the remaining insurgents. Morgan drew a number of his troops who remained in western Pennsylvania from Brigadier General Drake’s western Virginia forces. Morgan ordered the other troops to return home, and the soldiers departed “by way of Morgantown to Winchester [Virginia].” Morgan was left the daunting task of

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<sup>46</sup> Lewis, *Soldiery of West Virginia*, pp. 140–42; Graham, *Life of General Daniel Morgan*, pp. 429–31. This placed the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops along a north-south line.

<sup>47</sup> Lewis, *Soldiery of West Virginia*, pp. 140–41; Graham, *Life of General Daniel Morgan*, pp. 429–31. This placed the Virginia and Maryland troops along an east-west line.

<sup>48</sup> Crumrine, *History of Washington County*, pp. 298–99; Creigh, *History of Washington County*, pp. 80–81; Graham, *Life of General Daniel Morgan*, pp. 430–31. The militiamen arrested the majority of the principal Whiskey Rebels in the early morning hours of Thursday, 13 November, an event that became known as “the terrible night,” or “the dreadful night.” Crumrine includes a firsthand account of the events of that “frosty night” in his work. Undoubtedly, troops from Morgan’s Pittsburgh invasion force were from the western Virginia border counties, but this information is not available.

By HENRY LEE, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia,  
Major General therein, and Commander in Chief of the Militia  
Army in the Service of the United States.

## A PROCLAMATION.

BY virtue of the powers and authority in me vested, by the President of the United States, and in obedience to his benign intentions, therewith communicated, I do, by this my Proclamation, declare and make known to all concerned, that a full, free, and entire pardon, (excepting and providing as hereafter mentioned) is hereby granted to all persons resident within the counties of Washington, Allegheny, Westmoreland, and Fayette, in the State of Pennsylvania, and in the county of Ohio, in the State of Virginia, guilty of Treason, or Misprison of Treason against the United States, or otherwise directly or indirectly engaged in the wicked and unhappy tumults and disturbances lately existing in those counties; excepting nevertheless from the benefit and effect of this pardon all persons charged with the commission of offences against the United States, and now actually in custody, or held by recognizance to appear and answer for such offences at any judicial court or courts; excepting also all persons avoiding fair trial by abandonment of their homes; and excepting moreover the following persons, the atrocity of whose conduct renders it proper to mark them by name for the purpose of subjecting them, with all possible certainty, to the regular course of judicial proceedings, and whom all officers, civil and military, are required to endeavor to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended and brought to justice, to wit. BENJAMIN PARKINSON, ARTHUR GARDNER, JOHN HOLCROFT, DANIEL HAMILTON, THOMAS LAPSLEY, WILLIAM MILLER, EDWARD COOK, EDWARD WRIGHT, RICHARD HOLCROFT, DAVID BRADFORD, JOHN MITCHELL, ALEXANDER FULTON, THOMAS SPIERS, WILLIAM BRADFORD, GEORGE PARKER, WILLIAM HANNA, EDWARD MAGNER, Junior, THOMAS HUGHES, DAVID LOCK, EBENEZER GALLAGHER, PETER LYLE, JOHN SHIELDS, WILLIAM HAY, WILLIAM M'ELHENNY, THOMAS PATTON, PATRICK JACK, STEPHENSON JACK, and ANDREW HILANDS, of the State of Pennsylvania, and WILLIAM SUTHERLAND, ROBERT STEPHENSON, WILLIAM M'KINLEY, JOHN MOORE, and JOHN M'CORMICK, of Ohio county, in the State of Virginia.

Provided, That no person who shall hereafter wilfully obstruct, or attempt to obstruct the execution of any of the laws of the United States, or be in any wise aiding or abetting therein, shall be entitled to any benefit or advantage of the pardon herein before granted: And provided also, That nothing herein contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend to the remission or mitigation of any forfeiture of any penalty incurred by reason of infractions of, or obstructions to, the laws of the United States for collecting a revenue upon distilled Spirits and Stills.

GIVEN under my hand, at Head-Quarters, in Elizabeth Town, this twenty ninth day of November, 1794.

H E N R Y L E E.

At the conclusion of hostilities between federal forces and the Whiskey Rebels, Henry Lee issued this proclamation, nominally on behalf of President George Washington, to residents of Ohio County, Virginia, and four Pennsylvania counties. The document is intriguing for its audacious claim that those "guilty of treason" are hereby pardoned. This despite the fact that no one involved in the rebellion had been tried for that crime, much less convicted. The proclamation is also notable for the way it singles out by name a handful of Rebel ringleaders, "the atrocity of whose conduct" renders them outside the scope of the general pardon. These include Virginians William Sutherland, Robert Stephenson, William McKinley, John Moore, and John McCormick. (*Papers of James W. Singleton, Series V, Old Dominion University Libraries, Norfolk, Virginia*)

“controlling and conciliating the people [of western Pennsylvania] over whose conduct he was left to guard.”<sup>49</sup>

In the border counties of Virginia, local law enforcement carried out the arrest of known anti-excise activists. Those western Virginians arrested included William Sutherland, Robert Stephenson, William McKinley, John Moore, John McCormick, John Laughery, Alexander Campbell, John Edie, and William Laidley, all from Ohio County. Local law enforcement officials transferred these men to the jails at Greensburg and Uniontown, Pennsylvania, to await trial. Those arrested avoided prosecution after President Washington, in an effort to reconcile the lingering regional tensions, ordered Lee to issue a “full, free, and entire pardon” to most of the participants in the insurrection.<sup>50</sup> Out of the hundreds of rebels arrested, only twenty-eight Pennsylvanians and five Ohio County residents were excluded from Lee’s 29 November 1794 pardon, which stated,

I do declare and make known to all concerned that a full, free, and entire pardon is hereby granted to all persons residing within the counties of Washington, Allegheny, Westmoreland, and Fayette, in the State of Pennsylvania, and in the county of Ohio, in the State of Virginia, guilty of Treason or Misprison of Treason against the United States, or otherwise directly or indirectly engaged in the wicked and unhappy tumults and disturbances lately existing in those counties.

Though named as being outside the scope of the pardon, the Ohio County men managed to avoid federal convictions when the cases against them collapsed because of the unwillingness of witnesses to testify against their neighbors, jurisdictional conflicts, and the difficulties of transporting witnesses to district court.<sup>51</sup>

The Ohio County Whiskey Rebels escaped federal prosecution but ultimately faced their accusers in Ohio County District Court. In a series of cases continuing throughout 1795, local prosecutors indicted the men accused of assaulting excise officer Zachariah Biggs, but the plaintiffs ultimately had their cases dismissed in September 1795. As best as can be deter-

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<sup>49</sup> Lewis, *Soldiery of West Virginia*, p. 141; Graham, *Life of General Daniel Morgan*, pp. 432–35. Morgan was stationed near McFarlane’s Ferry, on the Monongahela River.

<sup>50</sup> Crumrine, *History of Washington County*, pp. 302–5; Zinn, *Monongalia County, (West) Virginia*, pp. 66–83, 108–9.

<sup>51</sup> Henry Lee, proclamation, 29 Nov. 1794, Papers of James W. Singleton, Old Dominion University Libraries, Norfolk, Va; Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, pp. 262–3; Crumrine, *History of Washington County*, pp. 302–4. The five Virginians excluded from the pardon were Sutherland, Stephenson, McKinley, John Moore, and John McCormick. According to Melba Zinn, Robert Stephenson and William McKinley were indicted in the District Court of Ohio County in May of 1795 “for inciting and stirring up the inhabitants of Ohio County in opposing the execution of the laws of the United States in the collection of the revenues on stills and distilled spirits.” Both cases were dismissed in September 1795. William Sutherland was indicted for the robbery of excise officer Zachariah Biggs in May of 1795. The charges against Sutherland and three other men also accused of the robbery were ultimately dropped in September of 1795 after the attorney for the commonwealth declined to prosecute further. (*Monongalia County [West] Virginia*, pp. 71–72, 77–79).





In this crude caricature by an unknown artist, a federal exciseman is pursued by two farmers (at right) with designs on tarring and feathering him. The tax collector is met by a demon who, with a long barbed hook, pulls the man to a gallows upon which he is hanged and his body burned over a barrel of whiskey. Although political in nature, it is interesting to note the cartoon's religious subtext: the enforcer of an unpopular federal law is shown to be susceptible to, and perhaps thus in league with, the forces of darkness. (Courtesy of the Atwater Kent Museum of Philadelphia)

mined, no western Virginians were fined or imprisoned for their actions during the Whiskey Rebellion.<sup>52</sup>

Beyond the series of indictments and acquittals, the border counties of western Virginia experienced additional ramifications resulting from the Whiskey Rebellion. Counties across the western frontier had long maintained small volunteer militias, primarily for protection against Indians. In the years following the Whiskey Insurrection, militia captains bolstered their ranks to serve as both protection and a deterrent against further internal unrest. Throughout 1795, Brig. Gen. Benjamin Biggs sent correspondence to Governor Lee seeking the requisition of funds, supplies, ammunition, and additional troops for the "protection of the exposed part of Monongalia."<sup>53</sup> Clearly, in light of the success of Gen. Anthony Wayne's campaign against the Indians in 1794, western Virginia militia leaders retained their units'

<sup>52</sup> Zinn, *Monongalia County, (West) Virginia*, pp. 66–83, 108–9. Reasons for the dismissals are not available in Zinn's book, and the original court records are missing. As in Virginia, very few in Pennsylvania received punishment for participating in the Whiskey Insurrection.

<sup>53</sup> W. Brooke to Benjamin Biggs, 25 July 1795, Draper Manuscript Collection (microfilm).

strength out of fear that white frontier settler violence would resume. This fear of insurrection loomed large over western Virginia for years.

What became of the Ohio County and western Virginia anti-excise leadership after the conclusion of the insurrection? The three most vocal and active Virginia Whiskey Rebels, Ohio County residents William McKinley, William Sutherland, and Robert Stephenson, were brought before the “old District Court held at Morgantown” on 5 May 1795, for “stirring up the inhabitants of Ohio County.” At the next session of the court, in September, the deputy attorney general did not prosecute the three men. Afterwards, the three men returned to their positions in state and local government.<sup>54</sup> Politically, the Ohio County Whiskey Rebels seem to have suffered few ill effects from their activities during the insurrection, but the same cannot be said for George Jackson. Jackson, a Federalist from Clarksburg, Virginia, and a leader of the 1784 political movement that established Harrison County, utilized the partisan nature of the Whiskey Insurrection to advance his political influence in the region.<sup>55</sup> His 1794 bid for election to Virginia’s newly formed Third District in the United States House of Representatives suffered from his Hamiltonian views and support of the excise tax. After being defeated by Joseph Neville of Hardy County by just five or six votes, Jackson again sought election to the House in 1795. This time, Jackson shifted his political allegiance to the Republican Party and largely based his political platform on a conservative, anti-excise stance. While campaigning in the bitterly divided counties of Ohio and Monongalia, Jackson hoped to “make a bridge of the Excise Law upon which he would walk into the house of Congress.”<sup>56</sup> The crafty politician realized that a moderate stance regarding the whiskey excise tax might be beneficial to his political ambitions. During the height of the insurrection, Jackson cautiously retreated from his vocal anti-excise views and declared his “neutrality.” In an editorial published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, he stated,

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<sup>54</sup> Ohio County Order Book 3, 1792–94, pp. 170, 192, 219, 226, and 260–63; and Ohio County Order Book 4, 1794–1800, pp. 104, 121, 126, 149, 204, 207, and 220–21, West Virginia and Regional History Collection, Morgantown, W.Va.; *History of Monongalia County*, pp. 97–98; Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, p. 352. William Sutherland, who had been appointed land assessor for Ohio County in 1790 and 1793 became county commissioner in 1794 and served as lieutenant (1790) and captain (1793) in the Ohio County militia. William McKinley was appointed justice of the peace for Ohio County in 1790 (he resigned in 1793) and second lieutenant (1792) and first lieutenant (1793) of the 10th Brigade of the Ohio County militia.

<sup>55</sup> Dorothy Davis, *John George Jackson* (Parsons, W.Va., 1976), pp. 12–15; Stephen W. Brown, *Voice of the New West: John G. Jackson, His Life and Times* (Macon, Ga., 1985), pp. 3–4. Jackson represented Harrison County in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1785 to 1788, 1789 to 1791, and in 1794. He also served on the 1788 Virginia Convention that ratified the U.S. Constitution.

<sup>56</sup> Brown, *Voice of the New West*, pp. 3–4. Dorothy Davis states that Congress created the Third District in 1792 out of the “transmontane Virginia counties” (*John George Jackson*, pp. 23–27).

In the first place, I have ever been opposed to the law, and have often expressed my sentiments to that amount, and as far as words or remonstrances would go, I should still find a freedom to exert them, but upon the present occasion, as to the conduct of the Pennsylvanians, I wish to lay neutral, and my sincere wish is, that my country and fellow citizens may act upon the same principles.<sup>57</sup>

Despite a series of negative editorials published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* throughout 1795 that derided his previous Federalist views, Jackson succeeded in securing a seat in Congress.<sup>58</sup> In much the same manner as successful western Pennsylvania politicians, such as Albert Gallatin, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, and William Findley, western Virginia's politicians utilized the Whiskey Rebellion as a catalyst to achieve or maintain positions of political power.<sup>59</sup>

Politics was not the only arena transformed by the rebellion. The insurrection and subsequent military occupation also had a dramatic effect on the economy of western Virginia. The presence of a large military force injected a large dose of needed specie. The soldiers' demand for supplies and propensity to consume large quantities of Virginia whiskey assured that money flowed into the burgeoning regional economy. One historian comments, "The army was the largest consumer of whiskey in the West."<sup>60</sup> One wonders if local merchants and distillers saw the irony in the fact that soldiers sent to enforce a hated tax on whiskey spurred such demand for the product that profits soared.

In addition to the economic changes sparked by the Whiskey Rebellion, the western Virginia border counties experienced a dramatic population increase following the rebellion. Settlement by a number of militiamen and the increased security after the suppression of the Whiskey Insurrectionists and Native Americans undoubtedly spurred this demographic trend.<sup>61</sup> Each of the three western Virginia border counties experienced considerable population growth. From 1790 to 1800, the population of Harrison County more than doubled from 2,080 to 4,848, Monongalia County grew from 4,768 to

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<sup>57</sup> *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 21 Mar. 1795; James Veech Scrapbook, 1859, pp. 94–95, James Veech Papers, 1793–1879, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania Archives, Senator John Heinz Pittsburgh Regional History Center, Pittsburgh. This letter, written 18 August 1794, was sent to Jackson's political opponent, Baldwin Weaver of Morgantown, and subsequently published to illustrate Jackson's new moderate stance. James Veech, a well-known western Pennsylvania author, politician, lawyer, and historian, assembled two scrapbooks that contain most of the contemporary articles published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* concerning the Whiskey Insurrection.

<sup>58</sup> Baldwin Weaver published two scathing editorials regarding Jackson's candidacy, describing the Clarksburg native as "a character exceedingly suspicious" (*Pittsburgh Gazette*, 14 Feb. 1795, 21 Mar. 1795). Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 51; James Veech Scrapbook, pp. 94–95.

<sup>59</sup> Jerry A. Clouse, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Southwestern Pennsylvania's Frontier People Test the American Constitution* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1994), pp. 41–42. Clouse states that "most local leaders of the rebels stayed and became or continued as local officials and judges."

<sup>60</sup> Helene Smith, *The Great Whiskey Rebellion: Rebels with a Cause* (Greensburg, Pa., 1994), p. 126.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 125–26.

8,540 inhabitants, and in the most rebelliously active county, Ohio, the population increased from 5,212 to 9,446.<sup>62</sup>

With the doubling of the regional population, western Virginia began to experience its first period of substantial economic growth. This period of development stimulated the improvement of regional trade and transportation arteries. As early as the mid-eighteenth century, residents of western Virginia's frontier had been demanding federally funded transportation improvements.<sup>63</sup> The Ohio County anti-excise delegates had even included demands for "free navigation of the Mississippi River," and the "opening up" of the lands surrounding the Ohio River in their negotiations with United States commissioners. Congress's passage of the 1803 act that allocated funds for the development of the nation's first federally funded road ensured that the western Virginia frontier was soon thereafter connected to eastern markets. Construction of the National Road commenced in 1811 and eventually crossed the insurrection counties to reach Wheeling, Virginia, in 1818.<sup>64</sup> The completion of the National Road was the culmination of the regional internal improvements that followed the Whiskey Rebellion. Though the majority of incidents relating to that period of unrest occurred in western Pennsylvania, residents of western Virginia border counties certainly experienced the aftermath of one of America's first internal insurrections. Frontier violence, communal tensions, and socioeconomic upheavals all left their marks on Appalachian Virginia.

At this point, one final question must be considered. Given that Virginia's distillers faced repercussions from the excise tax, why was the Whiskey Rebellion centered in western Pennsylvania and not western Virginia? A few historians have offered reasons for western Virginia's modest participation. Historian Otis K. Rice states that, "The importance West Virginians attached to efforts of the federal government to pacify the Indians, more than anything else, explains their failure to give general support to the Whiskey

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<sup>62</sup> First and Second Censuses of the United States, 1790 and 1800, Harrison, Monongalia, and Ohio counties, Virginia, schedules 1 and 2, available at the United States Historical Census Browser, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census> (accessed 5 Oct. 2001). The 1790 and 1800 censuses were destroyed during the War of 1812, and the population statistics were compiled by the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) using Virginia tax records. It is also worthy to note that Ohio County was divided to form Brooke County in 1797. The population figures for Ohio County take this fact into consideration.

<sup>63</sup> Karl Raitz, ed., *A Guide to the National Road* (Baltimore, 1996), pp. 3–45; Beulah Boyd, "The National Road Comes to Wheeling" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1925), pp. 1–50.

<sup>64</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, 4:228–29; Smith, *Great Whiskey Rebellion*, p. 126; Raitz, *Guide to the National Road*, pp. 3–45. The Ohio County delegates' demands are contained in a series of resolves dated 18 September 1794. The navigation restrictions on the Mississippi River were removed in 1795 with the signing of Pinckney's treaty with Spain, which opened the markets of the Upper Ohio Valley and allowed Monongalia rye to be distributed throughout North America. Ironically, the National Road initially stretched from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, Virginia. The National Road's route crossed through the Pennsylvania counties most involved in the Whiskey Rebellion and terminated in Virginia's most active insurrection county, Ohio.

Rebellion.”<sup>65</sup> This argument seems overly simplistic when one considers that western Pennsylvanians suffered from the same Native American threats. Other historians have argued that western Virginia’s strong connection to the federal government, through the success of prominent Virginia politicians, waylaid any widespread frontier violence. This too fails to explain adequately western Virginian’s reactions to the insurrection. Historian Steven Boyd argues that resistance to the excise tax was prevalent on much of America’s frontier. He notes that “violent resistance marked attempted enforcement in Maryland, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,” and that “the four western Pennsylvania counties were not the heart of excise opposition until the officers of the federal government marked them as such.”<sup>66</sup> A more precise and complex explanation as to why Virginia’s mountaineers failed to embrace the rebellion fully must combine many elements. Regional concerns regarding the Indian threat, intense loyalty to the federal and state governments, strong Federalist leadership within the state and region, and the effective state control exerted by Governor Lee determined the course of action for many western Virginians during the Whiskey Rebellion. In the end, whether a Virginian participated in, supported, or opposed the Whiskey Rebellion was largely an individual choice. Political ambition, economic motivations, disaffection with the federal government, loyalty to neighbors or the federal government, kinship ties, and military obligation all served as factors in determining an individual’s level of participation in the Whiskey Insurrection.

The motivations behind the actions of the residents of western Virginia’s border counties during the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 are difficult to discern. What is clear is that the Whiskey Rebellion dramatically affected Appalachian Virginia and its inhabitants. After all, “Strong art thou O Whiskey upon the Western mountains, and strong is thy brother Brandy in the vales below.”<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Rice, *West Virginia*, p. 50; Charles Henry Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia: From 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, 1910), pp. 64–65. Ambler argues that, “the inhabitants of the west sympathized heartily with the efforts of the federal administration to defeat the Indians of the Northwest Territory.”

<sup>66</sup> In his afterword, Boyd also considers several different reasons why the excise resistance “escalated into a so-called rebellion in only” western Pennsylvania. Boyd argues, citing research by Dodee Fennell, that historians must consider the “inequity” of the financial burden the excise tax placed upon westerners and smaller distillers as a motivating factor in the rebellion. Additionally, the author asserts that the Scots-Irish origins of western Pennsylvanians and Appalachian settlers must be “considered when evaluating the causes of the rebellion” (Boyd, ed., *Whiskey Rebellion*, pp. 170–85). David Hackett Fischer considers the relationship between the mountaineers’ Ulster origins and whiskey distillation and rebelliousness in his work *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1991).

<sup>67</sup> *Pittsburgh Gazette*, 8 Aug. 1794. This quote is from a poem entitled “Eulogy on Whiskey” by Absalom Aimwell.