



United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

NATIONAL
REGISTER

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Whiskey Rebellion Resources in Southwestern Pennsylvania

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Whiskey Rebellion in Southwestern Pennsylvania

C. Geographical Data

Southwestern Pennsylvania - Allegheny, Bedford, Fayette, Greene, Somerset,
Washington and Westmoreland Counties

See continuation sheet

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

DR. BRENT D. GLASS

Brent D. Glass

11/21/92

Signature of certifying official

Date

PA HISTORICAL & MUSEUM COMMISSION

State or Federal agency and bureau

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Patricia Andrews

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register

11/12/92

Date

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

See continuation sheet

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Whiskey Rebellion Resources in Southwestern Pennsylvania

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Whiskey Rebellion National Register Multiple Property Nomination Context

The multiple property listing of historic and architectural resources associated with the Whiskey Rebellion is based upon the 1990-91 historic context and historic sites inventory of a seven county southwestern Pennsylvania region, conducted by Jerry A. Clouse of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. This region was established by the America's Industrial Heritage Project, and includes these counties: Bedford, Somerset, Fayette, Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington, and Greene. Southwestern Pennsylvania at the time of the Whiskey Rebellion was made up of these counties: Bedford, Fayette, Westmoreland, Allegheny, and Washington. Following the Rebellion in 1795, Somerset was formed out of Bedford, and Greene was formed out of Washington in 1796. Traditionally, historians have placed the heart of the Rebellion in Washington, Allegheny, Fayette, Westmoreland, and western Bedford Counties.

The Whiskey Rebellion study is one segment of the Albert Gallatin Project, the goal of which is to research and interpret the life and times of Gallatin, as well as his role in, and influence on, southwestern Pennsylvania between 1780 and 1830. This fifty year period coincides with his ownership of property in Fayette County, during which roads were developed, agriculture blossomed and industry took hold in the region.

The scope of this context includes not only the historic background of the anti-excise movement and antecedents of the Whiskey Rebellion, but the cultural, social, and political background of the region's people. Insights are provided into how these elements along with geography molded their lifestyles and their built environment from the early settlement period, through the Rebellion, and in a period following the Rebellion up to 1815 when economic expansion spurred internal as well as domestic improvements.

Early Settlement

In order to establish a context for later cultural and political developments in the area, it is necessary to show the early history of the area. In the early 18th century the upper Ohio territory or that land drained by the Ohio River was the largest unexplored region east of the Mississippi. It was shut off from the English by the mountains and from the French by the Iroquois control of Lake Erie. The Iroquois had stripped the area of Native American inhabitants by their conquests. Nevertheless, France laid claim to the Mississippi and all its tributaries, and England held sea to sea charter by right of the Cabot explorations.

Some histories claim that settlement of the Delaware and Shawnee in the Allegheny Valley began in 1724, and from that time until the French and Indian

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War, a rivalry continued between the English and French for the Indian trade. Early on, the bulk of the Indian trade was with Pennsylvanians. The location of paths and roads into southwestern Pennsylvania played a major role in the settlement patterns of the region, and the trade rivalry between the British and French and between American colonies affected where the paths originated and their stopping points along the way. As the traders had basically followed the paths and routes of the Indians, the earliest settlers followed the routes of the traders and subsequently settled on or near to them.

George Croghan headed the Pennsylvania contingent of traders into the region in the 1740's. When the Virginians learned that there was a profit here, a group of them formed the Ohio Company in 1749 to secure a share in these profits. Of course these efforts raised the ire of the French who claimed the region west of the Alleghenies.

By the mid-18th century both the English and French realized the strategic importance of the Forks of the Ohio. In 1753 Marquis Duquesne began building a line of forts from Presque Isle on Lake Erie to the Forks to stop the movement of English into the Ohio region, and thus began the French occupation of western Pennsylvania. Open hostilities began in 1754 with the English defeat at Ft. Necessity located in the southeastern section of present-day Fayette County. The French held undisputed possession of western Pennsylvania for three years following Braddock's defeat in 1755. (The battle area became known as Braddock's Field and was located about 10 miles southwest of the Forks on the north side of the Monongahela river.) After their defeat, the British realized that in order to take control of southwestern Pennsylvania, they would need to build a line of forts connected with a good supply line or road. General John Forbes was commissioned to accomplish this, and consequently cut a road from Carlisle through Bedford, Ligonier, and finally to Ft. Duquesne which he took control of in 1758. Forbes' most difficult decision concerned the route he should take, and this was complicated by the rival interests of Pennsylvania and Virginia in the western country. Instead of the Braddock route which lead west from Ft. Cumberland, Maryland to near present-day Uniontown and then north to the Forks, he chose a northern route from Bedford through Loyalhanna to Ft. Duquesne. (1)

Indian hostilities would continue off and on in the ensuing years with Pontiac's War, Dunmore's War, and the Revolutionary War being particularly animated periods. The threat of Indians in western Pennsylvania ended with their defeat by the forces of General Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in August, 1794.

Due to the hardships of travel to the county seat at Carlisle, the easternmost of the counties in this study, Bedford, was created in 1771 out of the westernmost section of Cumberland County. It was the first county west of the Tuscarora Mountain. This land had become part of Pennsylvania with the signing of the

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1754 Indian treaty at Albany. At that time it included the eastern part of what would become Somerset County and extended to the Allegheny Mountain, the western boundary set by that treaty. The intrusions of white settlers west of the Allegheny Mountain and speculator agitation spurred another meeting of British, American, and Iroquois representatives at Ft. Stanwix (present-day Rome, New York) in 1768. The treaty that resulted added all the remaining territory in what would become southwestern Pennsylvania.

The far western settlers were still not satisfied that Bedford served them well, and the Pennsylvania Assembly created Westmoreland County in 1773. It included all the land west of Laurel Ridge and south of a line due west from the head of the West Branch of the Susquehanna "to the limits of the province." About this time Lord Dunmore became governor of Virginia. He saw the feasibility of establishing jurisdiction over the Upper Ohio not only for controlling the area itself but as a possible base for exploitation of the whole western country.

By 1776 the Virginians had set up their own political boundaries for the region that eventually would become southwestern Pennsylvania. The county of Yohogania had its eastern boundary at the Laurel Ridge, its northern boundaries were the Kiskiminetas, Allegheny, and Ohio Rivers, and its southern boundary was nearly a direct line northwest from the point where the western boundary of Maryland met the Mason-Dixon line ending where Cross Creek enters the Ohio. (There is still a feeling among the people of the Mid Mon Valley which includes parts of Washington, Westmoreland, and Allegheny Counties, that this area should be a separate county. The Pennsylvania government is blamed for deliberately splitting the area into separate counties.) Monongalia County included territory south of this line and included the headwaters of the Monongahela and Cheat Rivers. And lastly, the territory tributary to the Ohio south of Cross Creek was denoted as Ohio County.

Some of the people living in these areas were not adherents of either Pennsylvania or Virginia. As early as 1776 there was a movement for a separate colony called Westsylvania. The petition for the new state lacked the focus required to attract the influential political interests whose support was necessary to carry it through. The states without claims to land in the transmontane country urged that all such claims be surrendered to the nation. This along with the settlement of the boundary unsatisfactorily to the Virginia adherents in the disputed area, revived agitation for creating a new state. (Although Pennsylvania and Virginia agreed to use the Mason-Dixon line as their boundary in 1780, the actual line delineating the boundary was not marked until 1784-85.) Pennsylvania had no intention of surrendering any of her territory either to the federal government or a new state. In answer to this agitation, Pennsylvania passed an act in 1781 for the organization of the territory south of the Ohio and west of the Monongahela as Washington County. Talk of

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secession from Pennsylvania would be revived again during the Whiskey Rebellion.

Pennsylvania erected Fayette County out of the southern portion of Westmoreland County in 1783. It had the Monongahela River for its western boundary, the Youghiogheny River and Laurel Ridge for its eastern boundary, the Mason-Dixon line for its southern boundary, and Jacob's Creek for its northern boundary.

Somerset County was erected in 1795 from the western portion of Bedford. The present western boundary of Somerset is the crest of Laurel Hill which was included in lands deeded to the Penn family by the Treaty at Ft. Stanwix. Greene County, the last of the seven counties to be erected, was carved out of the southern portion of Washington County in 1796. Being in the extreme southwest corner of the state, it is bound by West Virginia on the south and west, the Monongahela on the east, and its northern boundary is made up of the connection of two points; one, where the North Fork of Ten Mile Creek meets the Monongahela River, the other, where Enlows Fork of Wheeling Creek meets Pennsylvania's western boundary.

Between 1725 and 1775, Pennsylvania witnessed its greatest period of colonial-era immigration. The population of southeastern Pennsylvania rose by 68,000 between the years 1750 and 1760, the greatest amount per decade during the 18th century. These were largely Germans from the Palatinate and Scotch-Irish from Northern Ireland. This population surge was the driving force, prompting men to cross the Susquehanna for more land. During the Revolutionary War, the population continued to grow in the west. Following the War there was a sharp increase which peaked c. 1790.

Pennsylvania's religious, political, and economic diversity continued to attract settlers in the late-18th century. Nineteenth century historian Henry Adams called post-Revolutionary Pennsylvania, "the only true democratic community then existing in the eastern states." The Swiss native, Albert Gallatin, was equally impressed and stated, "from the suburbs of Philadelphia to the banks of the Ohio I do not know a single family that has extensive influence. An equal distribution of property has rendered every individual independent, and there is among us true and real equality."(2)

Settlement Patterns

The lure of unoccupied land was the great magnet that drew thousands into southwestern Pennsylvania. The settlers that came into the Bedford area came by way of the Raystown path along the Juniata River or the pack trail (later Forbes Road) that came east through Carlisle and Shippensburg or from the south over the Indian path from Old Town, Maryland. Raystown (now Bedford)

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was first settled about 1751.

The religious sect known as the Brethren were among the original settlers west of Allegheny Mountain in what became Somerset County. Brothersvalley, which takes its name from this group, was also the name of the first township between the Alleghenies and Laurel Hill. Another early settlement in southern Somerset County became known as Turkeyfoot, which takes its name from the peculiar configuration of the land formed by the confluence of three rivers. Consequently, and quite typically, the settlement of this area first occurred along the rivers, creeks, and trails into the area.

Beyond the Alleghenies, the Monongahela River Valley was the focal point of settlement. The eastern half of Fayette and Westmoreland Counties contain the last ridges of the Appalachian Mountains before the topography breaks away to the rolling foothills which dominate the rest of southwestern Pennsylvania. Most settlers kept moving through the mountainous region, having set their goals on the fertile Monongahela or Ohio Valleys. One stream of settlers came from eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey by way of the Forbes Road. These entered the region from the northeast and spread southwest over Westmoreland, northern Fayette, and eastern Allegheny Counties. They were of great ethnic diversity and had strong loyalties to Pennsylvania. Another stream of settlers entered the area from the southeast via Braddock's Road. These people came from Maryland and Virginia and entered more directly into the Monongahela Valley. They gave to Washington, Greene, southern Allegheny and Fayette Counties a more homogenous English population with stronger loyalties to Virginia.

Settlement naturally occurred along the rivers first. But in Westmoreland, the threat of Indian raids caused settlement to be heaviest along and to the south of Forbes Road. Historian Robert Harper in his study of southwestern Pennsylvania found the course of settlement to be first centered along the rivers, then moving to the interiors, and lastly to the border regions of each county. This geographical pattern of settlement affected the pattern of land ownership. Harper found the river townships to have the lowest percentage of landownership and smallest acreages, the interior townships next, and the border townships with the greatest percentage of land ownership and the largest acreages. In other words, the greatest amount of absentee landlords or greatest amount of tenancy occurred in the river townships, and the disenfranchised of these townships were important forces in the whiskey excise protest movement. Thus the way in which a township was settled and the duration of time in which it had undergone settlement were important factors in shaping the land patterns of western Pennsylvania. (3)

According to historian Thomas Purvis, the ethnic breakdown for the region comprising the counties of Allegheny, Washington, Fayette, Westmoreland, and

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Bedford in 1790 was as follows: English-34%, Welsh-3%, Scotch-12%, Irish-11%, Scotch-Irish-24%, and German-14%. (See Table 1 for the county breakdowns.) The English group was the largest in all of the counties. The Germans had the strongest showing in Bedford County. They also had strongholds in Fayette and Westmoreland Counties. However, the Scotch-Irish had an even higher percentage in Westmoreland, southern Allegheny, and Washington Counties. The 1989 Atlas of Pennsylvania shows that the highest proportions of Scotch-Irish in 1790 were in central Pennsylvania (Cumberland and Mifflin Counties) and the above mentioned counties in southwestern Pennsylvania. (This will be important to remember when excise unrest spreads.) (4)

Agricultural and Social Trends

Most of the settlers living in western Pennsylvania in the 1780's were living at a subsistence level. The median cleared acreage per farm was 20 acres. (Some studies suggest 40 acres was needed to support an average family.) Cleared acreage had doubled since the 1780's to allow median landowners commercial farming. By 1796 in Fayette County, cleared acreage had doubled, enabling median landowners to farm commercially. (5)

As new regions came to be more thickly settled, the percentage of land ownership dropped sharply. By the 1790's there was a marked decline in the size of land holdings. For example, in Fayette County the newly emerged frontier society showed the typical settler already landless by 1796. Similarly, tax records show that the majority of persons in the river townships of Fayette and Washington Counties were landless by the 1790's.

The 1790's also showed the spread of non-agrarian occupations, and the class structure of western Pennsylvania had begun to develop a small class of wealthy individuals. The wealthy were becoming entrenched, having a greater percentage of the wealth than they had in the 1780's. James Lemon found a similar trend in his studies of southeastern Pennsylvania. Tenants comprised 20-25% of the taxable population of western Pennsylvania. This was usually a short term arrangement and mutually beneficial for landlord and tenant. About 40% of the absentee landlords were from outside the western region. (6)

There were limited tax records from Somerset, Washington, Greene, Bedford, and Fayette Counties available to the researcher for the late 18th century. Abstracted information from the available extant records showed that the average acreage for those involved in leadership positions, even in a local way, during the Whiskey Rebellion was 267 acres. Of this amount an average of 55 acres or 20.5% was cleared. This indicates that most of this group were above subsistence level farming. The men of this group owned an average of three horses and five cows. This compares to wealthy ironmaster Isaac Meason who owned 3200 acres and 17 horses. Solon and Elizabeth Buck mention similar

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statistics of cleared land and number of farm animals for the average late 18th century settler in their history of western Pennsylvania. (7)

Among the wealthy and well-connected of the region was entrepreneur, John Neville, who owned about 1000 acres south of Pittsburgh. A distiller, he was also Supervisor of Collection of the excise tax for the four western counties. His house, barn, and outbuildings were destroyed by the whiskey rebels in July, 1794. An indication of the extent of his wealth is the description of his barn in the inventory presented to the national government for reimbursement. It is described as "a large frame barn just finished, with first story of stone 80 feet by 30 feet calculated for 50 head of cattle below." Also among the buildings destroyed was, "a large framed granary and corn house, two stories high with garner's compleat, to hold 1000 bushels grain," and "a large poultry house, with a shingle roof, in which were a number of ducks, turkies, dunghill fowl, and some fat shoats." No known dimensions from the 1798 federal tax exist for barns in Allegheny and Washington Counties. However, the 29 barns listed in the Greene Township, Greene County list have an average measurement of 44.5 X 21.1 feet which is quite a bit smaller than Neville's barn. (8)

Historical geographer James Lemon noted that the most demanding periods for the typical late 18th century farmer were June and July when hay was cut and small grains harvested. The farmers then labored less intensively until the October harvest of Indian corn. Associated with the harvest and hard work was the whiskey distributed to the field hands to ease their pain and fatigue. The national government did not take this into account when U. S. Marshal Lennox was sent to the western counties in June/July of 1794 to deliver summons to delinquent farmers and consequently met with a rude reception. The farmers encountered along the way were concerned about their civil rights, but they also probably had enough liquor in their systems to quench any fear of disobeying the law. (9)

According to local histories, the Monongahela Valley was particularly suited to the growing of rye grain. Agricultural historian Stevenson Fletcher noted that rye yields were somewhat higher than those of wheat, especially in light or poor land or land under indifferent management. Fletcher also stated that more rye was grown in the colonial period up to 1840 than barley or oats. This was particularly true during the period when the Hessian Fly was scourging wheat fields. (The Hessian Fly first appeared in Pennsylvania in 1786 and by 1797 had spread west of the Alleghenies.) English traveler, Henry Wansey, stated in 1794, that if more barley were cultivated and breweries established in America, the general use of whiskey would be lessened. He further states that whiskey is the general beverage of the back settlers because every man with a small still and little rye can produce it in his own house. Fletcher attributes William Strickland to stating in 1801 that all the backcountry of America is very favorable to the growth of rye, and it is entirely consumed in the distillation of

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whiskey. (10)

Tench Coxe wrote in 1810 that the American manufacture of spirits was principally from rye, apples, and peaches. Very little whiskey or liquor was imported at that time, most being produced in American distilleries. The large amount of rye produced for these distilleries helped keep the price of wheat high because it employed a proportional part of the cleared land and labor of the country. Earlier figures were not found, but Pennsylvania in 1860 ranked number one in the United States in the production of rye. (11)

Although historian Leland Baldwin stated that about 25% of United States stills in 1794 were located in the Monongahela country, it may be more accurate to say 25% of the stills were in Pennsylvania. The earliest known complete record is from Tench Coxe's 1810 list of manufactures. This records 36 Pennsylvania counties with 3,594 distilleries. Of this number 799 were in southwestern Pennsylvania. (For unknown reasons Greene County was not listed with any distilleries.) This last number represents 22% of the total distilleries in Pennsylvania. Adam Seybert's 1818 Statistical Annals notes 14,191 stills in the United States in 1810. Accordingly, 25% of all United States stills were located in Pennsylvania. (Please note that these early reports are often unreliable, but they are used here to give an idea what may have existed at that time.) (12)

Although local southwestern Pennsylvania histories have stated that at the time of the Rebellion every fifth or sixth farm had a still, a look at the tax records indicates that this number was high. For example, using the tax records for Strabane Township, Washington County 1791-1793, there was an average of 234 taxables in that township with an average of 15 stills. This would mean that approximately one in fifteen had stills or about 7% of the taxable population had stills. (Robert Harper's study of Fayette County tax records showed a similar statistic of one in 15-16 taxables having a still.) Dorothy Fennell in her studies determined that about 11% of the western taxable population had stills. She also made a study of the role of the distiller in the Rebellion. She found that only one in four rebels was a distiller. However, 30% of Washington county rebels owned stills. (13)

The study of Strabane township provides some documentation of the mobility or fluctuations in whiskey distilling in the county. Less than half of the distillers operated from year to year. Comparison of these records with Neville's 1796-97 excise records revealed that less than a third had been previously recorded with stills. The results of these comparisons show that late 18th century stilling tended not to be a permanent occupation. (14)

Neville's 1796-97 list of stills and stillers for Washington County shows 413 stillers with 602 stills. (This list was comprised of Greene County townships as well.) Somerset Township had the largest number of distillers at 34, but

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Cumberland Township had the largest number of stills at 55. The percentage of distillers with only one still within a township ranged from 50% to 80%.

Many historians have stated that the one of the burdens of the whiskey excise was the fact that whiskey had to be hauled over the Alleghenies at an added expense. William Hanna in his 1882 History of Greene County states that whiskey was put in kegs holding from six to twenty gallons. These kegs were then put in a wallet across the back of a packhorse. After twenty to thirty horses were thus fitted out, the company would head east. There is no doubt that hauling would be an added expense, but there is little documentation as to how much of the whiskey manufactured in the Monongahela Valley was hauled over the mountains. On the other hand, documents found in the Thomas Hamilton Collection at the Westmoreland County Historical Society indicate that whiskey, maple sugar, and ginseng were being shipped down the Ohio river by 1793. Likewise, historian Harper had found that by the 1790's the yeoman class or about one third of the western population had developed commercial agriculture based on a growing down-river trade. (15)

The distiller was a key element in the whiskey excise protest movement. Many were members of the economic, political or social elite of their communities. The excise tax profoundly affected them, and likewise how the distiller responded to the tax influenced the community's response. Just as the location of Scotch-Irish settlements would be a determinant of where protests would break-out, the reaction of distillers was another principal factor in the Rebellion. (16)

Transportation

The first routes into southwestern Pennsylvania were by either of the major river systems: Susquehanna-Juniata east of the Alleghenies or Ohio-Allegheny-Monongahela west of the Alleghenies. The major overland routes partially followed tributaries of these waterways or had major junctions along them. The major obstacle of the water and travel by man was the mountains curving southwesterly across the state. The route chosen depended on the time allotted for travel and the load to be carried. Some routes were miles longer but didn't have steep slopes to traverse. All of the routes had the Forks of the Ohio as their focal point.

The major Indian trails into the area that became Bedford County were the Raystown and Frankstown branches of the Allegheny Path. The Raystown Path was the southern branch and lead from Harris's Ferry to the Forks, passing through Raystown, present-day Bedford. The northern branch, the Frankstown Path, according to historian Paul A. W. Wallace was by far the most important and most frequently traveled road across the Pennsylvania mountains. (By the late 18th century, the well-traveled paths had become roads, albeit

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often poor ones.) It diverged from the Raystown Path in western Cumberland County, passed through the mountains along Aughwick Creek and the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata River to Frankstown in present-day Blair County. (17)

The earliest route from the south into the Monongahela region was named after the Indian, Nemaquin, who guided the Ohio Company's route from Wills Creek, present-day Cumberland, Maryland, in 1752. At Half King's Rock near Jumonville (on Chestnut Ridge) the road split, one section going to Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville), and the other to the Forks of the Ohio. General Braddock nearly followed the latter path in 1755, and after that time this section of the path became known as Braddock's Road.

In 1758 General John Forbes set out from Carlisle using the road Colonel James Burd had cut to Raystown in 1755 (using the Raystown Path) to remove the French from Ft. Duquesne. Forbes wanted to insure his army had a continuous supply of provisions. To accomplish this, a line of forts with a good connecting road were needed. Of great importance to Pennsylvania was his decision to build his road west from Bedford using the general route of the Raystown Path which was shorter than by going by way of Ft. Cumberland. There had been political pressure from Virginians to use the Braddock route. Forbes successfully eliminated the French from the Forks, and his road connected eastern Pennsylvania with western Pennsylvania. The military roads created by Braddock and Forbes would become the major 18th century routes into the region. (18)

In 1759 Colonel Burd built a road from a point four miles west of Bedford (Bonnet's Tavern) to Redstone (Brownsville). This route generally followed the Glades path through Somerset into Fayette County, but where Braddock's trail turned north on Chestnut Ridge toward Ft. Pitt, Burd digressed and continued westward to Redstone. This was a favorite route for westward settlers during dry seasons. The Burd Road from Mt. Braddock (now the area of the Isaac Meason house) to Brownsville facilitated the transport of supplies from Virginia and Maryland to the Monongahela where they could be shipped to Ft. Pitt.

State Representative Hugh H. Brackenridge of Pittsburgh proposed state aid for a road system from Philadelphia to western Pennsylvania, and the 1792-93 omnibus act for internal improvement created the Pennsylvania Road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. The route followed the Forbes Road to Ligonier, but from there took a slightly more southern route to Greensburg and onto Pittsburgh. The alternate route was the Upper Glade Road through Somerset and Mt. Pleasant to Greensburg. (19)

As already stated, the Forks of the Ohio was the focal point of all paths and roads to the west. Travelers, traders, and settlers from Virginia, Maryland,

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and Pennsylvania were funneled into southwestern Pennsylvania by the mountains and rivers of the area. (This is best illustrated by Map 3.) The bulk of traffic from the Chesapeake regions to the upper Ohio went north to Chambersburg and then took the Pennsylvania Road west.

Men such as George Washington, Tench Coxe, Thomas Jefferson, and Albert Gallatin early on saw the need for roads from the coastal areas to the interior. By 1790 Pennsylvania had begun a survey for a system of canals and roads to facilitate transportation across the state. Although Pennsylvania took the lead in transportation with the Philadelphia/Lancaster turnpike in 1794; other projects within the state languished. Coxe stated in the 1790's, "The interior of Pennsylvania is peculiarly adapted and impelled to the manufactory of glass, earthen ware, stone ware, and iron ware." Although some of these industries saw their beginnings in the late 18th century in southwestern Pennsylvania, they would not be developed to their prime until the mid-19th century. (20)

Albert Gallatin in his report of 1808 as Secretary of the Treasury promoted the "early and efficient aid of the federal government" to create good roads and canals which will shorten distances, facilitate commerce and unite a community of interests. This report also mentioned that the state of Pennsylvania had incorporated two companies to extend the road from Philadelphia by two different routes to Pittsburgh, the southern route through Bedford and Somerset, and the northern route through Huntingdon and Frankstown. Although the Pennsylvania Road west to Chambersburg was made a toll road in 1806, work on it was not completed until 1818. (21)

Work on the Jefferson administration's National Road was equally slow. Congress had set aside \$30,000 from the sale of wilderness lands for highway construction in 1806. The location was agreed upon by the states through which it passed in 1808. Then as now, the highways of America were built chiefly of politics. Learning that the eastern terminus for the road was Baltimore, which would siphon trade away from Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1807 authorized the road through the state but stipulated that it go through Uniontown. Likewise in 1816, the Assembly postulated that the road go through Washington, Pennsylvania.

Early Architecture

Generally, the earliest buildings of southwestern Pennsylvania were constructed of logs. Log construction was best adapted to frontier living as it was relatively simple in form and economical in materials and time. There were some notable exceptions to this rule. Certain areas of Fayette County had a higher than usual ratio of stone houses. Early examples of these include the Edward Cook house in Washington Township and the Andrew Rabb house in German Township. Both are believed to have been built in the 1770's. Both Cook and Rabb became

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large landholders/entrepreneurs and pronounced their success on the frontier through powerful architecture of substance and solid craftsmanship. Brick houses didn't usually occur until after 1800. However, Albert Gallatin chose to build his 26 X 29 foot house of brick in 1789. According to architectural historian Charles Stotz, stone was the choice building material from the late 18th century through the early 19th century, but by 1830 brick buildings were overwhelmingly in evidence throughout the region. (22)

To document the kind of housing found in southwestern Pennsylvania during the era of study the 1798 Direct Tax was used. The 1798 Direct tax, a federal tax, often referred to as the glass tax, was enacted in that year to raise resources to strengthen the army and navy as an undeclared war with France began. Houses and outbuildings were assessed according to size, material, age, number of windows, and apparently sometimes workmanship. There were at least five lists for some but not all counties. The first list or List A contained the highest valued buildings within a municipality. List A also gave the most detailed information on each building. This list gave the building material, size, number of stories, number of windows, and number of panes of glass. Lists lower than B did not give particular details such as the materials or dimensions of the building.

Tax statistics were compiled from two townships from each of the seven counties of this study. (Whenever possible, the townships chosen were those most closely related to Whiskey Rebellion activities.) These statistics included building material and number of stories. The results showed that 88% of the highest valued houses of the region were built of logs. Just over 5% were built of stone and less than 1% were built of brick. Vernacular architecture researcher, Karen Koegler found a similar percentage of stone buildings in her study of the 1798 federal tax for Fayette, Westmoreland, Washington, and Greene Counties. (As an example of comparison, Cumberland County, east of the Alleghenies, had just 2% of its best housing or that noted on List A constructed of stone in 1798.) Actually the percentage of stone houses may be even smaller because the majority of dwelling houses of the region were appraised at less than \$100.00, and the building materials for these were not specified. In addition, since log or wood construction was the cheapest construction form in terms of materials and labor, those inhabitants of low or middling income would have lived in small buildings of this type. (23) (See Table 1.)

By 1798 the town of Pittsburgh had already established a preference for building material different from that of the surrounding countryside. Here, 27% of its finest buildings (those on List A) were constructed of brick, while only 2% were of stone, and the remainder (71%) were frame or log. This preference for brick is similar to other established Pennsylvania towns and cities such as Lancaster and Philadelphia.

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Table 1--Materials and Heights of Buildings According to the 1798 Federal Tax

County/ Township	# of Prop- erties	Materials in %				# of Stories in %		
		Stone	Brick	Log	Frame	1	1 1/2	2
Bedford/Ayre	64	7	1	92	0	40	6	54
Bedford/ Hopewell	142	3	0	74	0	0	0	0
Somerset/ Brothersvalley	98	3	0	96	0	6	28	66
Somerset/ Stoneycreek	28	3	0	89	0	25	14	57
Fayette/ Franklin	44	15	0	79	4	04	13	79
Fayette/ German	33	12	0	87	0	0	3	93
Westmoreland/ Hempfield	137	0	0	99	0	16	0	83
Westmoreland/ Fairfield	13	15	0	84	0	15	7	76
Allegheny/ Fayette	12	0	0	91	8	0	16	83
Allegheny/ Elizabeth	50	2	0	88	10	4	10	86
Washington/ Nottingham	39	2	0	94	0	5	28	66
Washington/ Fallowfield	33	0	3	96	0	3	27	69
Greene/Greene	28	7	0	82	21	35	0	64
Greene/ Cumberland	77	9	1	83	11	12	27	61
average percentages		5	0	88	4	12	13	61

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(Please note that these percentages are based on the raw data found in the tax records in which there were omissions of information. Consequently, the percentages do not necessarily equal 100 percent.)

Again using the 1798 federal tax, 67% of the houses were found to be of two stories. Another 13% of the houses were one and a half stories, and 12% were just one story. These numbers were compared to those of extant houses associated with the Whiskey Rebellion. In this instance 93% of the houses are of two stories. In addition, 84% of those houses already listed in the National Register of Historic Places associated with the Whiskey Rebellion are of two stories.

**Table 2
List A of 1798 Federal Tax**

County	Township	# of Properties	Average House Size
Fayette	German	32	22.3 X 29.0
Washington	Nottingham	39	21.1 X 26.6
Greene	Greene	28	19.6 X 26.2
Somerset	Stoneycreek	27	24.8 X 32.2
Westmoreland	Rostraver	34	22.8 X 29.9
Allegheny	Mifflin	35	21.3 X 27.0

The 1798 federal tax was also used to obtain information as to the average size of buildings in this period. List A of this tax was used in this study. This list assessed all those houses within each township that was valued at more than \$100.00. Consequently, these were the finest houses in the township. A representative township was chosen for each county except Bedford where no lists of this level are extant. Those townships chosen were those active in the whiskey excise protest, and those of nearly equal size in terms of number of properties recorded on the tax list. The results indicate that Greene County had the smallest houses and Somerset County had the largest. This appears to be logical as Somerset is in the eastern part of the region where settlement should have occurred first, and Greene is in the westernmost part of the region where settlement should have occurred last. The average size house of a person of the upper class at that time was 21.9 feet X 28.4 feet which by today's standards is quite small. (See table 2.)

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This study of building materials, number of stories, and dimensions as provided by the 1798 Direct Tax gave the writer insight into what the typical late 18th century house should look like. It also provided a model or standard for comparison when doing the actual field or survey work.

This information showed that the size of the average rebel's house or that of those documented to have been involved in the Whiskey Rebellion (those charged with offenses) was quite smaller. The rebels in Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County were used as examples. Eleven houses associated with these rebels were found in the 1798 tax. Some of these houses were found on List B which of course means that they were of less value than those on List A. The average size of these houses was 19.4 X 22.6 feet. (See Table 3.)

Table 3
Men Involved in the Whiskey Excise Protest in Hempfield Township,
Westmoreland County

Name	House Size in Feet	Tax List
Jacob Cribbs	20 X 24	B
James Guthrie	24 X 34	A
Christopher Snyder	18 X 18	B
Daniel Harrold	26 X 26	A
John Shotts	16 X 18	B
Andrew Iserman	18 X 22	B
Paul McLean	14 X 18	B
Philip Steinmetz	20 X 35	B
Jacob Painter	24 X 26	A
Philip (Peter) Straw	18 X 20	B
John (Betty) McQuiston	16 X 18	B

Measurements were also noted for surveyed buildings associated with the Whiskey Rebellion. These houses are somewhat larger with an average measurement of 24.3 X 32 feet. (See Table 4.) In addition, the size of National Register houses associated with the Whiskey Rebellion was also computed. These houses were substantially larger, with their average measurement being 27.4 X 37.7 feet. (See Table 5.)

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Table 4
Surveyed Buildings Associated with the Whiskey Rebellion

County	Township	Historic Name	Height	Measurement
Bedford	Bedford	Dibert House	2 1/2	29 X 32
Bedford	Snake Spring Valley	Defibaugh Tavern	2 1/2	20 X 25
Bedford	Snake Spring Valley	Hartley House	2 1/2	22 X 36
Somerset	Berlin Borough	Philson House	2 1/2	30 X 35
Somerset	Somerset Borough	Husband House	2 1/2	26 X 30
Fayette	German	Ross House	1 1/2	20 X 22
Fayette	German	Rabb House	2 1/2	24 X 44
Westmoreland	Rostraver	Daily House	2 1/2	
Westmoreland	Rostraver	Black Horse Tavern	2 1/2	29 X 35
Allegheny	Pittsburgh	Woods House	2 1/2	23 X 31
Washington	Union	Gaston House	2 1/2	
Washington	Carroll	Hamilton House	2 1/2	
Greene	Cumberland	Crawford House	2 1/2	20 X 30

Vernacular architecture historian Orlando Rideout has studied the 1798 federal tax for Maryland. He found that large 2 1/2 story stone and brick buildings had a 50% survival rate, while simple frame hall and parlor houses had a 15% survival rate, and those houses of the smallest category had less than a 1% survival rate.

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This comparison serves to illustrate how it is probable that none of the small wooden houses of the typical rebel would have survived to the present. (24)

The Pennsylvania Bureau for Historic Preservation's computer data of survey information was used to provide additional documentation of the housing stock expected to be found in southwestern Pennsylvania. This information noted what materials were most prevalent among surveyed resources for the period 1780-1830. (Historic Surveys were conducted in five of the seven counties. Regretably, Washington and Greene Counties have not had comprehensive surveys. See Table 6.) Unfortunately, most of the buildings of this study period had no material given. Of the 30% of properties with type of materials given, over half or 16% were log, 8% were stone, 5% were brick, and 1% were frame. This information would indicate that the majority of buildings for this period are located in Westmoreland County. The least amount is in Greene County. (See Table 5.)

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Table 5

National Register Listed Buildings Associated with the Whiskey Rebellion

County	Municipality	Historic Name	Height	Measurement
Bedford	Bedford Borough	Espy House	2 1/2	24 X 32
Fayette	Springhill Township	Gallatin House	2 1/2	26 X 29
Fayette	Dunbar Township	Meason House	2 1/2	38 X 51
Fayette	Washington Township	Cook House	2 1/2	28 X 36
Fayette	South Union	Gaddis House	2 1/2	20 X 26
Allegheny	Collier Township	Neville House	2 1/2	25 X 48
Allegheny	South Park Township	Miller House	2 1/2	
Allegheny	Collier Township	Walker-Ewing House	2 1/2	20 X 26
Westmoreland	Irwin Borough	Irwin House	2 1/2	34 X 54
Washington	Washington Borough	Bradford House	2 1/2	32 X 32
Greene	Greene Township	Corbley House	2 1/2	25 X 50
Greene	Jefferson Township	Hughes House	2 1/2	30 X 31

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Table 6
Materials of Properties 1780-1830 in Southwestern Pennsylvania According to
Bureau for Historic Preservation Computer Data

County	Total Properties	Log	Frame	Brick	Stone	Material Not Given
Allegheny	139	8	2	8	9	112
Bedford	33	1	1	3	3	25
Fayette	111	4	0	9	11	87
Greene	11	3	0	1	3	4
Somerset	145	111	6	12	15	1
Washington	62	6	1	9	23	23
Westmoreland	367	12	2	6	8	339
totals	868	145	12	48	72	591
percentage	100%	16%	1%	5%	8%	68%

Another source that was used to determine what type of housing stock may be expected to be found in the region was census records. Housing statistics were extracted from the 1940 and 1980 census records. The 1940 census reported a total of 16,716 houses in the region built in 1859 or earlier. It is impossible to determine how many of these houses dated to the 1780-1830 period. It is certain, however, that many of these buildings would be gone by 1980. The average rate of retention of pre-1939 houses in the region was 68%, and it may be assumed that the earliest houses stood the least likelihood of retention. (See Table 7.)

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**Table 7
Housing Statistics for Seven County Region of Study
Using 1940 and 1980 Census Records**

County	1940 Total housing Units	Houses Built 1859 or Earlier	% of Pre-1859 Housing	Pre-1939 Housing Standing in 1980	Retention Rate of Pre-1939 Housing in %
Bedford	10,463	805	7.7	7,714	73.7
Somerset	21,207	949	4.4	15,204	71.7
Fayette	48,970	2,047	4.1	32,417	66.2
Greene	11,355	950	8.3	8,121	71.5
Washington	53,514	2,284	4.2	37,957	70.9
Allegheny	368,485	7,726	2.1	247,083	67.0
Westmoreland	76,325	1,955	2.6	55,780	73.0

The 1798 federal tax was again used to determine architectural characteristics of still houses in southwestern Pennsylvania. As would be expected most were constructed of logs, but some of the larger ones were constructed of stone. Twenty-seven still houses in Bedford, Fayette, Washington, and Greene Counties had dimensions given for them. Their average measurement was 17.4 X 21.5 feet.

This survey found what is believed to be five early distilleries or their ruins in the region. These include: the Teeter/Manchester distillery in Independence Township, Washington County, the Huffman distillery in Somerset Township, Washington County, the Perryopolis distillery in Perryopolis, Fayette County, the Bedell distillery in Jefferson Township, Allegheny County, and the Roselli distillery in Sewickley Township, Westmoreland County. The average measurement of these buildings is 25 X 40 feet which is quite a bit larger than the average found in 1798.

Koegler's study found stone houses clustered in the older settled townships, those containing the county seat, and areas near the Monongahela River. This would correspond with Harper's study in which he found the river townships the

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most advanced. Redstone Township in Fayette County had 18% of its finest houses built of stone, the highest percentage in the region. It was the elites of the region, no matter their ethnic background or area of origin, who built the stone houses. However, some noted politicians remained in small log buildings in 1798, close to the people they represented. Among these were William Findley of Westmoreland County and John Smilie of Fayette County. On the other hand, politician, Hugh Brackenridge lived in a two story frame house in Pittsburgh valued at twice that of his rival John Woods' stone house and six times that of the frame Neville house then in St. Clair Township. Men of means such as Isaac Meason, Albert Gallatin, and Edward Cook chose prominent hilltop positions to locate their stone houses. Robert Ross chose to place his stone house on a knoll east of Masontown even though it is quite smaller than the above mentioned ones.

Although Kogler found the three bay, side hall plan the most common house plan, my studies of Whiskey Rebellion related properties show a variety of bays and plans. I found houses ranging from two bays to seven bays, with side halls, central halls, and variants of the hall/parlor plan. In fact there is a wide variety of forms found in the region. The greater part of these houses were constructed with plans that show some ethnic influence or retain earlier vernacular features but also display the ever increasing influence of the Georgian plan. A Georgian house in its purest form was recognized by its five-bay facade. Each bay was evenly spaced, and the external expression was one of symmetry. In these houses there was a central passage, and each room was designed with a specific function in mind. In earlier building traditions, such as the hall/parlor plan, entry into the house was directly into the hall, an inclusive term which denoted both kitchen and living space. This hall/parlor served as the social center of the house. In addition, in these earlier building forms, rooms were multifunctional. (25)

As could be expected building forms reflect the nationality of the settlers. Bedford and Somerset Counties exhibit a high rate of banked houses which may relate to the German influence there. Good examples of these include the Naugle and Dibert houses of Bedford Township. Most often these houses had the original cooking fireplaces in the kitchen which was in the basement.

Charles Stotz believed that Virginia exerted a strong influence on southwestern Pennsylvania architecture. One house that is usually named as an example of this influence is the Neville house in Allegheny County. However, the Meason and Manchester houses have the air of gentility typical of southern plantations as well. Lesser known examples, usually masonry and one-and-a-half stories, do exist in southern Allegheny, Fayette, Washington, and Greene Counties. One thing all of the houses of pretense in the region built in the period 1785-1815 have in common is their Federal style elements. (26)

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In conclusion, the late 18th/early 19th century vernacular architecture of southwestern Pennsylvania was not only changing and accommodating in response to the traditional building styles of the various ethnic groups in the region but also in response to the popularization and demands of the Georgian plan and the Federal style of architecture.

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Table 9--Surveyed Whiskey Rebellion Related Properties in the Region

County	Surveyed/ Unlisted	National Register Listed	National Historic Landmark	Proposed Marker Site
Bedford	Dibert House, Defibaugh Tavern, Hartley Tavern	Bonnet Tavern, Naugle House	Espy House	Bonnet Tavern
Somerset	Philson House, Husband House			Berlin Square
Fayette	Ross House, Rabb House	Cook House, Gaddis House	Gallatin House, Meason House	Wells Site
Westmoreland	Daily House, Black Horse Tavern	Irwin House		Findley Site
Allegheny	Woods House, Lobb's Cemetery	Ft. Pitt Redoubt, Walker House, Miller House	Neville House	Braddock's Field
Washington	Huffman Distillery, Mingo Creek Churchyard, McMillan's School, Hamilton House, Gaston House	Teeter/ Manchester Distillery	Bradford House	Mingo Creek Church
Greene	Crawford House	Hughes House, Corbley House		Corbley House

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Section number E Page 24 **Background and Significance of Insurrection or Rebellion on the Frontiers of America**

Insurrections and protests occurred on the American frontier, previous to the Whiskey Rebellion. What became known as the War of the Regulation occurred in North Carolina in the early 1770's. Farmers and artisans of the backcountry of this state became greatly dissatisfied with corrupt government leaders who were only concerned with the welfare of the merchant-lawyer-officeholding elite. These sycophants largely lived in the eastern coastal area of the state and perpetuated their office through high taxes and restrictive laws on the largely agrarian residents of the backcountry. Although the government was petitioned, it was heedless to the calls for reform. Finally, armed regulators attacked courts in session, often holding them hostage or disbanding them. This prompted the governor to raise troops. The conflict ended in armed confrontation between the state's troops and the shoddily armed insurrectionists. Of course the government troops were superior to the challenge, and the regulators were dispersed. Some of the leaders were hanged, but one of them, Herman Husband, fled to Pennsylvania where this experience would be used 20 years later in the Whiskey Rebellion. (27)

Another frontier insurrection has been termed Shays' Rebellion of 1786-87. This occurred on the frontier of Massachusetts where disgruntled farmers struggled for economic relief. As in the North Carolina case, the farmers and artisans in western Massachusetts were facing different economic conditions than their eastern brethren. The farmers began their protest with petitions and conventions to make their government representatives aware of their distress. Instead of making changes favorable to the farmer, laws were made to increase the power and holdings of the commercial/political elite. When the farmer's reform efforts failed, they took up guns and formed groups and called themselves regulators after their North Carolina predecessors. They took courts hostage, in particular, debtor courts, also similar to actions taken by the Carolinians. (28)

Instead of government officials getting the point that the farmers were in economic distress, they saw the farmers as plotting their own rise to power. Those who had been Revolutionary leaders feared extra-legal/popular protests and met the Shaysites with military force. They raised an army which served to radicalize the farmers who continued to maraud political, military and commercial leaders after they were officially defeated by the governor's armed forces. Many of the Shaysites fled to the Ohio Valley which served as a shelter for the rebels and provided a means to end the rebellion without a final confrontation. The bulk of Shaysites remained in Massachusetts where they continued the fight by opposing the federal Constitution. (29)

Many similarities can be seen between Shays' Rebellion and the Whiskey

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Rebellion. Most of the Shaysites were of English or Scotch-Irish ancestry and members of the Congregational Church. Many of the whiskey rebels were Scotch-Irish and members of the Presbyterian Church. The social uniformity of these groups enhanced unity and facilitated communication between individuals and communities. This is why it was possible for whiskey rebels to be meeting on August 14, 1794 at Parkinson's Ferry in Washington County and on the same date in Cumberland County. There was a high literacy rate in Pennsylvania during the 1790's, and letters and newspapers were passed along from neighbor to neighbor or read in the local tavern. Historian Joseph Ellis noted that the backcountry counties of Pennsylvania had a literacy rate of 65% which compares to a 60% literacy rate in England and 50% in France. Similarly, Baptist groups in southwestern Pennsylvania were served by itinerant preachers who spread protest information from congregation to congregation. And the German Brethren groups of Somerset County were composed of tight-knit families which facilitated communication as well. (30)

Other similarities include the fact that these rebellions were regional clashes with eastern mercantile interests against western agrarian interests. Both can be seen as clashes between traditional societies and developing commercial cultures. Disgruntled Revolutionary War soldiers were major elements in both conflicts. Although many Shaysites and whiskey rebels fled down the Ohio Valley, many also stayed as economies improved in each locality after the clashes. The releasing of these people onto the frontier relieved economic pressure and prevented a prolonged guerilla war.

The history of the excise protest movement has its antecedents in the Stamp Act crisis of 1765 and excise protests earlier in Great Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries and in Pennsylvania itself in 1786 when excise officer William Graham appeared in Washington County only to be attacked and humiliated. This last episode marked the end of the state excise in the western counties of Pennsylvania until the federal government passed a new excise bill in March, 1791. Frontier farmers hated the tax on whiskey because it struck at their most valuable market commodity in what was essentially a local barter economy.

The enacting of this tax stirred the ire of frontiersmen and brought to light a multitude of problems facing him including: the decreasing opportunity to own land, lack of access to markets, lack of military protection, and eastern elitism. It also brought attention to the American frontier as a separate place where hardship was an everyday experience. Washington considered the frontier the most crucial element in the survival of the United States. This frontier was not only important in national politics but in international politics as well. An independent frontier nation that could fall into the hands of England or Spain was an odious thought. This was one reason Washington raised more troops to put down the Whiskey Rebellion than was ever raised to fight the Indians on the frontier and larger than any force he had commanded during the American

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Revolution. (31)

The Whiskey Rebellion appears to have been inevitable as two fundamentally different views of the American Revolution and the American Constitution had developed by this time. Whereas many Revolutionary leaders such as George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Samuel Adams saw the first conflict as necessary for them to gain greater control over American affairs, other leaders, such as Thomas Jefferson, saw the Revolution as a democratizing force where all elements of American society would have an equal opportunity for material wealth, political office, and social privileges. (32)

Synopsis of the Whiskey Rebellion

The Whiskey Rebellion occurred in the summer of 1794 when farmers of western Pennsylvania decided the laws of the nation had become too repressive for them to submit to. It had been three years since the hated excise law had been passed. Congress had been petitioned for repeal---excise collectors or their associates had been tarred and feathered. All to no apparent effect. When the U.S. Marshal appeared on the scene with writs for non-complying stillers to appear in U. S. Court in Philadelphia, it was too much to bear. Armed protest was precipitated by the alleged killing of a protester by the Inspector of Revenue. The insurrection only lasted about six weeks, but it was a tense period for the nation as it tetered on the brink of civil war.

Although it was ten years since the American Revolution had ended, the young nation was still wrestling with what the roles of the government and the people should be. Among these were: the role and responsibility of congressional representatives to their constituents and the limits of Americans' rights as citizens.

Many of the leaders of the Revolution had come to realize that a centralized government was needed to effectively raise taxes and armies in order to protect the liberties thus gained. They rightfully believed that the loose confederation of states would soon fall prey to enemies within and without. Their efforts to correct this resulted in the Constitution of 1787. However, other men feared the power given to a centralized national government would prove to be oppressive and destructive of the people's liberties. These men formed the Antifederalist party and worked to amend the Constitution. Although these men were effective in bringing about the Bill of Rights, added to the Constitution in 1791, they still had legitimate concerns about the direction of national government.

A combination of circumstances and issues made western Pennsylvania ripe for insurrection. One of these was the fact that the region west of the Alleghenies had a long history of defying governmental authority. In the 1760's Governor

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John Penn described the frontier people of western Pennsylvania as a "lawless ungovernable crew." Contentiousness would best portray the beginnings of local civil government in the region in the 1770's. Like the Pennsylvania-Virginia trade rivalry which had dominated the politics of the previous two decades, the question of which state should have governmental authority and control of the region commanded local political energies for the next two decades. This political factiousness carried over into the 1790's.(33) Not only did excise tax opponents dislike the financial burden of the tax, but they also feared the power it gave the national government. At the same time, the Rebellion was as much an internal crisis within the region as it was a confrontation between the United States government and the farmer/distillers.

Pennsylvania had been politically divided by region at least since the Revolution. The Susquehanna River roughly divided the state into two regions. Southeastern Pennsylvania was dominated by mercantile, manufacturing, and landholding interests of old established families while western Pennsylvania was largely controlled by farmer/artisan immigrants or newcomers. Only Pittsburgh shared in the commercial interests of the east. Whereas independence was enthusiastically supported by most western Pennsylvanians, southeastern Pennsylvania's involvement was hampered by segments of its population who were loyalists, reluctant rebels or pacifists. Throughout the national and state political controversies of the 1780's, southeastern Pennsylvania and western Pennsylvania remained consistently opposed.(34)

Another force on the political scene was the French Revolution which had begun in 1789. Sympathy for the French swelled in America from the start. American friends of liberty not only drank toasts to their comrades at political and military gatherings but also raised money and goods for the relief of Frenchmen. Dutch traveler, Theophile Cazenove noted in his journey in 1794 through New Jersey and Pennsylvania of seeing high poles topped with a liberty bonnet and little boys with tri-colored French ribbons in their hats.(35) French Ambassador Genet arrived in 1793 to recruit volunteers to aid his nation's cause. This was viewed by Washington as part of an international scheme against order, and he feared the contagion would spread to the West where the situation was already volatile.

Another issue of these politically turbulent times was the defense of the frontiers. Western Pennsylvania continued to be a violent region with sporadic Indian attacks occurring into the 1790's. General Harmar's expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1790 met with defeat, and General St. Clair's ill clad and ill prepared force met an even worse defeat in 1791. These defeats not only left frontier settlers uneasy but peaked the British' interest in inciting unrest on the American frontiers. The Indian threat to western Pennsylvania was finally broken in August, 1794 when General Anthony Wayne's forces defeated the Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. In each of these instances the army was

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not comprised of more than 1500 men which had taken months to assemble. This makes it seem remarkable that over 12,000 troops were raised in just six weeks to put down the Whiskey Rebellion.

Economics was another sore point for westerners. The promises of equality and freedom which these people had fought for during the Revolution seemed elusive. Eastern speculators appeared to have better opportunity to own the best land in the region. Increasingly in the 1790's it was harder for the average settler to own land, one of the reasons settlers faced the hardships of frontier life in the first place. (36) The government also appeared passive in opening the Mississippi for commerce, the only logical avenue of trade for people west of the Alleghenies. Despite having representatives in Congress, western interests did not appear to be taken into account. This was especially manifested in the passage of the excise tax which seemed to be directed at those who depended on the manufacture of whiskey for a livelihood and those who could least afford to pay it.

In the early 1790's, the communities along the Youghiogheny and Monongahela Rivers were in the initial stages of commercialization and industrialization. Iron making, boat building, and whiskey distilling were changing the economy. More men were becoming laborers and artisans in these trades and trades associated with them. In addition, many of the farmers had developed their farms to the point where commercial farming was possible. As towns and communities began to grow, the land along the rivers became more valuable. With increased prices and the specialization of jobs it was increasingly more difficult to be a subsistence farmer. Many marginal farmers and laborers often moved further on into the frontier. As mentioned previously, often those dissatisfied with their economic status, become players in political upheavals. (37)

Another simmering issue was the fact that this was a separate region from the East. The people west of the Alleghenies were not drawn naturally to Philadelphia for trade but instead looked to the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers for commerce. In 1776 this region claimed by both Pennsylvania and Virginia petitioned for independence of both. The state of Westsylvania would not be created, but the issue would come live again in 1794.

The mixture of people themselves with their religious and cultural ties and political ideals was a contributing factor in the Rebellion. Although the ethnicity of the greater part of the population was Anglo, including English, Welsh, Irish, and Scotch-Irish, there were other groups, the most numerous of which were the German and Swiss. Whatever their background, opportunities for cheap land and the freedom to live as they saw fit was the driving force compelling the people to risk the arduous journey over the mountains.

Nearly one quarter of the inhabitants were of Scotch-Irish ancestry. Always

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outspoken on their rights and beliefs, these proud individualists were adherents of Calvinistic dissent. The temperance movement had not yet begun, and most of them had no quibbles with drinking. However, they did feel that they had a moral obligation to protest an unfair tax. Some of the rebels were prominent members or members in good standing of the Presbyterian church. However, one prominent Presbyterian clergyman Rev. John McMillan, although opposed to the excise, was also opposed to violence and refused to allow the disaffected to partake of communion. (38)

Two Baptist ministers, David Philips and John Corbley, were also active in the Rebellion. Philips, who lived near Finleyville, led his three congregations on the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers in religious revivals during 1793-94. Active in the Rebellion, these areas were experiencing economic changes as well. Philips attended both the first and second meeting of excise petitioners at Pittsburgh. (39) Corbley's field of work was also in economically developed neighborhoods which were involved in the Rebellion. He was arrested for being "traitorously assembled" at Braddock's Field and for "confederating to raise an insurrection" and was taken to jail at Philadelphia. (40)

Germans of different denominations and sects were involved in the protests as well. Noted centers of German unrest were located in and around Bedford, in the Berlin area of Somerset County, in the German Township area of Fayette County, and Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County.

Herman Husband, perhaps the most influential religious personage of the rebellion, came to the area which became Somerset County after being outlawed in North Carolina for his role in the War of the Regulation in 1771-72. Husband, the Thomas Paine of the Whiskey Rebellion, had the ability to convert his religious zeal and political expectations into inspiring and motivating pamphlets. Widely known as a religious fanatic and called a lunatic by others, he styled himself a prophet of the New Jerusalem. The westerner's role in this millennium was the removal of the tyrannical federalist government which conspired to cheat the people of their rights gained during the Revolution. Through his pamphlets he was able to synthesize the western tradition of rebelliousness and promise of change or revolution with the expectation of a more perfect world in the yet thinly populated spaces of the west. Like with the War of the Regulation, he was able to frame the cultural and economic differences between East and West in terms easily understood by the frontiersman. (41)

The Rebellion would pit the friends of liberty, some of whom would be dubbed the "Whiskey Boys," against the friends of order, the federalist government and their "watermelon army." (The term watermelon army first appeared in a satirical attack on Federalist supporters in the Pittsburgh Gazette in which Capt. Whiskey stated, "Brothers, you must not think to frighten us with fine

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arranged lists of infantry, cavalry and artillery, composed of your water-mellon armies from the Jersey shores---") (42) The friends of liberty felt the principal task of government was to protect the liberties of the people while the friends of order feared that any questioning or opposition to government may lead to anarchy.

Dissent during the Rebellion took two forms: one, in extra-legal meetings which produced resolutions against the excise, and two, in ritualized community censure which resulted in chastisement or violence to the individual or his property. The national government failed to differentiate between the two. The right of political dissent in the form of extra-legal association and the custom of blacking had its Pennsylvania origins in Cumberland County in 1765. At that time James Smith and his "Black Boys" tried to stop trade between Philadelphia merchants and western Indians. When entreaties with government officials failed, Smith and his men, who blacked themselves, waylaid the packhorse train at Sideling Hill and destroyed the weapons and trade goods. In September, 1791 Robert Johnson became the first excise officer to experience an attack. However, the participants were described as dressed in women's clothes instead of blackened faces. (43)

The first extra-legal excise meeting took place on July 27, 1791 when a small group of politicians from the region met at Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville). They resolved to send representatives to another meeting at Pittsburgh and draft petitions to Congress for repeal of the excise law. The meeting at Pittsburgh occurred the day after the attack on collector Johnson. Later that fall a crowd carrying tar and feathers surrounded Benjamin Wells' excise office in Greensburg which he had just opened.

In March 1792, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton reported to Congress on the problems of enforcing the excise law. As a result, Congress, in May of that year, modified the excise law to reduce the rates and to allow for monthly payments. This did not satisfy opposition to the tax. In August, twenty men dressed as Indians ransacked the tavern/house of Captain William Faulkner in Washington town. Faulkner had offered to let his building be used as an excise office, but soon revoked his offer after threats of violence continued. Depositions in the Faulkner court case indicated an "association" of up to 500 men had been formed at Mingo Creek to oppose the excise law. (44)

That same August representatives from Fayette, Allegheny, and Washington Counties assembled at Tannehill's tavern in Pittsburgh to seek legal measures to repeal the excise law. In addition, they requested that their fellow citizens join them in ostracizing those who had accepted excise offices or complied with the excise. National government leaders did not think well of this type of meeting. President Washington, fearing that they constituted a threat to order, issued a proclamation in September, 1792 to desist from all unlawful

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proceedings. He warned that his administration would treat unkindly any attempt to obstruct the laws of the United States, in particular the excise law. (45)

As a result of Washington's action, the moderate faction, those opposed to the excise but who did not advocate violence, called no further meetings for almost two years or after the actual Rebellion had broken out. The Washington administration had effectively eliminated a safety valve. The moderate faction, those political elites of the region who met at Pittsburgh in September, 1791 and August, 1792, was largely composed of elected or appointed officials. As such, they were keenly aware that their careers could be built or destroyed by a popular movement with the potential of the excise protest. These men employed the current legal and sometimes extra-legal channels to demonstrate that protest. Although the moderates did not become actively involved again until after the Rebellion had broken out, other elected officials, such as David Bradford, representing the radical faction took advantage of the situation. Just as the distillers were a key group in the Rebellion, likewise, the public officials of southwestern Pennsylvania were major factors. (46)

In May of 1792 Congress passed an act to more effectively provide for the national defense by establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States. It stated that "every free able-bodied male citizen of the respective states of the age of 18 years and under the age of 45 shall be enrolled in the militia by the commanding officer of the company within whose bounds such citizen shall reside." The simple fact that common men were armed and organized militarily contributed greatly to the ease with which the excise opposition moved toward rebellion. Accounts showed that musters were important occasions for organizing opposition to the tax. Militiamen were the third group of people with a major impact on the Rebellion. Militiamen had the means, the arms, and the traditional precedents for censuring excisemen and for taking extra-legal measures. They found encouragement for doing both in the actions of elected officers and the delinquency of distillers. (47)

Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton sent Pennsylvania Supervisor of Collection George Clymer to Pittsburgh in September to seek information about anti-excise activities in the western country. (Clymer, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a wealthy land speculator. His son would join the federal army to suppress the rebels and died of lockjaw while in western Pennsylvania.) Clymer's letter to Hamilton concerning his mission reinforced Hamilton's notion that the political and religious leaders of the region were instigating the acts of violence. In particular, Clymer blamed Antifederalist politicians William Findley and John Smilie as having corrupted and disaffected the masses. (48) In October, Clymer reported to the federal court held in York the names of those involved in the protests. It was the opinion of Attorney General Edmund Randolph, however, that the proceedings at Pittsburgh were

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not an indictable offense.

Undoubtedly the key player on the Federalist side of the excise issue was Alexander Hamilton. Washington recognized Hamilton's writing skills as pamphleteer during the early days of the Revolution and made him a secretary and later an aide-de-camp. He soon became Washington's trusted advisor. Nearly from the beginning, he was a proponent of a highly centralized authority. Appointed secretary of the treasury in 1789, Hamilton soon had a scheme for funding the national debt. An excise on spirits would put the country in the black. It was Hamilton who in September 1792, advised Washington that "if the processes of the Courts are resisted, to employ those means, which in the last resort are put in the power of the Executive."(49) However, Washington emphasized in his response that "Regular Troops" were to be employed only as a last recourse. Antifederalist Congressman William Findley immediately recognized Hamilton's scheme to make western Pennsylvanians examples and advised their actions be taken with guarded moderation.(50) Although the tax could not be collected in the frontier areas of the Carolinas, Virginia or Kentucky, the success of armed suppression in these areas was not as secure as in Pennsylvania. Hamilton also played a chief role in the quelling of the Rebellion, acting as superintending official of General Henry Lee's punitive force.

In October 1792, Philip Wigle (Vigol), son of a Westmoreland County miller, denounced and beat excise collector Benjamin Wells at his father's mill. In April of the following year eight men with blackened faces attacked Wells' office at Connellsville. Wells, excise collector for Fayette County, was notoriously unpopular. This arose from the fact that he not only harassed distillers but also informed on those who would not register. Wells was not only persistent in his collecting the excise but also in submitting claims to the national government for losses suffered during rebel attacks.(51)

Sporadic excise protests continued throughout the remainder of 1793. In June of that year Washington County militia burned "General Neville the excise man" in effigy during a militia officer election held at the forks of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela Rivers. In November, Wells' house was broken into again. After the break-in, he promised to print his resignation in the Pittsburgh Gazette. Robert Smilie, John McCulloch, and four others were charged as being riotous with "sticks, staves and clubs" during this incident.(52) (Smilie was a son of John Smilie, antifederalist congressman of Fayette County.) Although there were as many violent acts in 1793 as in the previous two years, both Secretary Hamilton and Antifederalist politician Albert Gallatin felt that the excise law gained ground that year. One reason may have been that they were cut off from the people as a consequence of Washington's ban on extra-legal meetings.

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While protests continued beyond the Alleghenies, the operations of the national government in Philadelphia came to a virtual standstill as the yellow fever epidemic spread through the city. The epidemic along with conflicts in Europe prevented the Washington administration from acting on the excise protest. Western protesters interpreted this inaction as a lack of resolve on the part of the government, and this encouraged their perseverance for repeal.

The radical faction of protesters began 1794 in full force. This group burned the barns of William Richmond and Robert Shawhan in St. Clair Township, Allegheny County for their compliance with the excise law. This marked a turning point in the protest in that no longer was violence only committed against collectors or collection houses, but also against those who appeared to be in league with the collectors. In February, 1794, Supervisor Neville reported that "persons living near the line of Allegheny and Washington Counties made threats that they would not leave a house standing in Allegheny county owned by a person complying with the law." (53)

Meanwhile back east during February, President Washington issued a proclamation to discover and bring to justice those who had assaulted excise collector Benjamin Wells in November. In addition, the United States House of Representatives established a committee to learn what legislative measures may be necessary to collect the duties on domestically distilled spirits. Their study resulted in a congressional amendment to the excise law in June which enabled trials of tax evaders in local state courts. In a further concession, small distillers were allowed a license for stills which operated for less than a year. This bill also made it easier for Supervisor Neville, who no longer needed to establish offices in each of the four counties but could operate from a central office in Pittsburgh.

On February 28, 1794, the constitution of what many leaders in the national government termed the Mingo Creek Democratic Society was approved. However, the group referred to themselves in this document as the "society of united freemen of Hamilton's district of Washington County." This district took its name from its polling place, the home of David Hamilton. The Hamilton's district society may have been its more appropriate name since this group was not entirely like the true democratic-republican associations founded in Philadelphia 1793-94 in reaction to the enthusiasm over the French Revolution. (54)

The Hamilton's district or Mingo Creek group was an association not unlike political committees of correspondence established throughout the American colonies during the Revolution. The Mingo group can probably trace its origins to at least 1792 when an "association" is mentioned as instigating the attack on Faulkner's tavern. Both Hugh Brackenridge and William Findley in their writings following the Rebellion noted the Mingo Creek region as the "cradle" or

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"seat" of the insurrection. (55) The Mingo society or association was organized through their militia regiment. The leaders or representatives of the eight companies within the regiment represented the individual members on a council which met on a monthly basis. The society's secretary, John McDonald, said that moderate members of the group sought to use it as a forum to prevent further violence by excise resisters.

A month after the Mingo society was formally established, the constitution of the Washington Democratic Society was signed by 32 prominent Washington County residents. This society was more like the clubs established in Philadelphia to discuss political subjects. However, since some of its members such as David Bradford, John Canon, and James Marshel had also been involved in excise protest meetings, President Washington scorned these "self-created" societies as fomenters of instability. A similar society was founded in Allegheny County in April. (56)

At the end of May, District Attorney William Rawle, not waiting for the pending law in Congress which would allow trials in local courts, secured processes from the federal court in Philadelphia. These processes ordered the appearance of 60 western distillers before the court in Philadelphia during August. More than three weeks later and after the excise bill had been amended, U. S. Marshal David Lennox began his journey west to deliver these processes.

In June of 1794 radical protest was intensified. Acts of violence were centered in Allegheny and Washington Counties. James Kiddoe of Mifflin Township, Allegheny County, who earlier had his barn burned, had parts of his grist mill carried away because he adhered to the excise law. About the same time, John Lynn, deputy excise collector for Washington County, was tarred and feathered. His house in Canonsburg was attacked a few days later and partly torn down. William Cochran, also of Mifflin Township, Allegheny County had his large still destroyed and his saw and grist mill damaged by insurgents for his compliance. (57)

The crisis of the so-called Whiskey Rebellion transpiring all along the western frontier reached a climax in late July and early August of 1794 in the four western counties of Pennsylvania: Fayette, Westmoreland, Allegheny, and Washington. Violence erupted when U.S. Marshal David Lennox delivered court summons to farmer/distiller William Miller in Allegheny County and brought with him the despised Supervisor of Collection, John Neville. (Lennox had completed his rounds in Cumberland, Bedford, and Fayette Counties without incident.) The farmers in Allegheny had heard that the Marshal was dragging men off to jail in Philadelphia. Consequently, they thought another right was being taken away from them---that of a trial in their vicinage. The next day a group of about 100 men, 60 of whom were armed, visited Neville's house, demanded his resignation and all records associated with the tax. Neville, however, refused

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and opened fire on the rebels. Fearing trouble, Neville had earlier armed his slaves. They fired on the rebels from the rear. Five of the rebels fell wounded, and one of them, Oliver Miller, possibly a nephew to William, died later that day. (58)

Neville was the government's key contact in the West. A native of Virginia, he served with distinction in the Revolution. After the war, he settled in Pennsylvania where he became a large landholder and distiller. In 1791, Washington appointed him Inspector of Revenue for the western counties. Up until that time he had been a popular and honored figure in the West. Neville played a pivotal role in the Rebellion, not only as a conduit of information to the Federal government in Philadelphia, but also in his obstinacy to keep the excise offices open. His refusing to resign his commission as requested by the rebels not only resulted in the deaths of several insurgents and the burning of his mansion, but set the stage for a large scale insurrection. Had he acquiesced his commission as other excise collectors had, the insurrection may never have started. He was among the small, influential group in western Pennsylvania who maintained a stubborn support for the excise and distinguished the region from other frontier areas where no group adhered to the law. (59)

The day following the first march on the Neville house, an organized band of militia with about 600 locals headed by local Revolutionary hero, James McFarlane returned to the scene. (Between confrontations, Neville had secured the help of his brother-in-law Major Abraham Kirkpatrick and ten soldiers from Ft. Fayette at Pittsburgh.) The surrender of Neville and his resignation as excise officer was requested by the group. The offer was declined as Neville had been secreted in a nearby ravine. After allowing the remaining Neville family to evacuate, firing began on both sides. During a lull in the fighting, McFarlane thought he heard a call for a parley. He stepped from behind a tree and was immediately shot and killed. McFarlane became the most well-known martyr of the rebel cause. An officer of the Revolution and council member of the Mingo Creek Society, he had been selected to lead the militias on the march to the Neville house. A large group of friends and relatives buried him at Mingo Creek Presbyterian Churchyard in the heart of the excise protest region. Capt. James McFarlane's grave was dressed, and a tombstone placed on it in 1798. This large, flat tombstone with its cutting and hauling from Pittsburgh cost about the price of 150 gallons of whiskey---a pretty penny for the canonization of a Whiskey Rebellion hero. The inscription tells much about the time and its people, "He served throughout the war with undaunted courage in the defense of American Independence against the lawless and despotic encroachments of Great Britain. He fell at last by the hands of an unprincipled villain in support of what he supposed to be the rights of his country---" (60) (The rank of captain was given during his service in the Rebellion. He had attained the rank of major during the Revolution.)

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McFarlane's death stunned and confused the militia, but they continued torching the Neville buildings, except a few slave quarters. The mansion was burned last, one of the finest appointed houses in the west. (Accused insurrectionist, Alexander Fulton, stated in his petition to Washington that he saved Neville's "meal house and the provisions in it.") Several men were wounded on both sides during the melee, and one of the soldiers from Ft. Fayette died as well. (61)

A few days after the Bower Hill incidents, John Reed, a prominent distiller of Mifflin Township, Allegheny County, was warned by "Tom the Tinker" to attend gatherings such as those at Neville's or be "deemed an enemy of republican liberty." This marked the first known use of the term "Tom the Tinker" in association with the militant faction of rebels. The term has been credited to John Holcroft who was one of the leaders of this faction of rebels. (62) Since the shooting up of stills came to be known as "mending the still," and a tinker was an itinerant peddler who mended pots and pans, the name seemed appropriate. A native of Connecticut, Holcroft was living in the Mingo Creek area of Washington County by the 1780's. A militia leader, Holcroft led the band of men during the first confrontation at Neville's house. The Tom the Tinker signature became known statewide as it was placed on broadsides and in newspaper advertisements to warn people not to cooperate with the excise law.

Succeeding the riots at Bower Hill, State Representative Albert Gallatin helped keep Fayette County from becoming further involved in acts of violence. He attended an excise meeting in Uniontown on July 20th. The distillers present agreed to obey the law by either entering them at the excise office or abandoning them.

On July 23rd a meeting was held at Mingo Creek Presbyterian Meetinghouse to determine what direction the western country should take after the events at Bower Hill the week previous. David Bradford, deputy attorney general for Washington County and vice-president of the Washington Democratic Society, advocated the actions of rebels at Bower Hill and became leader of the radical faction of rebels throughout the remainder of the insurrection. A rising lawyer and landholder in Washington, Bradford masterminded the interception of the mail from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia. He used some of the stolen letters from Federalist sympathizers in Pittsburgh which condemned the riot as a justification to call the military rendezvous at Braddock's Field. The Braddock's Field rendezvous signified the translation of words to action. Here, Bradford was elected major general to command the militia forces. Bradford's name was at the top of the list of those to be arrested by the federal troops. However, he fled to Louisiana, never again to take up residency in Pennsylvania or regain a prominent position politically. He had the distinction of being the only rebel Washington never pardoned. (63)

About a week after the Neville incident, the excise office of John Wells was

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attacked. Wells, a son of the infamous Benjamin, had opened an excise office in Philip Reagan's house in East Huntingdon Township, Westmoreland County only about a month previous. During the attack, Reagan's new barn and its contents were destroyed along with some of his crops in the field.(64) In conjunction with this attack, rebels burned the excise office of Benjamin Wells at Connellsville after he failed to heed their warnings to close it. Philip Wigle was one of those charged in this attack. (Wigle would be one of those rounded up by the army and taken to Philadelphia to stand trial. He was found guilty of high treason. Albert Gallatin described him as a rough, ignorant German, who was an object of pity. Gallatin alleged that although Wigle knew he was committing a riot, he did not know it amounted to levying war and high treason.)(65)

John Webster, tavernkeeper and excise collector for Bedford County, suffered the wrath of the rebels next. Webster's letters to Neville portrayed an opportunistic man who was not above using his office for economic gain. He had his home and office at Stoney Creek in Quemahoning Township (now Somerset County just southeast of Stoystown) during the Rebellion. About 150 men from Westmoreland County threatened him with tar and feathers, demanded his commission, and made him promise to never collect the excise again. A submissive Webster was marched west for a few miles where he was ordered to mount a stump, recant his promises not to act as collector again, and to hurrah three times for Tom the Tinker. Although his house was not touched, his stable and hay stacks were burned.(66)

The zenith of the Rebellion occurred early in August during the military rally called at Braddock's Field. Contemporary sources estimated that between 5,000 and 7,000 armed militia men responded to the call, nearly half the taxable males of the western counties. Rebel leaders conceived the rally as a power play not only to show the strength of anti-excise feeling in the region to Federalists in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, but also to coerce additional support from local farmer/distillers. Although they marched on Pittsburgh, extensive violence was prevented through the efforts of such men as Hugh Brackenridge. In addition, the townspeople of Pittsburgh were hospitable to the rebels providing them with casks of whiskey. Included in the terms of negotiations to save Pittsburgh from destruction was the banning of certain obnoxious persons (basically federalist sympathizers known from opening the mail).

The man with perhaps the single most political influence in Allegheny County at the time of the Rebellion was Hugh Henry Brackenridge. A writer and lawyer, Brackenridge acted as a mediating force during the Rebellion. Although he appears to be duplicitous at times, he actually sought what was best for the western country. However, his efforts at temporizing the situation at Braddock's Field perhaps gave the militant excise resistance a false sense of legitimacy which may have prolonged opposition. Brackenridge served the

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important and dangerous role of intermediary between government authorities and protestors of the excise. He learned that he couldn't please either side and was suspected and hated on the extremes of both sides. (67) He was in danger of losing his life as a traitor to the friends of liberty or charged with treason by the federal government. He tried to vindicate his role in the Rebellion in his work titled, Incidents of the Western Insurrection, printed in 1795.

Washington's cabinet met the same day as the march on Pittsburgh to discuss the events in the western counties of Pennsylvania. Discussion centered on whether to call out the militia to restore peace. The law required that a supreme court justice declare that a state of rebellion existed in order for the president to issue an order for troops. Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice James Wilson fulfilled this necessity on August 4th. In the meantime, Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Mifflin pleaded with Washington that the military power of the government ought not to be employed until its judiciary authority has been proven incompetent to enforce obedience. Mifflin's labors had a limited success. In the first weeks of August, the Washington administration sought a peaceful solution to the crisis in exchange for Mifflin's cooperation in raising troops within the state. Mifflin feared that a military force brought into the region would also alienate the peaceable citizens of the region and cause more discontent there. A Revolutionary War officer and Pennsylvania's governor since 1790, Mifflin, appears to have been caught between what he believed were state judicial rights and Hamilton's quest for central control. His efforts were no match for Hamilton's thrust for power. Consequently, state's rights came in second during this contest. (68)

After pondering the issue for a few days, Washington issued a proclamation on August 7th detailing his interpretation of events on the frontier since 1791. Western political leaders were blamed for fomenting unrest among "the ignorant poor." He informed the nation of his preliminary efforts to raise troops, and ordered the insurgents "to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes" by September 1st. The following day Washington dispatched a peace commission consisting of Attorney General William Bradford, Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Jasper Yeates, and Senator James Ross of Washington County to the western country to mediate an end to the rebellion. Governor Mifflin had appointed Chief Justice Thomas McKean and General William Irvine to act as peace commissioners for Pennsylvania two days previous. (69)

Unrest continued west of the Alleghenies and spread east of the mountains by the middle of the month. Liberty poles appeared for the first time in Brownsville, Uniontown, and Washington town among other places. The liberty pole served as an emblem of rebel unrest. These poles also provided rallying points for discussions on the political questions and controversies of 1794. The national government was very sensitive to their symbolism. Many of the charges of treason associated with the Whiskey Rebellion stemmed from erecting liberty

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poles or attending a gathering at a liberty pole. (A symbol against tyranny, these poles, usually of spliced timbers, could be bound with iron rings or studded with nails. They could elevate an official flag, banners or a home-made version, most often inscribed with the words, "equal taxation and no excise" or "Liberty and Equality.") (70) Citizens of Cumberland County met at Newville to petition the government for repeal of the excise tax in mid-August.

Elected representatives (226 delegates in all) from each township of Pennsylvania's four western counties and the neighboring counties of Virginia met at Parkinson's Ferry on August 14th. The meeting took place on the shoulder of a hill overlooking the Monongahela River. (This spot would become known as Whiskey Point.) Albert Gallatin, representative in the Pennsylvania House, opposed David Bradford's radical proposal to obtain arms and raise an army for protection against eastern forces. Gallatin's speech opened the door for an alternate solution to the crisis, one that would enable peace to be restored in the western country. This meeting was instrumental in breaking the power of the radical insurrectionary faction of rebels. (71) It was also here that western people first became aware of the President's August 7th proclamation, and they were generally angered by it. The representatives elected a committee to confer with the Federal and State commissioners.

Albert Gallatin, representing Fayette County, was a key figure in the extra-legal excise meetings. A native Swiss, he was elected to the state legislature in 1790. He served as clerk of the August, 1792 meeting at Pittsburgh to rectify the excise law. This meeting drew the wrath of Washington who said, "I shall exert all the legal powers with which the executive is invested, to check so daring and unwarrantable spirit." (72) Later in his speech to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in January, 1795, Gallatin admitted his part in this conference as "his only political sin." He further said, "The sentiments thus expressed were not illegal or criminal; yet they were violent, intemperate, and reprehensible. For by attempting to render the office (of excise collector) contemptible, they tended to diminish that respect for the execution of the laws which is essential to the maintenance of a free government." (73)

Gallatin played a decisive moderating role in the Rebellion during August and September. He effectively blocked Bradford's proposals at Parkinson's Ferry, and after a speech of some hours at Redstone, he carried the battle for submission to the laws. The Rebellion was essentially broken, but now the westerners had to fear the Federal army instead of Tom the Tinker's rioters. Feeling in the army ran high against Gallatin since he had been a prominent leader of opposition to the excise law. Unlike Brackenridge, he refused to let considerations of his political future interfere with his responsibilities as a democratic political leader. In addition, Gallatin's stand was representative of Fayette County's moderate stand in not being inclined to join the armed opposition to the law. (74)

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Three days later on August 17th, the peace commissioners wrote to Washington that military force would be necessary to quell the insurrection. This was based on information gathered along the way west and from Federalists in Pittsburgh. They had not met with the representatives from the four counties, nor had they conferred with the Pennsylvania Commissioners. This information set in motion the military expedition against the rebels. When the letter arrived in Philadelphia (August 23rd), the Washington administration reversed its policy and began immediate plans for military action. From then on any action or effort for peace by the Commissioners or moderate leaders would be ineffectual. (75)

On August 20th a conference was held at Pittsburgh between the three United States Commissioners, two Pennsylvania Commissioners and the three committeemen from each of the four western counties appointed at Parkinson's Ferry. All of the committee members except Bradford favored submission and the terms offered by the Commissioners. They agreed that the full committee of 60 was to meet with the Commissioners in eight days at Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville).

Fifty-seven of the county representatives showed-up at Brownsville. Gallatin, Brackenridge, and Washington County Associate Judge James Edgar spoke for submission to the laws, while Bradford argued for secession and fighting. The representatives voted 34 to 23 for submission. Although this was a victory for the moderates, the United States Commissioners felt that the size of the negative vote indicated that the laws would not be restored without military coercion. While moderate western leaders saw the results of Redstone positively, the U.S. Commissioners were embittered by the vote there. They were "embarrassed" by the proceedings and sought the vote of individuals on the 11th to make a "real determination of the Western People and in producing either a sincere submission or such an open resistance as will unite all the friends of the Country against them." (76) This reasoning by the Commissioners was not surprising since two of them had decided on their way west that force would be necessary. Bradford and Yeates felt that the government could not rely on the rebels' submission and expressed this to the government on September 5th. When this arrived in Philadelphia September 8th, it was the death knell for a negotiated peace.

On August 23rd Secretary Hamilton began his pseudonymous "Tully" letters to Philadelphia newspapers with the intent of undermining peace negotiations by asserting that the western riots were part of a concerted plot to overthrow the government. Two days later he wrote to Governor Henry Lee that the militia of Virginia will be used to quell the insurrection. However, the orders for assembling the militia were not to be issued before September 1st. (77)

The beginning of September marked much activity on the part of the national, state, and local government officials and representatives. The United States and Pennsylvania Commissioners and Standing Committee met at Pittsburgh on

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September 1st. It was agreed that a referendum would be held on September 11th in the four western counties. Male citizens above the age of 18 years were required to vote whether they would submit to the laws of the United States.

Also on the first, Governor Richard Howell of New Jersey ordered the troops requested by Washington to rendezvous at Trenton. At the same time, attempts to draft men in the Hagerstown, Maryland area led to riots. Militiamen "beat their officers from the field," and raised a liberty pole with a flag inscribed with the words "Liberty or Death." (78)

Meanwhile, Alexander Addison, president judge of the western district, charged the grand jury of Allegheny County to accept the conditions proposed by the United States Commissioners because the cost of war and secession would be devastating to the western region. Although Addison was opposed to the excise tax, he felt that it could have been collected if men of principles had been chosen to be collectors. However, the national government ignored Addison's advice. (79)

Despite the fact that the militia troops were already gathering in the east, commissioners and representatives in the west were still trying to bring peace to the region without the military. The Pennsylvania Commissioners Thomas McKean and William Irvine wrote to Governor Mifflin on September 5th that judicial powers may be sufficient to reduce the rebels to submission without military aid. A few days later a meeting of township representatives was held in Uniontown. As a consequence, Gallatin also wrote to Mifflin advising him not to send troops from other states because of the violence that may result. (80)

On September 9th Secretary Hamilton called for the assembly of Pennsylvania militia with the general rendezvous to be at Carlisle. Josiah Harmar, adjutant general of the militia of Pennsylvania, gave the orders for each county's militia. The orders specified the quotas for each county and place where the men were to assemble. Counties from Philadelphia to Franklin were included in the orders. The initial county returns in late August and early September in response to the militia quota requests were generally negative. However, after the eastern counties learned that a positive submission vote was not universal, they became very patriotic and generally cooperative to militia service. (81)

On September 11th the vote was held in the western counties as whether to submit or not. The result was indecisive not only due to the short notice given before the election but also to a misunderstanding as to who was to vote---only excise protesters or the general population as well. There was no consistent method of reporting the results. While lists were made of signers in most townships of Washington, Allegheny, and Westmoreland Counties, the Fayette County judges of election reported that a majority of those who voted were in favor of submission. However, the number of voters only represented about a

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third of the voting population. (The Fayette County Township Committees had met the day previous to the election and made the declarations required by the Standing Committee of Redstone. Therefore, they felt the voters were only required to answer yea or nay to the question of submission.) In addition, many voters throughout the region objected to the wording of the submission paper which implied that all western inhabitants were rebels and had broken laws. (82)

On September 19th the Pennsylvania Assembly approved an act to suppress the insurrection in the western counties by calling out the militia. This action was belated as the first troops had already left Philadelphia. On the 24th the United States Commissioners made their report to the President. They recommended the use of force to restore the laws there. The following day Washington made a second proclamation in which he stated that it was time to remove those who would not submit to the laws of the United States. Militia forces from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia would be used to accomplish this. Between 12,000 and 15,000 men were raised in these four states to put down the Rebellion. (83)

In the meantime incidents of protest and sporadic violence occurred in diverse parts of the state. These occurred not only in the four western counties but also in these county seats: Bedford, Carlisle, Chambersburg, and Northumberland. These areas had at least two things in common: they produced a large amount of whiskey, and their inhabitants were basically of Scotch-Irish ancestry. (84)

By the end of September the federal army had arrived in Carlisle. This was not without incident. Between Myerstown, Lebanon County and Carlisle two civilians were killed. These incidents not only raised the fears of the western country but also those of Washington and Hamilton. Local displeasure was reflected in the increased price of goods to the army. Hamilton apologized for the killings, and the militia commanders were warned to keep their troops disciplined. (85)

On October 2nd, township delegates from the western counties met for the second time at Parkinson's Ferry. They resolved not to oppose the excise laws. In addition, they appointed Congressman William Findley and lawyer and Washington County official David Redick to meet with President Washington to persuade him that it was not necessary to send troops to support the civil authority in the western country. Findley and Redick met with Washington on October 9th. They were unable to convince him to stop the march of the army into the western country. (86) (Antifederalist Congressman Findley of Westmoreland County wrote his personal account of the Rebellion in, History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties of Pennsylvania, in 1796. Not only was he concerned that an accurate record of the Rebellion be preserved, but he also wanted to rectify what had already been written by his political

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opponents, Hugh Brackenridge and Treasury Secretary Hamilton.)

President Washington arrived at Carlisle on October 4th, and he reviewed the troops from New Jersey and Pennsylvania there. The mood of the town changed with his appearance. The President, who conveyed his power and majesty to the troops and civilians, was given a royal welcome by the troops and the local citizens alike. Detailed newspaper accounts of the President's reception there were communicated to the East and throughout the nation. The road would become the civic stage as the troops headed west, perhaps the first and last parade across the state. In Chambersburg, "The people were at their doors and the president acknowledged their salutations as he rode along the streets on horseback followed by his black servant carrying a large portmanteau." (87) George Washington, national hero of the Revolution and first president of the nation, retained the respect and esteem of a majority of its citizens. This was used with great effect during the march west. Having had dealings with the people of western Pennsylvania since the time of the French and Indian War, Washington had preconceived notions of their motives and loyalty to the nation. He was also an extensive landholder there, and his experience in dealing with the people there found them to be crude, ignorant, and land grabbing. Washington exemplified the Federalist belief that a display of force was necessary not only to show the westerners but the world that they were committed to a lasting union. (88)

The Jersey and Pennsylvania troops along with the Washington entourage marched from Carlisle on October 11th. Beyond Chambersburg, the President headed south toward Ft. Cumberland while the right wing of the army took the Forbes Road west. Washington arrived at Ft. Cumberland, Maryland on the 16th where he reviewed the troops from Virginia and Maryland. The two branches of the army arrived in Bedford on the 19th. Before returning to Philadelphia, Washington instructed General Henry Lee as to the purposes and procedures of the army in the western counties. These objects included: the suppression of opposition to the excise laws and the execution of the laws. These objects were to be effected in two ways, by military force and by judiciary process. The army was marched in two columns using the most convenient routes with Parkinson's Ferry as the destination point. Instead of resistance, the troops were only met with the sullen defiance of "liberty poles" erected along the army's route. (89)

Meanwhile the regular fall elections took place (October 14th). In the congressional district adjacent to his own, comprising Allegheny and Washington Counties, Albert Gallatin was elected to the United States Congress. Historian Henry Adams attributed this to the people's belief that the preservation of peace was due to Gallatin's courage and character during the excise meetings. (90) Federalist opponents claimed that the election was invalid because the western counties were in a state of insurrection. They mustered enough support in

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Congress to declare the election invalid, but the new election resulted in Gallatin's re-election.

The final meeting of the committees of townships was held at Parkinson's Ferry on October 24th. The resolves drawn up there were sent to the President through four representatives. They stated that the civil authorities were now competent to enforce the laws and any offender should surrender himself to the authorities.

By the first of November both wings of army had crossed the Allegheny Mountains. The left wing under General Lee arrived at Uniontown, and members of the right wing reached Pittsburgh. On November 8th, General Lee, camped near Parkinson's Ferry, made a proclamation to the inhabitants of the four western counties. He stated that the armies which they saw surrounding them were the result of the determination of the people of the United States to uphold the government they had established. He recommended that the people accommodate the army, take an oath to support the constitution, and obey the laws. A day later, Lee provided General Irvine with a description list classifying an insurgent. In addition, he disclosed a list of offenders and witnesses to be apprehended. What would become termed the "dreadful night" occurred four days later. Fearing another exodus from the country, arrests of approximately 150 suspects and witnesses were made in the middle of that night. Some men were dragged out of bed, half clothed, and marched through mud to cold makeshift prison quarters. At least one man died from exposure to the cold. (91)

By the middle of November, the excise tax collectors who had returned with the army began seizing the stills of those who had not registered them. On November 20th, Supervisor Neville opened an office of collection in each of the four counties.

Encountering no real opposition and with the arrests of suspected insurrectionists accomplished, the main body of the army began their march back east on November 19th. Because the Parkinson's Ferry area was a center of unrest, a force of men under General Daniel Morgan went into winter camp at the mouth of Lobb's Run. Small detachments were also placed at Pittsburgh and Washington. The camp at Lobb's Run was swept with smallpox which resulted in the death of several men, two of whom are buried in Lobb's Cemetery. Six days later about 18 of the suspected insurgents and their guards started their trek to Philadelphia. The troops with their prisoners arrived in Philadelphia on Christmas day 1794. They were greeted with artillery discharges, the ringing of bells, and a huge crowd on Broad Street. (92)

On November 19th, President Washington addressed Congress concerning the Whiskey Insurrection. He explained his actions to "protect and defend the

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Constitution of the United States." General Lee issued his proclamation of pardon to all persons in the counties of Washington, Allegheny, Westmoreland, and Fayette in the state of Pennsylvania and Ohio County, Virginia except 28 men in Pennsylvania and five in Virginia. (93)

Trials of those accused of crimes during the Rebellion began in Philadelphia in May. Accounts vary, but at least 43 men were tried on charges ranging from misdemeanor to treason. Twelve of those who were found guilty had fled the region. Much of the evidence against the suspected rebels could not be substantiated in court. In many cases, witnesses could not be found to support the allegations of the national government. The tone of the government charges portray the almost fanatical light in which the government saw the rebels and their actions. For example, the charges against William Peterkin continually rail against "wicked, evil disposed, and seditious persons." Peterkin was accused of attending a liberty pole raising in Carlisle in mid-September. At that time he "maliciously, advisedly wickedly, and seditiously, openly and publicly uttered and published the false, wicked and seditious words following, 'That the Glorious Sons of Liberty to the West ought not to be faulted for what they had done but applauded and supported.'" (94)

No influential men were among those tried for treason. In the end, of the 24 prisoners, only John Mitchell and Philip Vigol were sentenced to die. Mitchell, who had robbed the mail, and Vigol, who had participated in a riot in Fayette County, were both described as "simple" men. Washington later pardoned all except David Bradford. (95)

The Whiskey Rebellion set several precedents. These precedents were established by interpretation of the United States Constitution and the laws established by it. Among the points of law in need of definition was the act of treason against the United States. The Rebellion resulted in the first arrests and trials for treason in the federal courts. These trials established the precedent that armed opposition to the execution of a United States statute was equal to "levying war" against the United States and thus was within the constitutional definition of treason. United States District Attorney William Rawle's interpretation of English common law that "raising a body of men to obtain, by intimidation or violence, the repeal of a law, is an act of levying war" was simulated in Justice William Paterson's summation to the jury and became a part of American law. (Rawle, appointed by Washington, acted as prosecutor of the alleged whiskey rebels, and Paterson, a justice of the United States Supreme Court, sat for the trials of alleged whiskey rebels at the Federal District Court for the District of Pennsylvania held in York, Pennsylvania in 1795.) (96)

The judges in these trials unmistakably aided the national government in their cases. Judge Richard Peters felt the federal judiciary should not be hampered

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by state procedures. In particular, he opined, "It never could have been in the contemplation of congress, by any reference to state regulations, to defeat the operation of the national laws." In other words, these trials established the primacy of federal law over state law. In addition, Justice Paterson seems to usurp the jury's fact finding function by stating that there was no doubt as to the direction the evidence pointed and left no discretion for the jury. (97)

The Whiskey Rebellion was also the first time a chief executive of the United States nationalized military forces to suppress an internal political upheaval. This set a precedent that would be used again in 1799 by President John Adams during the Fries Rebellion in eastern Pennsylvania, and later by President Abraham Lincoln with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. (98)

In summary, the Whiskey Rebellion not only set precedents in establishing legal jurisdiction of the national government, but also established the frontier as a priority for settlement and containment within the union of states. In addition, the Rebellion served to coalesce the two political factions emerging from the Revolution into the two party system. It also helped define the nation's economic interests as it struggled to emanate from a purely agricultural based society to one dominated by a growing commercial/industrial system.

Many of the players in the Rebellion had gained political and military experience during the Revolution, and the Rebellion was also the training ground and turning point in the careers of many politicians, some for the better, some for the worse. The Rebellion marked the height of the strength of the Federalist party, and the career of its greatest spokesman, Alexander Hamilton. State leaders such as Albert Gallatin and Hugh Brackenridge through their oratorical skills were able to moderate the course of the Rebellion and later advanced in their careers. While most local leaders of the rebels stayed and became or continued as local officials or judges, many of the common laborers and farmers who participated in the Rebellion moved further on into the frontier in their search for the American dream of land and freedom.

For the time being localism had lost. The Federalist revolutionaries of 1776, now acting as conservatives, had taken the same position their British predecessors had, while the western rebels voiced the identical ideology and claims of self-interest that had been advanced by all segments of America in 1776. The Federalists would continue in power for six more years, but the Rebellion was the turning point in the career of Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin, all of whom would come to power in 1801 with Jefferson's election. The excise was repealed the following year.

The Whiskey Rebellion is significant for several reasons. By the 1790's, post-Revolutionary events in American government were leading to a confrontation as two ideological groups coalesced. Prior to the development of the two party

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system, there were few channels for expression of dissatisfaction with the sitting government. Western people and their leaders used the methods they had known previously: extra-legal meetings which resulted in petitions for redress and community censure. The government of the young democracy had to gain experience in governing, and people living on the frontier needed to learn that they could not live in total freedom and still enjoy the privileges of national citizenship.

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F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type ~~Residences associated with the Whiskey Rebellion~~

II. Description

III. Significance

IV. Registration Requirements

See continuation sheet

See continuation sheet for additional property types

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- State historic preservation office
 Other State agency
 Federal agency

- Local government
 University
 Other

Specify repository: _____

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Associated Property Types**Name of Property Type:** Residences associated with the Whiskey Rebellion

Description: These residences are those extant buildings associated with men who had documented roles in the Whiskey Rebellion. These include not only those which were constructed previous to the Rebellion but also those built after the Rebellion. Consequently, their construction dates range from the 1770's to c. 1815. Most of southwestern Pennsylvania continued as a frontier in the early 1790's, and many of the political, religious, and economic leaders lived in relatively simple houses. Of the two to three hundred men who took a locally significant role during the Whiskey Rebellion, only a handful of buildings can be found associated with these men and pinpointed to the c. 1770-1815 period.

As mentioned in the historic context, most pre-1798 houses in southwestern Pennsylvania were constructed of log. Research indicated that the average men who participated in the excise protest were small farmers, mechanics, and laborers, many of whom were landless. These people lived in small, wooden or log buildings. Few, if any of these structures survive from that period. None could be definitely traced to the rebels. What has survived are the homes of the upper or upper middle class from the period---the economic and political leaders on both sides of the excise issue. These same leaders generally had more significant and better documented roles during the Whiskey Rebellion. The **Thomas Gaddis house** (NR) south of Uniontown and the **William Crawford house** southeast of Carmichaels are examples of larger log houses that have survived, although precariously, from that period. The main block of the **Gaddis house** was built c. 1770, but prior to 1798 it had an addition which nearly doubled its current size. In the early 20th century the c. 1798 addition was removed, and only the main block survives. The c. 1815 **Crawford house** was built in the hall and parlor plan with the front door opening directly into the main hall/parlor of the house. Although this house was moved from the adjoining farm (part of the original Crawford tract), it is the surviving structure most closely associated with Crawford who was a locally significant participant in the Whiskey Rebellion.

A few substantial masonry houses were built in the region in the 1770's. Examples of these include the c. 1776 **Edward Cook house** (NR) and the c. 1773 **Andrew Rabb house**. These two and a half story, stone houses in Fayette County were the exception. This region of Fayette County west of Chestnut Ridge was among the earliest settled, and it developed more rapidly in agriculture, commerce, and industry. It was only after the Rebellion in the late 1790's and the early 1800's when the threat of Indians was gone, transportation systems developed, and commerce of the area blossomed that men of means built large, well appointed houses. Those locally prominent rebels who chose to stay benefited from the economic growth of the region and built larger homes.

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Examples include the c. 1814 **Thomas Hughes house** (NR) in Greene County, the c. 1798 **Robert Ross house** in Fayette County, and the c. 1815 **William Crawford house** in Greene county. Records indicate the region benefited from an economic boom after the Rebellion, and buildings constructed in the late 18th/early 19th century, including those of Whiskey Rebellion participants, reflect that prosperity.

The Pittsburgh area also developed more quickly than the surrounding region. However, as the most urban area of the region and like most late 18th century towns and cities of the Commonwealth, Pittsburgh had strong Federalist leanings. The Federalist faction of government in Pittsburgh was dominated by the Neville connection of which lawyer John Woods was a member. The c. 1795 **John Woods house** is associated with a representative of that Federalist faction. His three bay, 2 1/2 story, stone house is banked into the bluff overlooking the Monongahela River.

The buildings being nominated are typical of the more substantial late 18th/early 19th century vernacular style houses that survive in southwestern Pennsylvania. They generally lack architectural detailing but occasionally have Federal style details. They range in height from 1 1/2 stories to 2 1/2 stories and range from two to five bays in width. The majority of these buildings were located near historic roads or routes used during the late 18th century. Of the houses being nominated, the **John Woods house** is sited on the bluff overlooking the Forbes Road crossing the Monongahela floodplain. Likewise, the **Ross house** is located on a knoll overlooking the surrounding terrain east of Masontown on the South Branch of Brown's Run. The **Rabb house** is situated in a hollow overlooking Brown's Run and commanding the earliest route from Uniontown to Brownsville. The **Crawford house** is sited on a gently rising hill and overlooks the surrounding farm land.

Alterations to these houses include diminutive frame additions to the side or rear of the main block. Eighteenth century windows have generally been replaced with nineteenth and early twentieth century ones. Twentieth century kitchens and bathrooms have been added as well. Acid rain has taken a toll on the stones and mortar of the **Woods house**. However, there is still enough of the original fabric and character of these houses remaining to portray their historic period.

Significance

Under Criterion B, Whiskey Rebellion associated houses are significant in the area of politics/government. The owners of these houses played locally significant roles during the Rebellion either on the side of the national government or as part of the excise protest movement.

Under Criterion C, Whiskey Rebellion associated houses are significant in the

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area of architecture. These buildings are representative of late 18th/early 19th century vernacular style architecture in the region.

Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion B, a residence must be the primary or only surviving house of an individual who played a documented role in the Whiskey Rebellion. The residence must have been built prior to 1815 and must retain its dominant architectural features and physical setting. Associated outbuildings with sufficient integrity will be included in the nomination boundary. Under Criteria Consideration B, a building removed from its original location but which is the surviving building most importantly associated with a Whiskey Rebellion personage will be considered eligible for listing.

To meet Criterion C, a residence associated with the Whiskey Rebellion must be representative of late 18th/early 19th century vernacular style architecture in southwestern Pennsylvania. It must retain sufficient integrity of materials and stylistic details to be representative of that style. Fenestration patterns and door openings should typify this style and should not be greatly altered or blocked in. The interior of the building should retain most of its original floor plan.

Name of Property Type: Commercial/industrial buildings associated with the Whiskey Rebellion

Description: These buildings are those extant commercial/industrial structures which were known to be owned or operated by men active in the Whiskey Rebellion or during the period of the whiskey excise law. These include taverns and distilling operations. These include not only those built prior to the Rebellion but also those constructed after the Rebellion. Consequently, their construction dates range from c. 1790 to c. 1815.

The taverns of the period were built similar to houses, but they usually had an additional entrance for those guests who wanted to enter directly into the hall/barroom. Just as the earliest houses in the region were built of logs so were the earliest taverns. Likewise, they are typical of late 18th/early 19th century vernacular style houses found in southwestern Pennsylvania in that they generally lack architectural detailing but occasionally have Federal style details.

Often beginning as two to three bays in width and 2 1/2 stories in height, most taverns of the period were added to throughout their commercial history. Not only were additions constructed to the gable ends, but often ells were added to

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the rear as well. Many of the taverns had double stacked porches or balconies on their facades. These provided additional space for guest relaxation during inclement as well as fair weather and possibly a sleeping alternative during hot summer months.

Taverns were generally built at conspicuous or prominent points along important routes of travel. They usually not only faced the road but were sited close to it as well. There were many taverns located along the much traveled Pennsylvania Road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in this period.

Just as taverns served as centers for patriots during the American Revolution, they played essential roles during the Whiskey Rebellion as well. It was here that local farmers and artisans could not only discuss events within their communities, but also learn from travelers of events outside of their communities. Several known taverns served as rendezvous points for excise protest meetings.

The second type of commercial/industrial building associated with the Whiskey Rebellion is the distillery and chopping mill. Research has shown that approximately one in fifteen farmers in southwestern Pennsylvania had a distillery on his farm. Consequently, they were once quite a common sight on the landscape. However, only two were found to be intact in the area of this study. Research also showed that the distilling business was a highly mobile one in the late 18th century. For this reason many were probably built as temporary structures, and this may help explain their low rate of survival.

The average still house was 1 1/2 stories in height and built of logs. However, some of the larger ones were constructed of stone. The average dimensions for still houses in southwestern Pennsylvania, taken from the 1798 federal tax, was 17.4 X 21.5 feet.

Still houses were sited near a source of water to provide a coolant in the distilling process. Many were also situated on a bank which made access easier at two levels. The actual distilling process took place on the ground floor. Here was located the fireplace on which the pot still was placed. According to Samuel M'Harry, a writer of the period, this area of the distillery was to be built with opposing windows and doors to allow for plenty of ventilation during the distilling process. In addition, this area or ground floor was to be at least 10 feet high to allow the hot air to rise. (This source did not describe the function or architectural specifications of the second floor.)

If the farmer/distiller did not have access to a local mill, he may choose to erect a mill to chop the grain himself. The c. 1805 **Huffman Chopping Mill** in Somerset Township, Washington County is a rare example of this. It is a 1 1/2 story, banked, timber frame structure resting on a rubblestone foundation. An

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earthen ramp at the northwest corner of the building provided access to the first floor where horses provided the power to operate the mill. This building has three bents of massive posts and beams and is sheathed with vertical boards. The ground floor housed the large wooden wheel that turned the pulleys used in the chopping process.

Alterations to these buildings have occurred since their construction. For example, the c. 1785 **Defibaugh Tavern** has been covered with aluminum siding, and the **Huffman Chopping Mill** was converted into a dairy barn in the early 20th century. However, enough of the historic fabric and architectural features remain to portray their period of significance.

Significance

Under Criterion A, commercial/industrial buildings associated with the Whiskey Rebellion are significant in the area of politics/government. Taverns served as important meeting places during this period of the nation's history. Chopping mills and still houses are representative of small, commercial whiskey producing operations at that time. In addition, these buildings are representative of nascent commercial activities directly affected by the excise tax on whiskey.

Under Criterion C, Whiskey Rebellion associated buildings are significant in the area of architecture. These buildings are representative of late 18th/early 19th century vernacular style taverns, distilleries, and chopping mills, each of which had peculiar architectural details necessitated by their function.

Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A, a commercial/ industrial building associated with the Whiskey Rebellion must have served as a tavern or as a distilling operation during the Whiskey Rebellion era. A building must exemplify its function as a tavern or distilling site and must have been built prior to 1815. It must retain its dominant architectural features and physical setting as well. Associated buildings in proximity to any of these buildings and retaining sufficient integrity will be included in the nomination boundary and classified as contributing resources if they are strongly associated with the commercial/industrial building through construction and history.

To meet Criterion C, a commercial/industrial building associated with the Whiskey Rebellion must be representative of late 18th/early 19th century vernacular, commercial/industrial style buildings in southwestern Pennsylvania. They must retain sufficient integrity of materials and stylistic detail to be representative of their commercial/industrial use. Fenestration patterns and door openings should typify the form and function of the building and should

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not be greatly altered or blocked in. The interior architecture of the building should retain most of its original floor plan.

Name of Property Type: Sites associated with the Whiskey Rebellion

Description: These sites include meeting sites associated with significant events that occurred during the Whiskey Rebellion and cemeteries that contain the graves of men who died during the Rebellion 1794-95. The cemeteries also contain the graves of men who were participants in the Rebellion but died as late as 1837. These sites are located in the heart of the whiskey excise protest region in Washington and Allegheny counties and were important rendezvous points for rebels as well as strategic points where national troops were later stationed.

These sites contain some relatively flat land where meetings and militia drills would have taken place as well as used as camp sites. Both of the nominated sites are also located along a small stream. They also have relatively steep rising ground where burials were made beginning in the late 18th century. Both are adjacent and related to political and cultural centers in the region.

The c. 1788, log **Mingo Creek Presbyterian Church and Churchyard** was the site of local militia meetings, Democratic Society meetings, and excise protest meetings as this congregation had members who were active participants in these groups.

Lobb's Cemetery is located adjacent to the site of the Yohogania County, Virginia Courthouse, one of three courts established by Virginia on Pennsylvania soil 1776-80. Because this area was a center of unrest and located between Mingo Creek and Peters Creek, a force of men under Gen. Daniel Morgan went into winter camp at the mouth of Lobb's Run.

Although **Mingo Creek Churchyard** and **Lobb's Cemetery** contain late 18th, 19th, and 20th century tombstones, they retain sufficient integrity to portray their historic significance. They are immediately surrounded by open ground, trees or grassy areas.

Significance

Under Criterion A, Whiskey Rebellion associated sites are significant in the area of politics/government. These sites served as important meeting places for rebels and as camps for national troops. In addition, these sites were locally significant as the political, social, and cultural centers of their communities.

Under Criterion B, in the area of politics/government, and under Criteria

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Consideration D, these cemeteries derive their primary significance from the graves of locally prominent men who had roles in the whiskey excise protest movement. When the protest developed into rebellion and threatened the stability of the government, the government reacted with troops and warrants for arrests of these individuals. John Hamilton, Benjamin Parkinson, James McFarland, John Holcroft and John Gaston are among the significant rebels buried at Mingo Creek. (There are no known extant resources associated with these men except John Gaston who may be associated with a brick house in Gastonville. However, this has not been proven through documentary evidence.) Although records indicate that a few of the federal troops died along the route west to put down the excise protest, **Lobb's Cemetery** contains the only known graves of national troops who died as a result of the Whiskey Rebellion.

Registration Requirements

To meet Criterion A, a Whiskey Rebellion associated site must have been associated with a significant meeting place or rendezvous during the Rebellion or be a burial site containing the graves of significant Rebellion figures or federal troops. These sites must retain integrity of setting and feeling of open space that would have been prevalent at the time of the Rebellion.

To meet Criterion B, a Whiskey Rebellion associated site must contain the graves of locally significant men involved in the Whiskey Rebellion either as rebels or as national troops. The graves and tombstones must retain integrity from the period of their placement.

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**Identification and Evaluation Methods Used in the
Whiskey Rebellion Multiple Property National Register Nomination**

The multiple property listing of historic and architectural resources associated with the Whiskey Rebellion is based upon the 1990-91 historic context and historic sites inventory of a seven county southwestern Pennsylvania region, conducted by Jerry A. Clouse of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. This region was established by the America's Industrial Heritage Project, and includes these counties: Bedford, Somerset, Fayette, Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington, and Greene. The America's Industrial Heritage Project of the National Park Service awarded a grant to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission for this study. The Whiskey Rebellion study is one segment of the Albert Gallatin Project, the goal of which is to research and interpret the life and times of Gallatin, as well as his role in, and influence on, southwestern Pennsylvania between 1780 and 1830. This fifty year period coincides with his ownership of property in Fayette County, during which roads were developed, agriculture blossomed and industry took hold in the region.

The Whiskey Rebellion Task Force Steering Committee was established in 1990 to coordinate the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the event. The preparer has served since that time on that committee, and its members have had input as to what they see as important themes and issues of the Rebellion.

A preliminary research report was completed using primary and secondary resources on the region. Among the sources was the Pennsylvania Bureau for Historic Preservation's National Register files, survey files, and computer data base. A computer check was done by calling up properties within the study period according to material and property type. To check for accuracy, this was compared to what was found in the actual survey files. To obtain a better knowledge of the biases in the survey record as well as learn about the housing stock of the earliest period in southwestern Pennsylvania, two townships were chosen from each county, preferably the earliest settled or those known to have a large concentration of excise protest activity, and 1798 federal tax data was abstracted on each. These sources showed that few pre-1798 buildings and structures survived in the region. Those that did survive tended to be those large, masonry buildings constructed by the elites of the region. Although small log or frame buildings were the dominant type of the period, records showed few survived to the present.

The preponderance of late 18th century log buildings found in 1798 was compared to what was surveyed and registered in the 20th century. At the same time, it was found that there were fifteen properties associated with the Whiskey Rebellion listed in the National Register or designated National Historic Landmarks. These were broken down into material types to learn their

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representativeness. These findings may indicate not only that masonry buildings survive better than wooden buildings, but also that political and economic leaders of the period had a preference for these building materials.

Another component registered on the 1798 federal tax was a building's dimensions. Average measurements for the size of houses in the region were computed. Although this measurement was larger than what the average rebel would have lived in according to a sample taken in Westmoreland County, it was a good deal smaller than the houses already listed on the National Register associated with the Whiskey Rebellion. The size of the buildings surveyed for this multiple property nomination fell between the 1798 average and the size of properties already listed on the National Register.

The housing statistics from the 1940 and 1980 census records were computed to learn the retention rates of pre-1859 housing within the above mentioned counties. This retention rate ranged between 4% and 8%.

Results showed that few pre-1798 wooden buildings survived in the region. Research also showed that the region experienced an economic boom in the late 1790's and early 1800's which was reflected in its architecture. Small log buildings were replaced with larger log buildings or larger masonry buildings. Whiskey Rebellion participants shared in this economic upswing and built larger buildings as well. These are what has survived to represent their significance. Therefore, the period of significance was extended to 1815 to include those buildings constructed after the Rebellion as well.

In 1983 three properties in the region were listed as part of a Whiskey Rebellion National Historic Landmark nomination. The writer has attempted to make this multiple property nomination more inclusive, nominating lesser known sites and properties but which are equally as important in the Whiskey Rebellion drama. The inclusiveness was facilitated by the involvement of local historians as much as possible. Of the fifteen properties already listed on the National Register and associated with the Whiskey Rebellion, most have little information documenting the role of their owner in the Rebellion, and some of this information is erroneous. For example, the National Register nomination for the Edward Cook house in Fayette County contains two sentences concerning Cook's role in the Rebellion. Cook had a major role in moderating the protest in Fayette County, and his house is worthy of inclusion in a Whiskey Rebellion National Historic Landmark nomination. Continuation sheets will be included in this nomination on those National Register properties which need additional or correct information.

In summary, the Bureau's files, the 1798 federal tax, census records, local and regional histories, local historians, and a previous National Historic Landmark study served not only to tell the researcher what Whiskey Rebellion resources

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had been already noted, but also what may be expected to be found. At this point the researcher had data as to what type of architecture to expect in the region as well as to who the locally and regionally significant whiskey rebels were. During research, sites associated with people or events were marked on the 1792 Reading Howell map whenever possible.

Site visits were set up in each county at which time the researcher met with local historians. In most cases, a list of locally significant rebels was sent to these historians for their review and comment previous to this visit. Potential buildings and sites were then windshield surveyed. Those with apparent sufficient integrity were further surveyed and researched. These buildings and sites were photographed, had floor plan sketches drawn wherever possible, and descriptive notes taken on their exterior and interior architectural details. A historic resource survey form was then completed on these properties.

Simultaneous with the architectural context, the historic context was established for the Whiskey Rebellion by studying local and county histories and archives located in the libraries and court houses throughout the region. Previous historical events, and ethnic, cultural, political, and economic backgrounds of the populace were studied to learn how these factors may have affected their view of the excise tax. Not only did the preparer read the contemporary accounts of the event, but 19th and 20th century interpretations as well. At least two works of fiction have been written on the event and much of the information in them has become imbedded in the folklore of the region along with actual historical facts. It has often proven difficult or impossible to back up some of these local traditions with documentary evidence.

Previous studies showed that a definite social or class structure had developed in southwestern Pennsylvania by the 1790's, and this would be reflected in the different reactions to the excise tax on whiskey which fomented the Rebellion. A description of the region as a whole in terms of political activism was recorded to illustrate its similarities and differences to other regions of the United States. Some key players, of national, state, and local significance, were noted along with the role they played in the Rebellion.

As part of the research, the preparer composed lists of Whiskey Rebellion participants in each county. Literally thousands of men were involved in the Whiskey Rebellion in one form or another. Of this number, two to three hundred were named in more than one source. Most counties had under twenty rebels or victims of rebel violence within their borders---as could be expected, most were found in Washington County and the least in Bedford and Somerset Counties. Men from Bedford and Somerset Counties were generally omitted from previous regional studies and histories of the Rebellion. These lists were established by comparing several primary and secondary resources to determine who were the most important or widely known and most often mentioned rebels for each

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county. This served to focus the limited research time.

After these lists were composed, local historians or local historical societies were contacted to learn if they knew more about the role of specific individuals in the Rebellion as well as where they may have lived. Most counties had historians who were able to lead the preparer to sites and buildings within their respective county which held significance to them---only Westmoreland did not. (Most contacts were made through members of the Whiskey Rebellion Task Force Steering Committee.) However, all of the counties held information in their libraries and governmental offices which the preparer had not been able to find in the available histories. This information sometimes led to alternative perspectives as to the role a particular area or county played in the Rebellion.

Summaries of the survey and research results for each county were given to local historians in each county for comment and correction. Information from these summaries was used in writing a draft context for the Whiskey Rebellion Multiple Property National Register nomination. After surveying the buildings in each county and talking to their owners whenever possible, Bureau for Historic Preservation survey forms were completed for those which appeared to have sufficient integrity to meet National Register standards. Further historic research and documentation was conducted to complete the significance section on each of the survey forms. When this was finished, copies were sent to a local historian or the property owner for their review and comment. Seventeen survey forms were completed and presented to the Bureau for Historic Preservation Staff National Register Review Committee. The staff committee had the draft context in hand before its review of the seventeen resources. The committee reviewed the resources according to the National Register criteria, discussing issues of significance and integrity raised by the context and staff members. The committee determined that seven properties associated with this context were eligible for the National Register. In addition, seven others were determined eligible under Criterion C for their representative vernacular architecture but lacked sufficient association with the Whiskey Rebellion to be included in the present multiple property nomination. Three were determined not eligible for the National Register.

The draft context, including property types, was revised in accordance with comments made by staff, including the staff committee. Nomination forms based on the survey forms were written for each of the seven eligible resources. The author also wrote continuation sheets providing further information on the Whiskey Rebellion association of four properties already listed on the National Register.

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