

Treasury Department August 2d. 1794

1 Sir

2 In compliance with your requisition I have the honor to submit my Opinion as to the course which
3 it will be adviseable for the President to pursue in regard to the armed Opposition recently given
4 in the four Western Counties of Pennsylvania to the execution of the laws of the U. States laying
5 duties upon Spirits distilled within the United States and upon Stills.

6 The case upon which an Opinion is required is summarily as follows. The four most Western
7 Counties of Pennsylvania since the Commencement of those laws a period of more than three
8 Years, have been in steady and Violent Opposition to them. By formal public meetings of
9 influential individuals, whose resolutions and proceedings had for undisguised objects, to render
10 the laws odious, to discountenance a compliance with them, and to intimidate individuals from
11 accepting and executing Offices under them—by a general Spirit of Opposition (thus fomented)
12 among the Inhabitants—by repeated instances of armed parties going in disguise to the houses of
13 the Officers of the Revenue and inflicting upon them personal violence and outrage—by general
14 combinations to forbear a compliance with the requisitions of the laws by examples of injury to
15 the Property and insult to the persons of individuals who have shewn by their conduct a
16 disposition to comply and by an almost universal noncompliance with the laws—their execution
17 within the Counties in question has been completely frustrated.

18 Various Alterations have been made in the laws by the Legislature to obviate as far as possible the
19 objections of the Inhabitants of those Counties.

20 The executive, on its part has been far from deficient in forbearance lenity or a Spirit of
21 Accomodation.

22 But neither the Legislative nor the Executive accomodations have had any effect in producing

24 compliance with the laws.

25 The Opposition has continued and matured, till it has at length broke out in Acts which are
26 presumed to amount to Treason.

27 Armed Collections of men, with the avowed design of Opposing the execution of the laws, have
28 attacked the house of the Inspector of the Revenue, burnt and destroyed his Property and Shed the
29 blood of Persons engaged in its defence—have made Prisoner of the Marshall of the District and
30 did not release him till for the Safety of his life he stipulated to execute no more processes within
31 the disaffected counties—have compelled both him and the Inspector of the Revenue to fly the
32 Country by a circuitous route to avoid personal injury perhaps Assassination—have proposed the
33 Assembling of a Convention of delegates from these Counties and the Neighbouring ones of
34 Virginia probably with a view to systematise measures of more effectual Opposition—have
35 forcibly seized Opened & Spoliated a Mail of the United States.

36 What in this State of things is proper to be done?

37 The President has with the advice of the heads of the Departments and the Attorney General,
38 caused to be submitted all the evidence of the foregoing facts to the Consideration of an Associate
39 Judge under the Act intituled “An Act to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws
40 of the Union Suppress Insurrection and repel Invasion.”

41 If the Judge shall pronounce that the case described in the second section of that Act exists—it
42 will follow that a competent force of Militia should be called forth and employed to suppress the
43 insurrection and support the Civil Authority in effectuating Obedience to the laws and the
44 punishment of Offenders.

45 It appears to me that the very existence of Government demands this course and that a duty of the
46 highest nature urges the Chief Magistrate to pursue it. The Constitution and laws of the United
47 States, contemplate and provide for it.

48 What force of Militia shall be called out, and from What State or States?

49 The force ought if attainable to be an imposing one, such if practicable, as will deter from
50 opposition, save the effusion of the blood of Citizens and secure the object to be accomplished.

51 The quantum must of course be regulated by the resistance to be expected. Tis computed, that the
52 four opposing Counties contain upwards of sixteen thousand males of 16 years and more, that
53 of these about seven thousand may be expected to be armed. Tis possible that the union of the
54 neighbouring Counties of Virginia may augment this force. Tis not impossible, that it may receive
55 an accession from some adjacent Counties of this state on this side of the Alleghany Mountain.

56 To be prepared for the worst, I am of opinion, that twelve thousand Militia ought to be ordered to
57 assemble; 9000 foot and 3000 horse. I should not propose so many horse, but for the probability,
58 that this description of Militia, will be more easily procured for the service.

59 From what State or States shall these come?

60 The Law contemplates that the Militia of a State, in which an insurrection happens, if willing &
61 sufficient shall first be employed, but gives power to employ the Militia of other States in the case
62 either of refusal or insufficiency.

63 The Governor of Pennsylvania in an Official conference this day, gave it explicitly as his opinion
64 to the President, that the Militia of Pennsylvania alone would be found incompetent to the

65 suppression of the insurrection.

66 This Opinion of the Chief Magistrate of the State is presumed to be a sufficient foundation for
67 calling in, in the first instance, the aid of the Militia of the Neighbouring States.

68 I would submit then, that Pennsylvania be required to furnish 6000 men of whom 1000 to be
69 horse, New-Jersey 2000 of whom 800 to be horse, Maryland 2000 of whom 600 to be horse,
70 Virginia 2000, of whom 600 to be horse.

71 Or perhaps it may be as eligible to call upon each State for such a number of Troops, leaving to
72 itself the proportion of horse and foot according to convenience. The Militia called for to
73 rendezvous at Carlisle in Pennsylvania & Cumberland Fort in Virginia on the 10th of September
74 next.

75 The law requires that previous to the using of force a Proclamation shall issue, commanding the
76 Insurgents to disperse and return peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time.
77 This step must of course be taken.

78 The application of the force to be called out and other ulterior measures must depend on
79 circumstances as they shall arise.

80 With the most perfect respect I have the Honor to be Sir Your Most Obedient Servant

81 Alexander Hamilton

82 The President of the United States

1 Sir.

2 Philadelphia, 5TH August 1794

3 The important subject, which led to our conference on Saturday last, and the interesting
4 discussion that then took place, having since engaged my whole attention, I am prepared, in
5 compliance with your request, to state with candor the measures which, in my opinion, ought to
6 be pursued by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The circumstances of the case evidently
7 require a firm and energetic conduct on our part, as well as on the part of the General
8 Government; but as they do not preclude the exercise of a prudent and humane policy, I enjoy a
9 sincere gratification in recollecting the sentiment of regret, with which you contemplated the
10 possible necessity of an appeal to arms. For, I confess, that in manifesting a zealous disposition to
11 secure obedience to the constitutions and Laws of our Country, I too shall ever prefer the
12 instruments of conciliation to those of coercion; and never, but in the last resort, countenance a
13 dereliction of Judiciary authority, for the exertion of Military force.

14 Under the influence of this general sentiment, I shall proceed, Sir, to deliver my opinion relatively
15 to the recent Riots in the county of Allegheny; recapitulating, in the first place, the actual state of
16 the information which I have received.

17 It appears, then, that the Marshal of the District having, without molestation, served certain
18 process, that issued from a Federal Court, on various Citizens who reside in the county of Fayette,
19 thought it proper to prosecute a similar duty in the county of Allegheny, with the assistance, and
20 in the company of Genl Nevill, the Inspector of the Excise for the western District of
21 Pennsylvania: that while thus accompanied he suffered some insults, and encountered some
22 opposition: that considerable bodies of armed men having, at several times, demanded the
23 surrender of Genl Nevill's commission and papers, attacked and, ultimately, destroyed his house:
24 that these Rioters (of whom a few were killed, and many wounded) having taken the Marshal and
25 others prisoners, released that officer, in consideration of a promise, that he would serve no more

26 process on the western side of the Allegheny Mountain: that, under the apprehension of violence,
27 Genl Nevill, before his house was destroyed, applied to the Judges of Allegheny County for the
28 protection of his property, but the Judges on the 17th day of July, the day on which his house was
29 destroyed, declared that they could not, in the present circumstances, afford the protection that
30 was requested, though they offered to institute prosecutions against the Offenders; and that Genl
31 Nevill and the Marshal, menaced with further outrage by the Rioters, had been under the necessity
32 of withdrawing from the county. To this outline of the actual information respecting the riots, the
33 stoppage of the Mail may be added, as matter of aggravation; and the proposed Convention of the
34 inhabitants of the neighbouring Counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia, as matter of alarm.

35 Whatever construction may be given, on the part of the United States, to the facts that have been
36 recited, I cannot hesitate to declare on the part of Pennsylvania, that the incompetency of the
37 Judiciary Department of her Government, to vindicate the violated laws, has not at this period
38 been made sufficiently apparent; and that the Military power of the Government ought not to be
39 employed until its Judiciary authority, after a fair experiment, has proved incompetent to enforce
40 obedience, or to punish infractions of the law. The law having established a tribunal and
41 prescribed the mode for investigating every charge, has likewise attached to every offence its
42 proper punishment. If an opponent of the Excise-system refuses or omits to perform the duty
43 which that system prescribes to him, in common with his fellow Citizens, his refusal, or omission,
44 exposes him to the penalty of the law; but the payment of the penalty expiates the legal offence. If
45 a riot is committed in the course of a resistance to the execution of any law, the Rioters expose
46 themselves to prosecution and punishment, but the sufferance of their sentence extinguishes their
47 crime. In either instance, however, if the strength and audacity of a lawless combination shall
48 baffle and destroy the efforts of the Judiciary authority to recover a penalty, or to inflict a
49 punishment, that authority may Constitutionally claim the auxiliary intervention of a Military
50 power; but still the intervention cannot commence till the impotency of the Judicial authority has
51 been proved by experiment, nor continue a moment longer than the occasion for which it was

52 expressly required. That the laws of the Union are the laws of the State, is a Constitutional
53 axiom that will never be controverted: that the authority of the State ought to be exerted in
54 maintaining the authority of the Union, is a patriotic position which I have uniformly inculcated:
55 but in executing the laws or maintaining the authority of the Union, the Government of
56 Pennsylvania can only employ the same means, by which the more peculiarly municipal laws and
57 authority of the State are executed and maintained. 'Till the riot was committed, no offence had
58 occurred, which required the aid of the State Government: when it was committed, it became the
59 duty of the State Government to prosecute the offenders, as for a breach of the public peace and
60 the laws of the Commonwealth; and if the measures shall be precisely what would have been
61 pursued, had the riot been unconnected with the system of Federal policy, all, I presume, will be
62 done, which good faith and justice can require. Had the riot been unconnected with the system of
63 Federal policy, the vindication of our laws would be left to the ordinary course of justice; and,
64 only in the last resort, at the requisition, and as an auxiliary, of the Civil authority, would the
65 Military force of the State be called forth.

66 Experience furnishes the strongest inducements to my mind, for persevering in this lenient course.
67 Riots have heretofore been committed in opposition to the laws of Pennsylvania, but the rioters
68 have invariably been punished by our Courts of Justice. In opposition to the laws of the United
69 States, in opposition to the very laws now opposed, and in the very counties supposed to be
70 combined in the present opposition, riots have, likewise, formerly occurred; but in every instance,
71 supported by legal proof, the offenders have been indicted, convicted, and punished, before the
72 tribunals of the State. This result does not announce a defect of jurisdiction—a want of Judicial
73 power, or disposition, to punish infractions of the law; a necessity for an appeal from the political,
74 to the physical strength of the Nation.

75 But another principle of policy deserves some consideration. In a free country it must be
76 expedient to convince the Citizens of the necessity, that shall, at any time, induce the Government

77 to employ the coercive authority with which it is invested. To convince them that it is necessary
78 to call forth the Military power, for the purpose of executing the laws, it must be shewn, that the
79 Judicial power has, in vain, attempted to punish those who violate them: and, therefore, thinking,
80 as I do, that the incompetency of the Judicial power of Pennsylvania has not yet been sufficiently
81 ascertained I remarked, in the course of our late conference, that I did not think it would be an
82 easy task to embody the Militia, on the present occasion. The Citizens of Pennsylvania (however
83 a part of them may, for a while, be deluded) are the friends of law and order: but when the
84 inhabitants of one district shall be required to take arms against the inhabitants of another, their
85 general character does not authorise me to promise a passive obedience to the mandates of
86 Government. I believe, that as freemen they would enquire into the cause and nature of the
87 service proposed to them; and, I believe, that their alacrity in performing, as well as in accepting
88 it, would essentially depend on their opinion of its justice and necessity.

89 Upon great political emergencies, the effect of every measure should be deliberately weighed. If it
90 shall be doubted, whether saying that the Judiciary power is yet untried, is enough to deter us
91 from the immediate use of Military force, an anticipation of the probable consequences of that
92 awful appeal, will enable us, perhaps, satisfactorily to remove or overlook the doubt. Will not the
93 resort to force enflame and cement the existing opposition? Will it not associate, in a common
94 resistance, those who have hitherto peaceably, as well as those who have riotously, expressed
95 their abhorrence of the Excise? Will it not collect and combine every latent principle of
96 discontent, arising from the supposed oppressive operations of the Federal Judiciary, the
97 obstruction of the Western navigation, and a variety of other local sources? May not the
98 magnitude of the opposition, on the part of the ill-disposed, or the dissatisfaction at a premature
99 resort to arms, on the part of the well-disposed, Citizens of this State, eventually involve the
100 necessity of employing the Militia of other States? And the accumulation of discontent, which the
101 jealousy engendered by that movement may produce, who can calculate, or who will be able to
102 avert? Nor, in this view of the subject, ought we to omit paying some regard to the ground for

103 suspecting, that the British Government has already, insidiously and unjustly, attempted to seduce
104 the Citizens on our Western frontier from their duty;⁶ and, we know, that in a moment of
105 desperation, or disgust, men may be led to accept that as an assylum, which, under different
106 impressions, they would shun as a snare.

107 It will not, I am persuaded, Sir, be presumed, from the expression of these sentiments, that I am
108 insensible to the indignation, which the late outrages ought to excite in the mind of a Magistrate,
109 entrusted with the execution of the laws. My object, at present, is to demonstrate, that on the
110 principles of policy, as well as of law, it would be improper in me to employ the military power of
111 the state, while its Judiciary authority is competent to punish the Offenders. But should the
112 Judiciary authority prove insufficient, be assured of the most vigorous co-operation of the whole
113 force which the Constitution and Laws of the State entrust to me, for the purpose of compelling a
114 due obedience to the Government; and, in that unfortunate event, convinced that every other
115 expedient has been resorted to in vain, the public opinion will sanctify our measures, and every
116 honest Citizen will willingly lend his aid to strengthen and promote them.

117 The steps which under my instructions were taken, as soon as the intelligence respecting the riots
118 was received, will clearly, indeed, manifest the sense that I entertain upon the subject. To every
119 Judge, Justice, Sheriff, Brigade Inspector, in short to every public officer residing in the Western
120 counties, a letter was addressed expressing my indignation and regret, and requiring an exertion
121 of their influence and authority to suppress the tumults and punish the offenders. The Attorney
122 General of the State was, likewise, desired to investigate the circumstances of the riot, to ascertain
123 the names of the rioters, and to institute the regular process of the law, for bringing the leaders to
124 justice. In addition to these preliminary measures, I propose issuing a Proclamation, in order to
125 declare (as far as I can declare them) the sentiments of the Government; to announce a
126 determination to prosecute and punish the offenders; and to exhort the Citizens at large to pursue
127 a peaceable and patriotic conduct: I propose engaging three respectable Citizens to act as

128 Commissioners for addressing those who have embarked in the present combination, upon the
129 lawless nature, and ruinous tendency of their proceedings; for inculcating the necessity of an
130 immediate return to the duty which they owe their Country; and for promising (as far as the State
131 is concerned) a forgiveness of their past transgressions, upon receiving a satisfactory assurance,
132 that, in future, they will submit to the laws: and I propose, if all these expedients should be
133 abortive, to convene the Legislature, that the ultimate means of subduing the spirit of insurrection,
134 and of restoring tranquility and order, may be prescribed by their wisdom and authority.

135 You will perceive, Sir, that throughout my observations, I have cautiously avoided any reference
136 to the nature of the evidence, from which the facts that relate to the riots are collected, or to the
137 conduct which the Government of the United States may pursue on this important occasion. I
138 have hitherto, indeed, only spoken as the Executive Magistrate of Pennsylvania, charged with a
139 general superintendence and care that the laws of the Commonwealth be faithfully executed,
140 leaving it as I ought implicitly to your judgment, to chuse on such evidence as you approve, the
141 measures for discharging the analagous trust which is confided to you in relation to the laws of
142 the Union. But before I conclude, it is proper under the impression of my Federal obligations, to
143 add a full and unequivocal assurance, that whatever requisition you may make, whatever duty you
144 may impose, in pursuance of your Constitutional and legal powers, will on my part be promptly
145 undertaken, and faithfully discharged. I have the honor to be, With perfect respect, Sir, Your
146 Excellency's Most Obedt Hble Servt

147 Tho. Mifflin

Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette.

Wednesday, August 20, 1794.

Price, per Annum.

—Independence, 19th Year.—Federal Government, 6th Year.—

—Price single 6 Cents.

To be Exposed to Sale,

By Public Vendue,
To begin on Wednesday the 17th day of
September next, at the Dwelling
House of the Subscriber, in
Carlisle,
A variety of Household and Kitchen

Furniture,

Consisting of Looking Glasses, Chairs,
Bedsteads, Stoves, Carpets, Mahogany
Tables, a Clock case, a Desk, China, Bot-
tles, plated ware, Patent Lamps, a Tea
Urn, and Irons, &c.

Likewise a Chair and Harness, and two
good Milch Cows.

He will at the same time dispose of a
number of

Law, and other, BOOKS,

One years credit will be given to those
who purchase to the amount of £10, and
upwards, they giving approved security.

THOMAS SMITH,

Who requests all those in this country
who are indebted to him to pay him be-
fore the end of September, as it will be
very disagreeable to him to be obliged to
sue any person.

August 13, 1794.

Proclamation.

WHEREAS an Act of the Gen-
eral Assembly of the State of
Pennsylvania, wherein the Sheriff of the
different counties of the said State are
commanded to make known, the proper
districts for electing members of Congress,
at the General Election next ensuing;

Notice is Hereby Given,

That the counties of Cumberland and
Mifflin do form a district for the elect-
ing one fit person to represent the State
of Pennsylvania in the Congress of the
United States, on the second Tuesday
of October next—under the same offi-
cers, the same regulations, and at the
usual places of electing Members of Ge-
neral Assembly, &c.

JAMES WALLACE, Sheriff,
Sheriff's Office, Carlisle,
August 5th, 1794.

Brave Volunteers

THE shield and support of Ameri-
can Freedom, come forward to the
Barracks at Carlisle, where you shall re-
ceive Eight Dollars Bounty, and every
thing a gentleman soldier should have;
and your choice of any corps, Cavalry,
Riflemen, Artillery or Infantry. Now or
never—bid adieu to Militia Duty, Tax-
es and Impoll of every kind, and come
and live on the treasures of the United
States collected and provided as the
Reward of Bravery.

RICHARD SPARKS Captain.
Commandant.

July 25th, 1794.

To be Sold by Public Vendue,

ON Wednesday, the 20th instant,
the remaining Household furniture,
late the property of Samuel Alexander,
deceased. The Vendue to begin at 10 o'-
clock. The terms will be made known
and attendance given at his late dwelling
in Carlisle by

JOHN CREIGH one of the
WILLIAM ALEXANDER Adminr.
Carlisle 12th August 1794.

Those Indebted to the Estate are re-
quested once more, to make immediate
payment to the administrators; and any
who have demands to feed them in that
they may rejected.

A REVIEW OF THE REVENUE SYSTEM.

In Thirteen Letters.

BY A CITIZEN.

LETTER IV.

*The Secretary of the Treasury's reasons
for the Assumption Loan and funding
the Indents of Interest, refuted.*

DEAR SIR,

THE more minutely you examine
the funding system, the mischiefs
resulting from it will appear in the
greater magnitude and variety.

The secretary in his report, in favour
of assuming the state debts, advocates
that measure wholly on the ground of
convenience, and with arguments plausi-
ble indeed, but so unfounded, that they
will bear the test of experience, and to
carry his plan into effect, required the
powerful support of the *speculating* or-
der. The prevention of a competition
and interference with the state govern-
ments, and securing the exclusive at-
tachment of the public creditors of every
description to the general government,
are alleged by him as the principal rea-
sons for this important measure. He
does not pretend any obligation arising
from the constitution, or the original
contract; nor does he suggest that the
state creditors had a legal claim upon
the general government.

In answer to the argument arising
from the danger of a competition or in-
terference with the state governments, it
is to be observed, that if the state debts
had not been assumed, the general go-
vernment had no call for internal taxes;
the revenues arising from commerce
being fully sufficient for every other de-
mand. Consequently so far from pre-
venting an interference with the state
revenues, the assumption of the state
debts, created the only existing neces-
sity for that interference. It created, the
necessity for the excise law; for great-
ly, as the domestic debt was increased by
the funding system, the imposts were
more than sufficient to provide for it.

That no other interference or com-
petition of fiscal arrangements, by inter-
nal taxes has yet taken place, notwith-
standing the unexpected extent of the
Indian War, and the plan for equip-
ping a fleet against the Algerines, just-
ly, and sufficiently demonstrates, that the assump-
tion of the state debts alone, created
that interference and competition, which
the secretary pretended it was calculated
to prevent.

That all the public creditors having
the same interest, might unite in support
of the fiscal arrangements of the govern-
ment, is another reason offered by the
secretary. In the 8th federal of the first
article of the federal constitution, Congress
is empowered to pay the debts of
the United States. In the 3d section
of the 4th article, it is declared, that
nothing in this Constitution shall be so
construed as to prejudice any claims of
the United States, or of any particular
State. In the 6th article, it is declared,
that all debts contracted or engagements
entered into before the adoption of this

constitution, shall be as valid against the
United States under this constitution, as
under the confederation. These are all
the powers vested in Congress respect-
ing the public debt, and they are defin-
ed with sufficient precision. From
thence it is evident, that Congress hath
precisely the same powers respecting
the public debt under the new consti-
tution, that it had under the confeder-
ation, and no more. Its powers respect-
ing revenue are enlarged, but respect-
ing the debts, engagements, or contra-
cts, the powers of Congress are not
enlarged, nor is the validity of the
claims changed.

What right then had the secretary to
originate a plan for altering the nature
of the original claims against the Uni-
ted States, and increasing their amount?
Or what authority had Congress to
sanction the measure? Who made ei-
ther the secretary, or Congress judges
of what means of influence was neces-
sary to attach any description of citizens
to the government, or to detach them
from the state governments? The con-
stitution only was the judge, and in
this instance the judgment is express-
ed in a very guarded manner. It is
only that a speculator in state debts, was
a member of the General Convention,
laboured hard to have Congress vested
with the power of assuming the state
debts, but failed in all his attempts. To
this no doubt, we are indebted for the
precision with which these powers are
defined.

The constitution of the United States
is a transfer of enumerated powers, spe-
cial in their nature, and expressly defin-
ed. If further, or other powers, or
means of attracting influence are neces-
sary, there is a mode prescribed in the
constitution for obtaining them; but if
the people think it improper, or dan-
gerous to enlarge the transfer of power,
and refuse to grant it, it cannot be as-
sumed but by a criminal usurpation.

In aid of the assumption the secretary
further suggests, that the measure was
necessary in order to procure equal jus-
tice to every description of creditors,
and alleges, that the state creditors
would be in a worse situation than the
creditors of the union. I answer, the
states are not equally happy in their
constitutions, or criminal codes, &c.;
shall Congress therefore interfere, and
revise the state constitutions, and re-
form their penal laws? This will not
be pretended. Yet the Federal consti-
tution vests Congress with no more
power in the one case, than in the o-
ther. The secretary says that the ob-
jects for which they both were contri-
buted were in the main the same. If this
circumstance conveyed authority to in-
terfere, why were not the principles of
liquidation equalized. In some states
no interest was allowed on the state
debts, until from four to seven years
after it was contracted. In this case,
an interest equal to one fourth of the
principal on an average was lost to in-
dividuals.

In several states the citizens were ob-
liged to find recruits to the army at
their own expence, and were not reim-
bursed; in others, both these accounts
were liquidated. If then the principle
of putting the creditors on an equal
footing, is to govern the payment,
the principles of liquidation should also
have been equal. The Congress how-

ever, had no more power to interfere in
this case under the constitution, than
under the confederation.

That the state creditors were not in a
worse situation generally than the cre-
ditors of the union, is evident from
those of several of the states refusing to
subscribe to the assumption, until the
states induced them to do it by a gift e-
qual to ten years interest upon one third
of their claims, to be paid out of the
state treasury.

The secretary, in his report, recom-
mends funding the arrears of interest
on the same terms with the principal.
Congress however, in sanctioning this
part of his plan, funded it at 6 per cent,
while the principal actually commands
four per cent, or which amounts to the
same thing six per cent. upon two
thirds, and one third redeemed.

In the secretary's reasoning on this
subject, he conceals the true state of
the case. He does not inform us, that
the thirteen millions of indents of inter-
est were provided for by requisitions
upon the states, that a great amount of
them were redeemed, and in the state
treasuries, and that the respective states
had either made effectual provision for
the final discharge of them, or were un-
der obligations to do so; and had a right
to bring the evidences of their being
discharged forward in their account
with the United States, in the same
manner as the other requisitions and
state debts.

But even if the arrears of interest
had not been thus provided for, the se-
cretary's reasoning in favour of funding
them is not sound. It is an establish-
ed principle, that in times of great na-
tional calamity interest ceases. Upon
this principle some of the states refused
to provide for several years interest of
the state debts; and Congress refused to
accept of the interest in payment for
land. Upon the same principle we
justify our course for refusing interest
on the British debts during the war. The
national calamities did not end with the
war, the wastes and desolations were to
be repaired, and the national govern-
ment ravied.

I do not design these observations to
prove, the arrears of interest ought to
have been rejected; but arguing from
the greater to the less, they go to prove
that interest should not have been paid
upon interest. It is in no case recover-
able in law, even on a contract, for it
is void. I was at that time much con-
versant with public creditors of every
description, and never heard any of
them express either a demand, or an
expectation of it. They would have
been content to have received their
interest in distant instalments; or in
western lands.

Thus by funding the indents we are
bound to bestow 300,000 dollars annu-
ally, chiefly to the speculators, or to
the states who had redeemed them.
As the indents were not entitled to in-
terest, those of them that were not re-
deemed by the states, were more gene-
rally into speculation than any other
description of paper. By the Hold-
ers who purchased indents, directed
them to be sold, because they would
draw no interest.

The assumption of the state debts,
however was a mischief of still greater
magnitude than funding the interest,
in as much as in the one case we esta-

of a principal debt that must be redeemed, and the annual interest of which will commence in a few years, upon the deferred part of it: In the other, the principal was due, and must have been paid.

The only advantage the speculating order has is to be in favour of the total disregard of the original contract, giving an artificial form to the public debt, and the increase of it, is that by giving it an irredeemable quality, is deferred the payment of the interest on one third of the principal of the debt, for ten years. The secretary supposed, that the debt being irredeemable, would induce foreigners to speculate largely in our funds, and give as high a price for four per cent, irredeemable, or nearly so, as for six per cent, redeemable at the pleasure of government.

An appearance of this being realized, prevailed for a short period, but it soon became evident, that this appearance arose from another cause. To reduce it to its true value, great exertions indeed were made. Mr. Duer being no longer secretary in the treasury department as a projector, left it, and put himself at the head of the *speculating order*, and being aggrandized with the title of governor, and imbued with the funds of the New-Jersey manufacturing company, and furnished with large advances of money by the Secretary of the Treasury, on account of the contract for the army, to which he was preferred, and the whole order being lucrally assisted with disbursements from the bank of the United States, and the bank must probably being enabled to enlarge its discounts by the aid of loans made in Europe, which ought to have been early applied to the sinking fund. When all these artificial auxiliaries were put in operation, and Mr. Duer was prosecuting his project of purchasing up all the six per cent. stock, in such a way as to have it payable and deliverable at a distant day, and by means of that circumstance to have a number of the speculators themselves prevented from making good their sales; I say, while speculation was in this artificial train, their redeemable quality appeared to have the desired effect, in raising the price of the public debt.

But when these aids failed, the delusion vanished, and the golden dreams of wealth and grandeur left nothing behind them but regret and shame. The governor himself was obliged to acknowledge in goal for the security of his person, and even there to be protected by a guard. The public debt then came to its level, and by the price it has since borne, it is evident, that the irredeemable quality has not stamped the value only that the secretary proposed. Ten years interest of the deferred debt is no competent equivalent for paying interest on thirteen millions of interest made irredeemable, even if it had been necessary to revive this interest that had been already provided for according to the confederation.

I am &c.

(CIRCULAR.)

GENERAL ORDERS.

Philadelphia, August 3. 1794.

SIR, The Governor having issued orders for calling in the actual service, and holding in readiness to march at a moments warning a body of 5,000 militia (in pursuance of a requisition of the President of the United States, contained in a letter from the Secretary at War dated the 7th inst.) I have subjoined a copy of these orders to guide your conduct in organizing the quota consisting of 559 officers and privates included, to be drafted from your brigade; and I entreat, in the most earnest manner, that you will with all possible dispatch, execute the business committed to you upon this important occasion. If it should be impracticable to arm and e-

quip completely the above quota, either with the public arms and equipments in your custody, or with such as belong to the individuals who compose it you will please to take the earliest opportunity of letting me know your situation in that respect, in order that a proper application may be made to supply the deficiency.

It is unnecessary I am persuaded to add to the instructions of the governor, either to explain the nature of the service, or the necessity of exercising all your diligence to promote it: It may be proper to request, however, that you will be pleased to employ the most expeditious conveyance, to report when your quota shall be in readiness to march.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) JOSIAH HARMER,
Adjutant-General.

To
LEWIS NICHOLAS, Esq
Brigade Inspector of the Philadelphia City Brigade of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

Copy of the orders from the governor referred to in the preceding letter.

SIR, The President of the United States having deemed it incumbent upon him, after the most solemn deliberation, to issue his proclamation, dated the seventh instant, and to take other legal measures for causing the laws of the United States to be duly observed in the Western parts of the State of Pennsylvania, according to the purport of the said proclamation, has issued his requisition, for forthwith organizing and holding in readiness to march at a moments warning, a corps of the militia of Pennsylvania, amounting to 5,000 non-commissioned officers and privates, with a due proportion of commissioned officers, according to the letter of the Secretary at war, dated the 19th of May last and communicated to you in my letter of the 1st of the same month; the corps to be armed and equipped as completely as possible with the articles in possession of the State of Pennsylvania, or of the individuals who compose it.

You will, therefore, Sir, forthwith issue general orders for calling into actual service, and to be held in readiness to march at a moments warning, the part of the militia specified in the enclosed roll, by the classes most convenient to the citizens, and best adapted to a prompt compliance with the Presidents requisition; the part so called not exceeding four classes of the militia of the respective brigades.

Should it be impracticable to arm and equip completely the said corps, you will give me the earliest possible notice thereof, that I may inform the President, who will direct the deficiency to be furnished by the department of war, as well as tents, camp kettles, and other articles of camp equipage, and musket cartridges, artillery and the apparatus thereunto belonging.

The time and place of rendezvous will be hereafter designated; and the arrangements for furnishing rations, and other necessary supplies, will be seasonably notified.

On this occasion Sir, I must entreat the pointed attention, as well on our part, as on the part of the corps, that is to be drafted, for the purpose of manifesting a just sense of the obedience which is due to the laws of our country, and the patriotic zeal with which the freemen of Pennsylvania will on every emergency, maintain the government that they have established. It is to be seriously lamented, that an occasion should ever arise for arming one part of the community against another; but if every conciliatory measure that can be devised to rescue the inhabitants of the western counties from their delusion, should be abortive, the officers of government might well be charged with an abandonment of their trust, if they omitted to employ any other legitimate means for enforcing obedience and

submission to the laws. In that unhappy event, the issue must be, whether, upon the pure principles of a republican government, the minority shall be allowed by violence to supersede the will of the majority: to subvert the law of arms for the law of reason, and fatally to convert the peace, happiness, and order, which we now enjoy, into a scene of war, wretchedness and anarchy. If I am at all acquainted with the general character and feelings of my fellow citizens, they will not hesitate to decide this great & interesting question upon the principles of patriotism, which in this case or likewise the genuine principles of fell-love: & should the awful necessity of an appeal to arms be matured, beyond the power of amicable accommodation, I expect from every good citizen that firm and active support, by which the freedom & independence of our country were acquired & by which they must ever be preserved.

Still, however, I indulge an anxious hope, that the liberal forbearance of government, and the virtuous reflexions of those, who at present, oppose its legitimate measures, will avert the storm that threatens, and enable us to embrace as brethren, those whom we must otherwise, for the sake of every social blessing, but with grief and commiseration, encounter as enemies.

You will be pleased, Sir, to omit no proper step for placing the corps in a state of readiness to march; and as soon as it is so, you will communicate the same to me.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Signed)
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Philadelphia,
8th Aug. 1794.
To JOSIAH HARMER, Esq.
Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

ROLL designating the quota of the several brigades towards forming a detachment of 5000 Militia. Officers included, agreeably to the requisition of the President of the United States, contained in a letter from the Secretary of War, dated the 7th day of August 1794.

MAJOR-GENERAL.
WILLIAM IRVINE 6th Division.

BRIG. GENERALS
THOMAS PROCTER, 1st Division,
FRANCIS MURRAY, 2d Division,
JAMES CHAMBERS, 3d Division.

Preparation of Cavalry.
Preparation of Artillery.
Preparation of Infantry.
Total amount of officers, privates, &c. included in the quota.

DIVISIONS.

1st. Brigade—City of Phila.	60	83	559
2d. Brigade—do. Phila.	50	83	544
3d. Brigade—do. Bucks	40	46	504
4th. Brigade—do. Montgo.	45	46	532
5th. Brigade—do. Chester	58	20	378
6th. Brigade—do. Delaware	20	16	36
7th. Brigade—do. Lancaster	60	30	560
8th. Brigade—do York	32	20	510
9th. Brigade—do Berks	26	26	434
10th. Brigade—do Dauphin	38	25	73
11th. Brigade—do Cumberland	50	57	563
12th. Brigade—do Franklin	20	28	281
13th. Brigade—Northampton	20	20	374
	500	200	5196

Major General
Brig. Generals

3
3

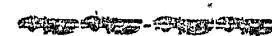
5200

The foregoing detachment to constitute one division, to be formed into the three following Brigades, and to be in readiness to march at a moments warning:
Major Gen. WILLIAM IRVINE.

1. Brigade:	
Brig. Gen. THOMAS PROCTER,	
Philadelphia City,	559
Philadelphia county	614
Montgomery,	378
Chester,	332
Delaware,	36
2. Brigade:	1849
Brig. Gen. FRANCIS MURRAY	
Bucks	504
Berks	434
Northampton	374
Dauphin	273
3. Brigade:	1585
Brig. Gen. JAMES CHAMBERS	
Lancaster,	668
York,	550
Cumberland,	363
Franklin,	281
	1768
	5196

Major General,
Brig. Generals,
1
3

N. B. In the present state of the Indian war, it has been thought advisable to avoid taking any part of the above corps from the brigades of those counties, which are exposed to the hostility and depredations of the savages.



Foreign Intelligence.

L O N D O N .

Admiralty-Office, June 10, 1794.

SIR ROGER CURTIS, first captain to the Admiral Earl Howe, arrived this evening with a dispatch from his lordship to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy.

Queen Charlotte, at sea, June 2, 1794.

Uthant, E. half N. 140 leagues. Thinking that it may not be necessary to make a more particular report of my proceedings with the fleet, for the present information of the Lords of the admiralty, I confine my communications chiefly, in this dispatch, to the occurrences when in the presence of the enemy, yesterday.

Finding, on my return off Brest on the 19th inst, that the French fleet had, a few days before put to sea; and receiving, on the same evening, advices from rear admiral Montagu, I deemed it requisite to endeavour to form a junction with the rear admiral as soon as possible, and proceeded immediately to the station on which he meant to wait for the return of the Venus.

But having gained very credible intelligence, on the 21st of the same month, whereby I had reason to suppose that the French fleet was then but a few leagues farther to westward, the course before steered was altered accordingly.

On the morning of the 28th, the enemy were discovered far to windward, and partial actions engaged with them that evening and the next day.

The weather gage having been obtained in the progress of the last mentioned day, and the fleet being in a situation for bringing the enemy to close action the 1st inst. the ships bore up together for that purpose, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.

The French force consisted of 26 ships of the line, opposed to his majesty's fleet of 25 (the Audacious having parted company with the sternmost ship of the enemy's line, captured in the night of the 28th) waited for the action, and sustained the attack with their customary resolution.

In less than an hour after the close action commenced in the centre, the French Admiral, engaged by the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and was followed by most of the ships of his van in condition to carry off after him, leaving with us about 10 or 12 of his crippled or totally disabled ships, exclusive of one sunk in the engagement. The Queen Charlotte then lost her foretopmast, and the mainmast fell over the side very soon after.

The greater number of the other ships of the British fleet were at this time, so much disabled or widely separated, and under such circumstances with respect to those ships of the enemy, in a state of action, and with which the firing was still continued, that two or three, even of their dismantled ships, attempting to get away under a spritail sailed on the flump of the foremast, could not be detained.

Seven remained in our possession, one of which however sunk, before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew; but many were saved.

The Brunswick, having lost her mizen-mast in the action, and drifted to leeward of the French retreating ships, was obliged to put away large to the northward from them. Not seeing her chased by the enemy, in predicament, I flatter myself she may arrive in safety at Plymouth. All the other 24 ships of his Majesty's fleet re-assembled later in the day; and I am preparing to return with them, as soon as the captured ships of the enemy are secured for Spithead.

The material injury to his Majesty's fleet, I understand, is confined principally to their masts and yards, which I conclude will be speedily replaced.

I have not been yet able to collect regular accounts of the killed and wounded in the different ships. Capt. Montagu is the only officer of his rank who fell in the action. The number of both descriptions I hope will prove small, the nature of the service considered; but I have the concern of being to add to the same subject, that Admiral Graves has received a wound in the arm, and that rear admirals Bowyer and Paisley, and Capt. Hull, of the Queen, have each had a leg taken off; they are, however, I have the satisfaction to hear, in a favourable state, under those misfortunes. In the captured ships the numbers of killed and wounded appear to be very considerable.

Though I shall have, on the subject of these different actions of the enemy, distinguished examples heretofore to report, I presume the determined bravery of the several ranks of officers and the ships companies employed under my authority, will have been already sufficiently denoted by the effects of their several exertions; and I trust, I shall be excused for postponing the more detailed narrative of other transactions of the fleet thereon, for being communicated at a future opportunity; more especially as my ill captain, Sir Roger Curtis, who is charged with this dispatch will be able to give the farther information the lords commissioners of the Admiralty may at this time require. It is incumbent on me, nevertheless, now to add, that I am greatly indebted to him for his councils as well as conduct in every branch of official duties; and I have similar assistance, in the late occurrence, to acknowledge of my second captain Sir Andrew Douglas.

I am with the greatest consideration, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant.

HOWE.

P. S. The names and force of the captured French ships with the fleet is transmitted herewith. List of the French ships captured the 1st day of June.

La Justice	80 guns.
Sans Pareille	80
L'Amérique	74
L'Achille	74
Northumberland	74
L'Impérieux	74
Vengeur	74 sunk at

most immediately upon being taken possession of.

N. B. The ship slated to have been captured on the evening of the 28th of last month, is said by the prisoners to be the Revolutionary, of 120 guns.

June 13.

Mr Jay, the Minister Extraordinary from the United States, has arrived to demand satisfaction for the American vessels taken, and there is no doubt that the business will be amicably adjusted.

The Brunswick arrived at Portsmouth the 24th of June, dismantled.

June 14.

Last night a Naval Officer arrived at the Admiralty Office with the agreeable intelligence that yesterday morning Earl Howe, with his fleet and prizes, arrived safe at Portsmouth.—The gallant Admiral is expected in town this day.

June 16.

By Admiral Montagu, government has received certain intelligence that the French American fleet, amounting to 160 sail, are arrived at Port l'Orient, and therefore the great object for which they hazarded the action of the first of June, is completely accomplished.—Of this rich convoy, the intrinsic value of which is above five millions sterling but 40 vessels are loaded with cotton and sugar, the produce of their Islands, the rest are loaded with provisions and naval stores of all kinds.

The convoy had four ships of war, & they were joined on the 4th instant by twelve more ships, so that Admiral Montagu was unable to touch them; and there is reason to fear that these ships having effected their first great object of forcing their trade late into port, are now at sea cruising against the trade of England.

June 18.

ON Monday night at a late hour, Mr. Basilio, and Mr. Malon arrived with dispatches from the Duke of York, these messengers were sent off at different times, but they both came over in the same packet. The intelligence brought by these messengers is extremely alarming. The accounts of the ineffectual attempts made by the Duke of York and General Clairfait to relieve Ypres are confirmed to the full extent; the French have brought 400,000 to bear upon the Flanders frontier and no power which they have to oppose is equal to the conflict.

The short letter published in the Gazette of last night is all that government have communicated on the subject; but it was generally believed yesterday that they had certain, though not official, accounts of the fall of Ypres, or at least that its fall was unavoidable. General Clairfait fought with his usual bravery and his usual misfortune. A vast number of men have fallen, and the whole army under his command have been harassed and exhausted. The fall of Ypres necessarily exposes Bruges and Orlend. Thus instead of an offensive campaign in the fields of France, the allies are reduced to the sad and unprofitable task of defending Flanders, and it is even now a doubtful point whether they will be able to keep their ground in that country.

June 20.

The Committee of American Merchants had an interview with Mr. Pitt on Saturday last, to know whether they might with confidence prepare their goods for the American markets, as usual, or whether, under the existing circumstances, the alarm of a revolt was sufficiently grounded to make them hesitate in executing the orders they had received.—Mr. Pitt declined giving them any advice as to executing their orders; he said he was happy in being able to assure them, that the Governments of the two countries were disposed to preserve a good understanding; but it could not be concealed, that Jacobine doctrines had made their way into America to such an extent as to make it doubtful what would be the issue of the differences now to be settled.—He trusted however, that they would be guided by moderation and wisdom in the propositions he had to make to this Country, and the gentleman whom they had deputed, on the occasion, would find his Majesty's ministers earnestly disposed to preserve the peace which so happily subsisted between the two Countries.

June 26.

We wrote the Post to say, that a Gentleman in town had received a letter from the Commander of Orlend, dated Monday last, stating, that at that time the French were within seven miles of that place.

"We have the pleasure to inform our readers, that all differences between this country and America are now in a fair way of being amicably adjusted.

An official letter was yesterday sent to a Gentleman in the City, belonging to the committee of American Merchants, stating that all communication with America, both of a private and commercial nature, might be again renewed—without the least restraint—"matters being far settled with Mr. Jay, as to insure a final, and it is hoped, a permanent adjustment of every misunderstanding that has taken place between the two Countries."

This information has afforded no inconsiderable pleasure to the commercial world; but particularly to those Gentlemen who compose the Committee of Merchants.

St. JOHN'S (Antigua) July 21, 1794.

A vessel arrived at Guadaloupe yesterday, and brings the glorious account of the French fleet having been defeated by Lord Howe—seven fail of their line of battle ships had arrived at Spithead, and more were momentarily expected.—Admiral Montagu's fleet had taken One Hundred and Eleven fail of the French fleet of Merchants from America; this intelligence may be depended on, as the London Gazette Extraordinary containing the particulars, was seen and read by an officer of the 85th regiment.

All his Majesty's ships at Guadaloupe fired royal salutes yesterday upon the occasion, and the troops there fired a Feu de Joie.

The harbour of Brest is blocked up by Lord Howe's fleet.

Since writing the above we have been favoured with the following extract of a letter.

Martinique, July 17, 1794.

A vessel arrived here yesterday from London, which left it the 11th of June and brings accounts of the engagement between Lord Howe and the French fleet, which began the 23th of May, and lasted to the 31st.

On the last day he took seven fail of the line; viz. one thrack decker, 184, and five 74's.—His fleet was very much damaged, but that he had left a strong force before Brest, to intercept the remainder of the convoy from America. Six fail of the line and several frigates had taken one hundred and eleven fail of French merchantmen from America bound to France.

PHILADELPHIA, August 9.

Extract of a letter, from Point Petre, Guadaloupe, dated the 2d of July received at Wilmington.

"The British army, commanded by general Sines, made an attack on the French; the British force was great, having volunteers from all the British Islands, with 300 men from Martinico, and all the teamen and officers of the fleet.

"The action was very severe, occasioned by many serious rencounters some time before, and the French were well prepared for the attack; they made a stout, and retreated, by which means they drew the British on a mine which they had sprung, and blew the flower of the British army in the air. The sixth regiment, to a man, was destroyed."

"What remained of the British army, retreated in great disorder, abandoning Grand Terre, and left it in full possession of the French.

"The loss of the British is computed at 800 men, and 28 officers."

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

At a special meeting of the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia, on Thursday the 31st day of July, in the year of our Lord 1794, and of American Independence the nineteenth.—The following resolutions were proposed, considered and adopted:

Resolved, as the opinion of this society, that in a democracy a majority ought in all cases to govern; and that where a constitution exists which ema-

nated from the people, the remedies pointed out by it against unjust and oppressive laws, and bad measures, ought to be resorted to; and that every other appeal but to the constitution itself, except in cases of extremity, is improper and dangerous.

Resolved, as the opinion of this society, that although we conceive excise laws to be oppressive, hostile to the liberties of this country, and a nursery of vice and scycophancy, we, notwithstanding, highly disapprove of every opposition to them, not warranted by that frame of government, which has received the sanction of the people of the United States.

Resolved, that we will use our utmost efforts to effect a repeal of the excise laws by constitutional means; that we will at all times make legal opposition to every measure, which shall endanger the freedom of our country; but that we will bear testimony against every unconstitutional attempt to prevent the execution of any law sanctioned by the majority of the people.

Published by order of the society,
Geo. Booth, Sec'y.

August 14.

The Barque Neptune, Captain Clifton, arrived at this Port yesterday, in 16 days from Orlend. He informs that at the time of his sailing, about the 18th of June, it was expected that place would fall into the hands of the French, who had a large body of men about seven miles distant from it; the ships in the harbour were prepared to sail at the shortest notice, and other circumstances evinced an intended evacuation—the firing between the two armies was kept up every day? A body of 500 cavalry, just arrived from England, on their being disembarked, were marched immediately into the field, and lost 150 in the first action.

The account of the action between the fleets was related as in the accounts from the West Indies, but it was reported that the Chesapeake fleet was safe arrived in France.

August 15

"The Oracle, a London Paper states, that the Archduke and the Emperor, are set off for Vienna, and that the Austrian forces are to be withdrawn, from the utter impossibility of making head against the French.—Clairfait is driven to Ghent.—Ypres is said to have surrendered with 7000 men.

There are rumors in circulation that TURN is taken by the French—that the Duke of York is missing, &c.

August 16

Extract of a letter from London, June 17.
"We understand that the Convoy from America to France is arrived safe at L'Orient. Notwithstanding the French lost 7 ships of the line in the late engagement, they were in force sufficient to chase Admiral Montagu (who had nine fail of the line of fresh ships) into port.

EULOGY ON WHISKEY.

By ABRAHAM AIMWELL, ESQ.

A STRONG AT THOU O WHISKEY, on the high mountains, and strong is thy brother Brandy in the vales below.

1. From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down thereof, thy votaries pay homage to thee; day unto day they worship thee; and in their nightly orgies they shed forth the sweet influence of thy spirit.

2. When they rise up they think of thee; when they meet together they talk of thee; and when they lie down they dream of thee: Thou art unto them WHISKEY, and they are thy SERVANTS.

3. Their love to thee is wonderful—passing their love of women! yea, their wives and little ones are not to be compared to thee.

4. By the power of thy burning majesty most life on the western mountains; and being filled with thee, they fall flat on their faces—becoming dead as thy lake.

5. Compared to thee, Sir Richard Rums is but a mental, held fast in the strong clutches of the eagle; like lightning

If he croucheth down, he boweth his shoulders to bear, and hath become a servant under tribute."

7. But thy spirit O Whiskey exulteth above the flight of the eagle: when he maketh a gesture at thee, thy veterans flout (off) his talons.

8. When thou commandest, they rise against all law and government, and are valiant, even unto the shedding of blood: yea, thy brothers blood!

9. Anarchy is thy confessor, destruction attendeth thee, Poverty and distress follow thy steps;—and the tears of the orphan move thee not.

10. "When the voice of widom crieth peace!—thy voice is louder than the voice of widom: and when thou criest "havoc" thy subjects flout a men!"

11. The hot fire of thy spirit hath singed off the sensibility of their consciences; so that the destruction of social order, the abuse of their father, and the murder of infants giveth them no pain!

12. Strong art thou O WHISKEY upon the Western mountains, & strong is thy brother Brandy in the vales below.

Philad. Gas.

ALEXANDRIA, August 4.
Observations on the News from Pittsburgh.
 This information is the most disagreeable, as the disturbance originates in an opposition, apparently determined, to the execution of a law which has received every constitutional sanction, than which no excess is more hostile to liberty and good government. It is to be lamented that Freemen should so far lose sight of their duty as by force of arms thus to infringe on the rights of their fellow citizens, by counteracting the will of a majority; such conduct leads to the dissolution of all government. If a law is obnoxious to any part of the country, let the citizens there petition for its repeal, expose its defects, or influence, through the medium of the press, let their change their representatives, put into their legislature men whom they know will be active to procure its repeal. If this is ineffective, they should resort to fasts; that other parts of the nation do not view the law in the same light—that a majority of their fellow citizens conceive it necessary or proper, and it becomes their duty to bear its burdens, not (however) without continuing their remonstrances and legal endeavours to have it removed. They have another remedy: if they conceive the constitution to be framed up to prevent their sentiments from being fully represented in the public councils let them endeavor to have it amended. But every petition of the republicans in arms to prevent the execution of laws obnoxious to them, we revert to a state of anarchy and barbarism, forfeit every advantage of organized force, or kindle a civil war. In this country we have, fortunately, no yoke to shake off; we have neither a King's power to fear, nor the oppression of an hereditary aristocracy; we have government of our own choice, as perfect as it could be framed at the time of its formation, as it was to be suited to a variety of local interests; the defects of that government we have a constitutional mode of reforming; if we have abuses in our administration, those abuses can be removed, for the people have all power in their own hands; but this is not the power of the bayonet, or of the sword (this ought to be reserved for external foes) it is the right of regulating their internal concerns by the voice of a majority.—This is the standard which in Republican governments, we must abide by.

At a Meeting of a number of the inhabitants of the townships of Welfensburgh & Newton in the county of Cumberland, held in the town of Newville, Thursday the 14th instant, for the purpose of taking into consideration the Excise Law, and some other important Acts of Congress:—the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, that this mode of selling Back Lands in great quantities to companies is unjust and improper, because it is destructive of an essential principle in every republican government, viz: the equal division

of landed property which ought to be encouraged by law, so far as is consistent with that encouragement due to industry: impolitic because, it tends to alienate the affections of the common people from the Federal government by feeling themselves deprived of becoming purchasers upon the same terms with the favorites of government, and consequently prevent that rapid increase of population that our country bids fair for, both from the nature of the climate and the quality of the soil.

Resolved, that the Funding Act ought to be repealed, or at least so altered as to prevent these unprincipled chiefs of mankind called speculators from drawing out of the treasury what they never were justly entitled to.

Resolved, that all original holders of certificates ought to be paid the real nominal value.

Resolved, that the Excise Law is unjust in principle, oppressive in its operation, & impracticable in its execution, in every republican government.

Resolved, that the people of the United States ought not to elude at the adjoint election for members of congress any speculation in the funds, any stock holder in the Bank of the United States, nor any land jobber, as these are a class of men who seem to have a separate interest from the rest of the people, and consequently must be under its influence in their deliberations.

Resolved, that the present pay of militia is no way adequate to their services, as being far short of the pay of the day labourer, and the dispoition is so great between the pay of officers and privates; and also the finest appears to us, that it was the five congress had more in value than personal service.

Resolved, that as all civil authority originates with and is derived from the people in a republican government, that every law made by the representatives not agreeable to the voice of those from whom they derive their authority is tyrannical and unjust.

Resolved, as virtue is the only spring that supports a republican government, & not power, the laws should recommend themselves to the affections of the people by their propriety, consequently it would make them easy in their execution.

Resolved, that as long as direct taxes is necessary for the payment of the public debts & the support of government, congress should lay a tax upon all warranted and patent lands, and least we may be thought by some to be enemies to all taxation and good order we unanimously resolve, that we will be ready at all times to support government by the payment of taxes in common with our fellow citizens in proportion to the value of our estate real or personal.

Whereas, the Governor of this State in compliance with a requisition from the President of the United States hath ordered the militia to hold themselves in readiness to march at all moments warning to enforce the execution of the excise, amongst our brethren in the western country, therefore resolved unanimously, that the citizens of this county be earnestly recommended to send a number of delegates not fewer than six nor more than ten from each township, to meet at the Court House in the borough of Carlisle, on Friday the 20th instant, for the purpose of taking into consideration the important crisis in which we are placed and the measures to be pursued.

Resolved, that our fellow citizens of Mifflin county with whom we have often acted in union in public measures be requested in the spirit of fraternal affection to send some of their confidential citizens to meet us on this occasion.

Signed by order of the meeting,
 ROBERT SHANNON, Chairman.
 JOHN MITCHELL, Clerk.

Carlisle, August 20.

A letter dated the 17th instant, from the westward, which was received by a gentleman in this town yesterday, contains the following: "By a letter which I this moment received by the post, I understand, that at the general meeting at Park(ton) Mr. Gallatin reproached in a forcible manner the burning of houses, raising riots, &c. and that the meeting entered into a resolution of bringing all such offenders to justice.—That delegates were appointed from the several counties to meet with the commissioners at Pittsburgh, on Wednesday next. I hope things have come to 2 favourable crisis."

The Cumberland Tramp of Light Hoofs and the Independent Light Infantry Company are to parade at the Court House at one o'clock on Saturday next, in good property equipped;

SAMUEL A. McCOSKRY, Captain of Dragoons.
ROBERT MILLER, Lieutenant of Infantry.

NAILS FOR SALE.
W. PETRIKIN,
 HAS for sale at his store, a general assortment of NAILS which, he is enabled to sell cheap, also a great assortment of Dry Goods, Groceries and Books, amongst which are a Review of the Revenue System, (supposed to be wrote by a member of Congress, from one of the Western districts of Pennsylvania, Famous for his Political information and nervous manner of reasoning in the House of Representatives.)
 H. B. William Petrikin carries on the Taylor Business as formerly.
 July 29th 1794.

2 dollars reward.
 Strayed from the commons of Carlisle, sometime last week, a dark bay Horse, sometimes last week, several saddle marks, a blemish in his left eye, between 14 and 15 hands high, shod all round, low in flesh, a little hipshot, trots a canter, his age not known. Whoever takes up said horse and bring him to the printer herent shall receive the above reward.
 Carlisle, August 19, 1794.

DESERVED from this post, on the 10th instant, the following Soldier, belonging to the Legion of the United States, viz, corporal JOHN BROWN, about 40 years of age, now made, about 5 feet 8 inches high, bald headed, his hair black mixed with grey, born in France, and speaks broken English, by trade a miller. BENJAMIN MMAHOM, about 5 feet 7 inches high, about 40 years of age, stout shouldered, a weaver by trade, fond of liquor, and slow of speech, had on a pair of fullian overalls, striped cotton jacket without sleeves, and an old cap. Whoever takes up this deserter and delivers him to the care of any continental officer, or secures them in any goal of the United States, shall receive ten dollars for each, with reasonable charges.

RICHARD SPARKS, Captain
 Barracks at Carlisle, August 13th 1794.

Sale of Valuable Land.
 I AM directed to make it known, that on the first Wednesday of September next, will be sold at the Court House in the town of Pittsburgh, at public sale, that beautiful tract of LAND on the Allegheny river, and adjoining the town, late the property of Thomas Smallman, containing 519 acres, 29 perches, and allowance, and to which an indisputable title with a general warranty shall be given by Rufus H. Ferguson, of the city of Philadelphia. Terms of sale, 5000 paid at the time of sale, and a bond and mortgage for the remainder, with interest payable from the date; any person accommodating the sale, by hiding and not complying with the terms, to be liable to 500 damages.

This Tract of Land is beyond all question, one of the most valuable in Pennsylvania; it borders on the town, exceeds 12 miles in length, 1000 acres at least, on the first bank as level as a bowling green, and the second bank, with a gentle rise, overlooking the town, and the river to a great distance; containing an immense bank of local earth accessible, and limestone quarries of great value; a considerable and constant stream of water, running through it, with a feat for mills, and all kinds of water works just on the margin of the river. For elegance, or utility, it is certainly a great object. It would afford a fine view at 1200 per acre, that is upwards of 1000.

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE,
 Attorney at Pittsburgh for the Estate.

July 29, 1794.

To be Let,
 A Shop adjoining the house occupied by William Denney, in the Main street, it is well suited for a Hatter Shop, as there is a furnace ready built. For terms apply to

WILLIAM DENNEY.

Samuel Gray,
 North and York street Carlisle,
 IS just returned from Philadelphia with a fresh assortment of GOODS, suitable for this part of the country, it is so general that it is not necessary to mention the articles as it would take up too much of a newspaper.

Said Gray being convinced he has got his part of the cake laid out in this place since he began business, he returns his sincere thanks to the public in general, and assures them he will continue to sell his goods as low as reason will admit, of, and flatters himself that he will have his share of trade as formerly.

N. B. All persons whose accounts are due six months or upwards, are requested to call and pay them as they cannot expect any longer indulgence.

GUNS
 Made and Mended by
SAMUEL CRISWELL,
 in Carlisle.
 August 18th, 1794.

All persons indebted to the Estate of Hugh Fatten deceased, are requested for the last time, to come forward and make payment before the 5th day of September next—such as neglect to comply, their names with the sums due will be certified, and their accounts set out into the hands of proper officers for recovery by

MARY FATTEN, administratrix,
 Carlisle, August 11th 1794.

NOTICE.
 THE Board of Commissioners of Cumberland county, will meet at the Court House in the Borough of Carlisle, on Monday the 25th instant, when, and where all persons who have business to transact with the board are desired to attend.
 By Order of the Board.
 GEROUGE LOGUE, Clerk
 Carlisle, 9th August 1794.

Notice is hereby given, to all persons who stand indebted to the estate of John Segwick, late of the borough of Carlisle, deceased, either by Bond, Note, or Book Account, to call on the Commissioners on or before the first day of September next, and pay off the amount of their accounts respectively, otherwise they will be dealt with agreeably to law; without further notice or respect of persons. Those who have any demands against said estate are requested to bring in their accounts legally attested for payment.

HUGH BODEN Administrator,
 ADAM LOGUE Attorney,
 Carlisle August 15th 1794.

John Marry Bain,
 Inform the public in general that he has for Sale at very low prices at the Store of Mr. Nathaniel Worsley in the Borough of Carlisle, a complete assortment of

Gold and Silver Watches.

French and English, warranted good. With an elegant assortment of Gift Chains.

Two Dollars Reward.
 STRAYED or stolen from near Mead Rock, the first of July, a Dark Grey HORSE, a sort of white, adpce down his face, long tail to the white, trots and walks well, one hind foot white, a lump on the pattern like the zincbone, five years old of a good size. Whoever takes up said horse and secures him that the owner can have him again, shall be the above reward and reasonable charge paid by,

JAMES HUSTON
 August 21th 1794.

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THE WHISKEY REBELLION

Frontier Epilogue
to the American Revolution

Thomas P. Slaughter

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But the nation was still not safe from internal disorder, and Washington thought he knew the cause of unrest. "My mind is perfectly convinced," he wrote, "that if these self-created [democratic] societies cannot be discountenanced . . . they will destroy the government of this country." The President believed that these societies had sowed the seeds of distrust in the minds of citizens, attempted to bring about a violent revolution, and fomented the western disturbances. Grievances articulated by the westerners seemed only a front for the real designs of anarchists and rebels. "Their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law," he told Congress, "but . . . a spirit inimical to all order . . . actuated many of the offenders." Fortunately for the country, these "enemies of order" had showed their hand too soon, and the "army of the Constitution" had ably defended the laws. The eyes of all well disposed people should now be opened to the evil designs of those who opposed his administration. This misfired Rebellion should convince all true friends of order, as it had the President, that diligence was the order of the day.³⁹

Not everyone was convinced, and the House refused after much debate to endorse the President's attack on "self-created societies." Washington himself, his opponents observed, belonged to the Order of the Cincinnati, a self-created society by any reasonable definition of the term. Friends of liberty offered instead an explanation of the Rebellion just as cynical as Washington's, placing the entire blame on the government. "We have been accused of wearing the mask of conspirators," Benjamin Franklin Bache reported in the *Philadelphia Aurora*. "As well we might say . . . that the pretended friends of law and order had secretly fomented the insurrection that they might borrow another argument against republicanism and be furnished with a stronger evidence in favor of a standing army." To James Madison it seemed that Washington's attack on the democratic societies was "the greatest error of his political life." To Thomas Jefferson, the President's denunciation of the societies appeared to be "one of the extraordinary acts of boldness of which we have seen so many from the faction of monocrats. It is wonderful [i.e., full of wonder] indeed," Jefferson continued, "that the President should have permitted himself to be the organ of such an attack on the freedom of discussion, the freedom of writing, printing, and publishing."⁴⁰

The Rebellion and the government's response thus exacerbated rather than cured the political conflict that rent America in the 1790s. It contributed as much as any single event to widening the breach between self-styled friends of liberty and friends of order, and to the birth of the Republican and Federalist parties in the years following 1794. And this was only one effect of the Rebellion on the transforming political scene. It was only one of the consequences of this last violent battle over the meaning of the Revolution.

1 Treasury Department August 5th, 1794.

2 Sir

3 The disagreeable crisis at which matters have lately arrived in some of the Western Counties of
4 Pennsylvania, with regard to the laws laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States
5 and on Stills, seems to render proper a review of the circumstances which have attended those
6 Laws in that scene, from their commencement to the present time—and of the conduct which has
7 hitherto been observed on the part of the Government, its motives and effect; in order to a better
8 Judgement of the measures necessary to be pursued in the existing emergency.

9 The opposition to those Laws in the four most Western Counties of Pennsylvania (Alleghany,
10 Washington, Fayette and Westmoreland) commenced as early as they were known to have been
11 passed. It has continued, with different degrees of Violence, in the different Counties, and at
12 different periods. But Washington has uniformly distinguished its resistance, by a more excessive
13 spirit, than has appeared in the other Counties, and Seems to have been chiefly instrumental in
14 kindling, and keeping alive the flame.

15 The opposition first manifested itself in the milder Shape of the circulation of opinions
16 unfavourable to the Law—and calculated by the influence of public disesteem to discourage the
17 accepting or holding of Offices under it, or the complying with it by those who might be so
18 disposed; to which was added the show of a discontinuance of the business of distilling.

19 These expedients were shortly after succeeded by private associations to forbear compliances with
20 the Law. But it was not long before these more negative modes of opposition were perceived to be
21 likely to prove ineffectual. And in proportion as this was the case, and as the means of introducing
22 the Laws into operation were put into execution, the disposition to resistance became more
23 turbulent and more inclined to adopt and practice violent expedients. The Officers now began to
24 experience marks of contempt and insult. Threats against them became frequent and loud; and
25 after Some time, these threats were ripened into Acts of ill treatment and outrage.

26 These acts of violence were preceded by certain Meetings of Malcontent persons, who entered into
27 resolutions calculated at once to confirm, inflame and Systematize the Spirit of opposition.

28 The first of these meetings was holden at a place called Red Stone Old Fort on the 27th of July
29 1791, where it was concerted, that County Committees should be convened in the four Counties at
30 the respective seats of Justice therein. On the 23d of August following, one of these Committees
31 assembled in the County of Washington consisting (as appears by their proceedings published in
32 the Pittsburgh Gazette) among others of James Marshall Register & Recorder of the County,
33 David Bradford Deputy Attorney General for the State, Henry Taylor & James Edgar now associate
34 Judges Thomas Crooks and William Parker, then or shortly before Magistrates & Militia Officers,
35 Thomas Sedgwick and Alexander Wright Magistrates, and Peter Kidd an officer of the Militia.

36 This meeting passed some intemperate resolutions, which were afterwards printed in the
37 Pittsburgh Gazette, containing a Strong censure on the Law, declaring that any person who had
38 accepted or might accept an Office under Congress in order to carry it into effect, should be
39 considered as inimical to the interests of the Country; and recommending to the Citizens of
40 Washington County to treat every person who had accepted or might thereafter accept any such
41 office with contempt, and absolutely to refuse all kind of communication or intercourse with the
42 Officers, and to withhold from them all aid, support or Comfort.

43 Not content with this vindictive proscription of those, who might esteem it their duty, in the
44 capacity of Officers, to aid in the execution of the constitutional Laws of the Land—The meeting
45 proceeded to pass another resolution on a matter essentially foreign to the object which had
46 brought them together, namely the salaries and comp^{<en>}sat^{<ions>} allowed by Congress to the
47 Officers of Government generally, which they represent as enormous, manifesting by their zeal to
48 accumulate topics of censure, that they were actuated, not merely by the dislike of a particular
49 Law, but by a disposition to render the Government itself unpopular and odious.

50 This Meeting, in further prosecution of their plan, deputed Three of their Members to meet

51 Delegates from the Counties of Westmoreland Fayette and Alleghany on the first Tuesday of
52 September following for the purpose of expressing the sense of the people of those Counties, in an
53 address to the Legislature of the United States, upon the subject of the Excise Law and other
54 grievancies—naming for that purpose James Marshall David Bradford, & David Philips.

55 Another Meeting accordingly took place on the 7th of September 1791 at Pittsburgh, in the County
56 of Alleghany, at which there appeared persons in character of Delegates from the four Western
57 Counties; from Westmoreland, Nehemiah Stokely & John Young, from Fayette, Edward Cook
58 Nathaniel Breaden & John Oliphant, from Alleghany Thomas Moreton John Woods & William
59 Plume, from Washington the three persons above named.

60 This Meeting entered into resolutions more comprehensive in their objects & not less
61 inflammatory in their tendency, than those which had before passed the Meeting in Washington.
62 Their resolutions contained severe censures not only on the Law which was the immediate
63 subject of objection; but upon what they termed the exorbitant salaries of Officers; the
64 unreasonable interest of the publick Debt, the want of discrimination between original holders &
65 transferrees & the institution of a National Bank, The same unfriendly temper towards the
66 Government of the United States which had led out of their way the meeting at Washington
67 produced a similar wandering in that at Pittsburgh.

68 A representation to Congress and a remonstrance to the Legislature of Pensylvania against the
69 Law more particularly complained of were prepared by this meeting—published together with
70 their other proceedings in the Pittsburgh Gazette & afterwards presented to the respective bodies
71 to whom they were addressed.

72 These Meetings composed of very influencial Individuals and conducted without moderation or
73 prudence are justly chargeable with the excesses, which have been from time to time committed;
74 serving to give consistency to an opposition which has at length matured to a point, that threatens
75 the foundations of the Government and of the Union, unless speedily & effectually subdued.

76 On the 6th of the same Month of September, the Opposition broke out in an Act of violence upon
77 the person and property of Robert Johnson Collector of the Revenue for the Counties of Alleghany
78 and Washington.

79 A party of men armed and disguised way-laid him at a place on Pidgeon Creek in Washington
80 County, seized, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and deprived him of his horse, obliging
81 him to travel on foot a considerable distance in that mortifying and painfull situation.

82 The case was brought before the district Court of Pensylvania, out of which processes issued
83 against John Robertson, John Hamilton & Thomas McComb—three of the persons concerned in
the outrage.

84 The serving of These Processes was confided by the then Marshall Clement Biddle to his deputy
85 Joseph Fox, who in the month of October went into Alleghany County for the purpose of serving
86 them.

87 The appearances and circumstances which Mr Fox observed himself in the course of his journey,
88 and learnt afterwards upon his arrival at Pittsburgh, had the effect of deterring him from the
89 service of the processes—and unfortunately led to adopt the injudicious and fruitless expedient of
90 sending them to the parties by a private Messenger under cover.

91 The deputys Report to the Marshall States a number of particulars evincing a considerable
92 fermentation in the part of the Country to which he was sent, and inducing a belief on his part,
93 that he could not with safety have executed the processes—The Marshall transmitting this report
94 to the District Attorney makes the following observations upon it "I am sorry to add that he (the
95 deputy) found the people in general in the Western part of the state and particularly beyond the
96 Alleghany Mountain in such a ferment on Account of the Act of Congress for laying a duty on
97 distilled Spirits & so much opposed to the execution of the said Act, and from a variety of threats

98 to himself personally although he took the utmost precaution to conceal his errand, that he was
99 not only convinced of the impossibility of serving the process, but that any attempt to effect it
100 would have occasioned the most violent opposition from the greater part of the Inhabitants, and
101 he declares that if he had attempted it he believes he should not have returned alive. I spared no
102 expence nor pains to have the process of the Court executed and have not the least doubt that my
103 Deputy would have accomplished it, if it could have been done."

104 The reality of the danger to the Deputy was countenanced by the Opinion of General Neville, the
105 Inspector of the Revenue, a man who before had given and since has given numerous proofs of a
106 steady and firm temper. And what followed, as announced in a letter of that Officer of the 27th of
107 October 1791, is a further Confirmation of it. The person who had been sent with the processes
108 was seized whipped tarred and feathered and after having his Money and horse taken from him
109 was blindfolded and tied in the Woods, in which condition he remained for five hours.

110 Very serious reflections naturally occurred upon this occasion. It seemed highly probable, from
111 the issue of the experiment, which had been made that the ordinary course of civil process would
112 be ineffectual for enforcing the execution of the law in the Scene in question—and that a
113 perseverance in this course might lead to a serious concussion. The law itself was still in the
114 infancy of its operation and far from established in other important portions of the Union.
115 Prejudices against it had been industriously disseminated—Misrepresentations diffused,
116 misconceptions fostered. The Legislature of the United States had not yet organised the means, by
117 which the Executive could come in aid of the Judiciary, when found incompetent to the execution
118 of the laws. If neither of these impediments to a decisive exertion had existed, it was desireable,
119 especially in a republican Government, to avoid what is in such cases the Ultimate resort, 'till all
120 the Milder means had been tried without success.

121 Under the United influence of these considerations, it appeared adviseable to forbear urging
122 coercive measures, till the laws had gone into more extensive operation, till further time for
123 reflection and experience of its operation had served to correct false impressions and inspire

124 greater modera<tion> and till the Legislature had had an Opportunity by a revision of the law to
125 remove as far as possible objections and to reinforce the provisions for securing its execution.

126 Other incidents occurred from time to time, which are further proofs of the very improper temper,
127 that prevailed among the inhabitants of the refractory countries.

128 Mr Johnson was not the only Officer who about the same period experienced outrage. Mr Wells
129 Collector of the Revenue for Westmoreland & Fayette was also ill treated at Greensburgh and
130 Union Town Nor were the outrages perpetrated confined to the Officers. They extended to private
131 Citizens, who only dared to shew their respect for the laws of their Country.

132 Some time in October 1791, an Unhappy man of the Name of Wilson, a Stranger in the County,
133 and Manifestly disordered in his intellects, imagining himself to be a Collector of the Revenue or
134 invested with some trust in relation to it, was so Unlucky as to make enquiries concerning the
135 Distillers who had entered their Stills; giving out that he was to travel through the United States to
136 ascertain and report to Congress the number of Stills &c. This man was pursued by a party in
137 disguise, taken out of his bed, carried about five Miles back to a Smith's Shop, Stripped of his
138 Cloaths, which were afterwards burnt, and after having been himself inhumanly burnt in several
139 places with a heated Iron was tarred and feathered—and about daylight dismissed—naked
140 wounded and otherwise in a very suffering condition—These particulars are communicated in a
141 letter from the Inspector of the Revenue of the 17th of November, who declares that he had then
142 himself seen the unfortunate maniac, the abuse of whom, as he expresses it, exceeded description
143 and was sufficient to make human nature shudder. The affair is the more extraordinary, as
144 persons of Weight and consideration in that Country are understood to have been actors in it, and
145 as the symptoms of Insanity were during the whole time of inflicting the punishment apparent—
146 the unhappy sufferer displaying the heroic fortitude of a man, who conceived himself to be a
147 martyr to the discharge of some duty.

148 Not long after a person of the name of Roseberry underwent the humiliating punishment of tarring

149 and feathering with some aggravations; for having in conversation hazarded the very natural and
150 just, but unpalatable remark, that the Inhabitants of that Country could not reasonably expect
151 protection from a Government, whose laws they so strenuously opposed.

152 The audacity of the perpetrators of these excesses was so great, that an armed banditti ventured to
153 seize and carry off two persons, who were witnesses against the rioters in the case of Wilson, in
154 order to prevent their giving testimony of the riot to a Court then sitting or about to sit.

155 Designs of personal violence against the Inspector of the Revenue himself, to force him to a
156 resignation, were repeatedly attempted to be put in execution by armed parties, but by different
157 circumstances were frustrated.

158 In the session of Congress, which commenced in October 1791, the Law laying a duty on distilled
159 spirits and stills came under the revision of Congress as had been anticipated. By an Act passed
160 May 8th 1792, during that session, material alterations were made in it—Among these the duty
161 was reduced to a rate so moderate, as to have silenced complaint on that head—and a new and
162 very favourable alternative was given to the distiller, that of paying a Monthly, instead [of] a
163 yearly rate, according to the capacity of his Still, with liberty to take a license for the precise term,
164 which he should intend to work it, & to renew that license for a further term or terms.

165 This amending act, in its progress through the Legislature, engaged the particular attention of
166 Members who themselves were interested in distilleries, and of others who represented parts of
167 the Country in which the business of distilling was extensively carried on.

168 Objections were well considered and great pains taken to obviate all such as had the semblance of
169 reasonableness.

170 The effect has in a great measure corresponded with the views of the Legislature—Opposition has
171 subsided in several districts where it before prevailed—and it was natural to entertain and not

172 easy to abandon a hope that the same thing would by degrees have taken place in the four
173 Western Counties of this State.

174 But notwithstanding some flattering appearances at particular junctures, and infinite pains by
175 various expedients to produce the desirable issue, the hope entertained has never been realized,
176 and is now at an end as far as the ordinary means of executing Laws are concerned.

177 The first Law had left the number and positions of the Officers of Inspection, which were to be
178 established in each district for receiving entries of Stills, to the discretion of the Supervisor. The
179 second to secure a due accomodation to distillers, provides peremptorily, that there shall be one in
180 each County.

181 The idea was immeadiately embraced, that it was a very important point in the scheme of
182 opposition to the Law to prevent the establishment of Offices in the respective Counties.

183 For this purpose, the intimidation of well disposed inhabitants was added to the plan of molesting
184 and obstructing the Officers by force or otherwise, as might be necessary—So effectually was the
185 first point carried (the certain destruction of property and the peril of life being involved) that it
186 became almost impracticable to obtain suitable places for Offices in some of the Counties—and
187 when obtained it was found a matter of necessity in almost every instance to abandon them.

188 After much effort, The Inspector of the Revenue succeeded in procuring the house of William
189 Faulkner, a Captain in the Army, for an Office of Inspection in the County of Washington—This
190 took place in August 1792—The Office was attended by the Inspector of the Revenue in person, till
191 prevented by the following incidents.

192 Capt. Faulkner, being in pursuit of some deserters from the troops, was encountered by a number
193 of people in the same neighbourhood where Mr Johnson had been ill treated the preceeding year,
194 who reproached him with letting his house for an Office of Inspection—drew a knife upon him,

195 threatened to scalp him, tar and feather him, and reduce his house and property to ashes, if he did
196 not solemnly promise to prevent the further use of his House for an Office.

197 Capt. Faulkner was induced to make the promise exacted—and in consequence of the
198 circumstance wrote a letter to the Inspector dated the 20th of August, countermanding the
199 permission for using his house—and the day following gave a public notice in the pittsburgh
200 Gazette, that the Office of Inspection should be no longer kept there.

201 At the same time, another engine of opposition was in operation—Agreeable to a previous
202 notification, there met at Pittsburgh on the 21st of August a number of persons stiling themselves
203 "A meeting of sundry Inhabitants of the Western Counties of Pennsylvania" who appointed
204 John Canon Chairman and Albert Gallatin Clerk.

205 This Meeting entered into resolutions not less exceptionable than those of its predecessors—The
206 preamble suggests that a tax on spiritous Liquors is unjust in itself and oppressive upon the poor,
207 that internal taxes upon consumption must in the end destroy the liberties of every Country in
208 which they are introduced—that the Law in question, from certain local circumstances which are
209 Specified, would bring immediate distress and ruin upon the Western Country, and concludes
210 with the sentiment, that they think it their duty to persist in remonstrances to Congress, and in
211 every other legal measure, that may obstruct the operation of the Law.

212 The resolutions then proceed, first, to appoint a Committee to prepare and cause to be presented
213 to Congress an address stating objections to the Law, and praying for its repeal—Secondly to
214 appoint Committees of correspondence for Washington, Fayette and Alleghany, charged to
215 correspond together and with such Committee as should be appointed for the same purpose in the
216 County of Westmoreland, or with any Committees of a similar nature, that might be appointed in
217 other parts of the United States; and also if found necessary to call together either general
218 Meetings of the people, in their respective Counties, or conferences of the several Committees;
219 And lastly to declare, that they will in future consider those who hold Offices for the Collection of

220 the duty as unworthy of their friendship, that they will have no intercourse nor dealings with
221 them, will withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life which depend
222 upon those duties, that as men and fellow Citizens we owe to each other, and will upon all
223 Occasions treat them with contempt; earnestly recommending it to the people at large to follow
224 the same line of Conduct towards them.

225 The idea of pursuing legal measures to obstruct the operation of a Law needs little comment legal
226 measures may be pursued to procure the repeal of a Law, but to obstruct its operation presents a
227 contradiction in terms. The operation or what is the same thing, the execution of a Law cannot be
228 obstructed, after it has been constitutionally enacted, without illegality and crime. The expression
229 quoted is one of those phrases which can only be used to conceal a disorderly & culpable intention
230 under forms that may escape the hold of the Law.

231 Neither was it difficult to perceive, that the Anathema pronounced against the Officers of the
232 Revenue placed them in a State of Virtual OutLawry, and operated as a signal to all those who
233 were bold enough to encounter the guilt and the danger to violate both their lives and their
234 properties.

235 The foregoing proceedings as soon as known were reported by the Secretary of the Treasury to the
236 President. The President on the [] issued a proclamation—[] and likewise directed that
237 prosecutions might be instituted against the Offenders, in the cases in which the Laws would
238 support and the requisite evidence could be obtained.

239 Pursuant to these instructions, the Attorney General in cooperation with the Attorney of the
240 District attended a Circuit Court which was holden at York Town in October 1792—for the purpose
241 of bringing forward prosecutions in the proper Cases.

242 Collateral measures were taken to procure for this purpose the necessary evidence.

243 The Supervisor of the Revenue was sent into the opposing Survey—to ascertain the real state of
244 that Survey—to obtain evidence of the persons who were concerned in the Riot, in Faulkeners
245 case, and of those whose composed the meeting at Pittsburgh—to uphold the confidence and
246 encourage the perseverance of the Officers acting under the Law—and to induce, if possible the
247 Inhabitants of that part of the survey, which appeared least disinclined, to come voluntarily into
248 the law, by Arguments addressed to their sense of duty and exhibiting the eventual dangers and
249 mischiefs of resistance.

250 The mission of the Supervisor had no other fruit than that of obtaining evidence of the persons
251 who composed the Meeting at Pittsburgh and of two who were understood to be concerned in the
252 riot—and a confirmation of the enmity, which certain active and designing leaders had
253 industriously infused into a large proportion of the inhabitants, not against the particular laws, in
254 question only, but, of a more antient date, against the Government of the United States itself.

255 The then Attorney General being of Oppinion, that it was at best a doubtful point, whether the
256 proceedings of the Meeting at Pittsburgh contained indictable matter, no prosecution was
257 attempted against those who composed it; though if the ground for proceeding against them had
258 appeared to be firm it is presumed, that the truest policy would have dictated that course.

259 Indictments were preferred to the Circuit Court and found against the two persons understood to
260 have been concerned in the Riot, and the usual Measures were taken for carrying them into effect.

261 But it appearing afterward<s,> from various representations supported by satisfactory
262 testimo<n>y that there had been some mistake as to the persons accused—Justice and policy
263 demanded that the prosecutions should be discontinued, which was accordingly done.
264 This issue of the business unavoidably defeated the attempt to establish examples of the
265 punishment of persons who engaged in a Violent resistance to the laws—and left the Officers to
266 Struggle against the Stream of resistance, without the advantage of such examples.

267 The following plan, afterwards successively put in execution, was about this time digested, for
268 carrying if possible the laws into effect without the necessity of recurring to force.

269 To prosecute delinquents in the cases in which it could be clearly done for non compliance with
270 the laws to intercept the Markets for the surplus produce of the distilleries of the non complying
271 counties by seizing the Spirits in their way to those Markets in places where it could be effected
272 without Opposition by purchases, through Agents, for the use of the Army (instead of deriving
273 the Supply through contractors as formerly) confining them to spirits, in respect to which there
274 had been a compliance with the laws.

275 The motives to this plan speak for themselves. It aimed, besides the influence of penalties on
276 delinquents, at making it the general interest of the distillers to comply with the laws by
277 interrupting the Market for a very considerable surplus, and by, at the same time, confining the
278 benefit of the large demand for public service to those who did their duty to the public, and
279 furnishing through the means of payments in Cash that medium for paying the duties, the want of
280 which was alleged to be a great difficulty in the Way of Compliance.

281 But two circumstances conspired to counteract the success of the plan—one the necessity, towards
282 incurring the penalty of non Compliance, of there being an Office of Inspection in each County,
283 which was prevented in some of the countries by the means of intimidation practised for that
284 purpose—another, the non extension of the law to the territory Nwest of the Ohio, into which a
285 large proportion of the surplus before mentioned was sent.

286 A Cure for these defects could only come from the legislature—Accordingly, in the Session which
287 began in November 1792 measures were taken for procuring a further revision of the laws. A bill
288 containing Amendments of these and other defects was brought in; but it so happened that this
289 object, by reason of more urgent business, was deferred till towards the Close of the Session, and
290 finally went off, through the usual hurry of that period.

291 The continuance of the embarrassment incident to this state of things naturally tended to
292 diminish much the efficacy of the plan which had been devised—Yet it was resolved as far as legal
293 provisions would bear out the Officers to pursue it with perseverance—There was ground to
294 entertain hopes of its good effect; and it was certainly the most likely course which could have
295 been adopted towards attaining the object of the laws, by means short of force; evincing
296 unequivocally the sincere disposition to avoid this painful resort and the steady moderation,
297 which have characterised the measures of the Government.

298 In pursuance of this plan, prosecutions were occasionally instituted in the mildest forms, seizures
299 were made as opportunities occurred—and purchases on public account were carried on.

300 It may be incidently remarked, that these purchases were extended to other places; where, though
301 the same disorders did not exist, it appeared, adviseable to facilitate the payment of the duties by
302 this species of accomodation.

303 Nor was this plan, notwithstanding the deficiency of legal provision, which impeded its full
304 execution, without corresponding effects.

305 Symptoms from time to time appeared which authorised expectation, that with the aid, at another
306 Session, of the desired supplementary provisions, it was capable of accomplishing its end, if no
307 extraordinary events occurred.

308 The opponents of the laws, not insensible of the tendency of that plan, nor of the defects in the
309 laws which interfered with it, did not fail from time to time to pursue analogous modes of
310 counteraction—The effort to frustrate the establishment of Offices of Inspection, in particular, was
311 persisted in and even increased, Means of intimidating officers and others continued to be
312 exerted.

313 In April 1793, a party of armed men in disguise made an attack in the night upon the House of a

314 Collector of Revenue, who resided in Fayette County; but he happening to be from home they
315 contented themselves with breaking open his house, threatening terrifying and abusing his
316 family.

317 Warrants were issued for apprehending some of the rioters upon this occasion by Isaac Mason
318 and James Findlay assistant Judges of Fayette County, which were delivered to the Sheriff of that
319 County, who it seems refused to execute them; for which he has been since indicted.

320 This is at once an example of a disposition to support the laws of the Union, and of an opposite
321 one, in the local officers of Pennsylvania, within the non complying scene—But it is a truth too
322 important not to be noticed and too injurious not to be lamented, that the prevailing spirit of
323 those Officers has been either hostile or lukewarm to the execution of those Laws—and that the
324 weight of an unfriendly official influence has been one of the most serious obstacles, with which
325 they have had to struggle.

326 In June following the Inspector of the Revenue was burnt in Effegy in Allyghany County at a place
327 and on a day of some public Election, with much display, in the presence of and without
328 interruption from Magistrates and other public Officers.

329 on the night of the 22d of November, another party of men, some of them armed and all in
330 disguise; went to the house of the same Collector of Fayette, which had been visited in April, broke
331 and entered it, and demanded a surrender of the officer's commission and official books. Upon his
332 refusing to deliver them up, they presented pistols at him, and swore that if he did not comply
333 they would instantly put him to death. At length, a surrender of the Commission and books were
334 enforced—But not content with this, the rioters before they departed required of the Officer, that
335 he should within two weeks publish his resignation on pain of another visit & the destruction of
336 his house.

337 Notwithstanding these excesses, the Laws appeared during the latter periods of this Year, to be

338 rather gaining ground. Several principal distillers, who had formerly held out, complied, and
339 others discovered a disposition to comply, which was only restrained by the fear of violence.

340 But these favourable circumstances served to beget alarm, among those who were determined at
341 all events to prevent the quiet establishment of the Laws. It soon appeared, that they meditated by
342 fresh and greater excesses to aim a still more effectual blow at them—to subdue the growing spirit
343 of compliance, and to destroy intirely the organs of the Laws, within that part of the Country, by
344 compelling all the Officers to renounce their Offices.

345 The last proceeding in the case of the Collector of Fayette was in this spirit.

346 In January of the present year further violences appear to have been perpetrated. William
347 Richmond who had given information against some of the rioters in the affair of Wilson had his
348 barn burnt with all the Grain and Hay which it contained—and the same thing happened to
349 Robert Shawhan a distiller, who had been among the first to comply with the law and who had
350 always spoken favourably of it. But in neither of these instances (which happened in the County of
351 Alleghany) though the presumptions were violent was any positive proof obtained.

352 The Inspector of the revenue in a letter of the 27th of February writes that he had received
353 information that persons living near the dividing line of Alleghany and Washington had thrown
354 out threats of tarring and feathering one William Cochran, a complying Distiller, & of burning his
355 distillery—and that it had also been given out, that in three weeks, there would not be a House
356 Standing in Alleghany County of any person who had complied with the Laws; in consequence of
357 which he had been induced to pay a visit to several leading individuals in that quarter, as well to
358 ascertain the truth of the information as to endeavour to avert the attempt to execute such
359 threats.

360 It appeared afterwards, that on his return home, he had been pursued by a collection of disorderly
361 persons threatening, as they went along, vengeance against him. In their way, these men called at

362 the House of Jame Kiddoe who had recently complied with the Laws, broke into his Still-House,
363 fired several balls under his still and scattered fire over and about the house.

364 Letters from the Inspector in March announce an increased activity in promoting opposition to
365 the laws—frequent meetings to cement and extend the combinations against it—and among other
366 means for this purpose a plan of collecting a force to seize him, compel him to resign his
367 commission and detain him prisoner—probably as a hostage.

368 In May and June new violences were committed—James Kiddoe the person above-mentioned and
369 Wm Cochran another complying distiller met with repeated injury to their property. Kiddoe had
370 parts of his Grist mill at different times carried away, and Cochran suffered more material
371 injuries—his still was destroyed, his saw mill was rendered useless by the taking away of the Saw,
372 and his Grist mill so injured as to require to be repaired at considerable expense.

373 At the last visit, a Note in Writing was left, requiring him to publish what he had suffered in the
374 Pittsburgh Gazette, on pain of another visit, in which he is threatened, in figureative, but
375 intelligible terms, with the destruction of his property by fire; thus adding to the profligacy of
376 doing wanton injuries to a fellow Citizen the tyranny of compelling him to be the publisher of his
377 wrongs.

378 June being the month for receiving annual entries of Stills, endeavours were used to open Offices
379 in Westmoreland & Washington, where it had been hitherto found impracticable. With much
380 pains and difficulty places were procured for the purpose. That in Westmoreland was repeatedly
381 attacked in the night by armed men, who frequently fired upon it, but according to a report which
382 has been made to this department, it was defended with so much courage and perseverance by
383 John Wells an auxiliary Officer & Philip Ragan the owner of the House—as to have been
384 maintained during the remainder of the Month.

385 That, in Washington, after repeated attempts was suppressed; the first attempt was confined to

386 pulling down the sign of the Office & threats of future destruction, the second effected the object
387 in the following mode—about twelve persons armed & painted black, in the night of the 6th of
388 June, broke into the House of John Lynn, where the Office was kept, and after having
389 treacherously seduced him to come down Stairs and put himself in their power by a promise of
390 safety to himself and his house—they seized & tied him, threatened to hang him—took him to a
391 retired Spot in the neighbouring wood and there after cutting off his hair, tarring and feathering
392 him, Swore him never again to allow the use of his House for an Office, never to disclose their
393 names, and never again to have any sort of agency in aid of the excise—having done which, they
394 bound him naked to a tree and left him in that situation, till morning, when he succeeded in
395 extricating himself. Not content with this, the Malcontents some days after made him another
396 Visit, pulled down part of his house—and put him in a situation to be obliged to become an exile
397 from his own home and to find an asylum elsewhere.

398 During this time, several of the Distillers who had made entries & benefitted by them, refused the
399 payment of the duties; actuated no doubt by various motives.

400 Indications of a plan to proceed against the Inspector of the Revenue in the manner which has
401 been before mentioned continued. In a letter from him of the 10th of July, he observed that the
402 threatened visit had not yet been made, tho he had still reason to expect it.

403 In the Session of Congress which began in December 1793—a bill for making the amendments in
404 the Laws, which had been for some time desired, was brought in, and on the 5th of June last
became a Law.

405 It is not to be doubted, that the different Stages of this business were regularly notified to the
406 Malcontents, and that a conviction of the tendency of the amendments contemplated to effectuate
407 the execution of the Law, had matured the resolution to bring matters to a violent Crisis.

408 The increasing energy of the opposition rendered it indispensable to meet the evil with

409 proportionable decision—The idea of giving time for the Law to extend itself in Scenes where the
410 dissatisfaction with it was the effect not of an improper spirit, but of causes which were of a nature
411 to yield to reason, reflection, & experience (which had constantly weighed in the estimate of the
412 measures proper to be pursued) had had its effect, in an extensive degree. The experiment too had
413 been long enough tried to ascertain, that where resistance continued the root of the evil lay deep;
414 and required measures of greater efficacy than had been pursued. The laws had undergone
415 repeated revisions of the Legislative representatives of the Union, and had virtually received their
416 repeated Sanction with none or very feeble attempts to effect their repeal; affording an evidence
417 of the general sense of the Community in their favour. Complaint began to be loud from
418 complying quarters, against the impropriety & injustice of suffering the Laws to remain
419 unexecuted in others.

420 Under the united influence of these considerations, there was no choice but to try the efficiency of
421 the Laws in prosecuting with vigour delinquents and Offenders.

422 Processes issued against a number of non complying distillers in the Counties of Fayette &
423 Alleghany; and indictments having been found at a Circuit Court holden at Philadelphia in July
424 last against Robert Smilie & John McCulloch, two of the Rioters in the attack, which in November
425 preceding had been made upon the House of a Collector of the Revenue in Fayette County,
426 processes issued against them, also, to bring them to trial and if guilty to punishment.

427 The Marshall of the District went in person to serve these processes. He executed his trust without
428 interruption, though under many discouraging circumstances, in Fayette County; but while he
429 was in the execution of it in Alleghany County, being then accompanied by the Inspector of the
430 Revenue (to wit) on the 15th of July last, he was beset on the Road by a party of from Thirty to
431 forty armed men, who after much previous irregularity of conduct finally fired upon him, but as it
432 happened without injury either to him or the Inspector.

433 This attempt on the Marshall was but the prelude of greater excesses.

434 About break of day, the 16th of July, in conformity with a plan which seems to have been for some
435 time entertained, and which probably was only accelerated by the coming of the Marshall into the
436 Survey, an attack by about One hundred persons armed with Guns and other weapons was made
437 upon the House of the Inspector in the Vicinity of Pittsburgh. The Inspector, though alone,
438 vigorously defended himself against the assailants, and obliged them to retreat without
439 accomplishing their purpose.

440 Apprehending that the business would not terminate here, he made application by letter to the
441 Judges, Generals of Militia & Sheriff of the County for protection. A reply to his application from
442 John Wilkins Junr and John Gibson Magistrates & Militia Officers informed him, that the Laws
443 could not be executed, so as to afford him the protection to which he was intitled, owing to the too
444 general combination of the people in that part of Pennsylvania to oppose the Revenue Law,
445 adding that they would take every step in their power to bring the Rioters to Justice, and would be
446 glad to receive information of the Individuals concerned in the Attack upon his house, that
447 prosecutions might be commenced against them, and expressing their sorrow, that should the
448 posse comitatus of the County be ordered out in support of the civil authority, very few could be
449 gotten that were not of the party of the Rioters.

450 The day following the Insurgents reassembled with a considerable augmentation of numbers,
451 amounting as has been computed to at least five hundred; and on the 17th of July renewed their
452 attack upon the house of the Inspector; who in the interval had taken the precaution of calling to
453 his aid a small detachment from the Garrison of Fort Pit, which at the time of the attack consisted
454 of Eleven Men who had been joined by Major Abraham Kirkpatrick a friend and Connection of the
455 Inspector.

456 There being scarcely a prospect of effectual defence against so large a body, as then appeared, and
457 as the Inspector had every thing to apprehend for his person, if taken, it was Judged adviseable,
458 that he should withdraw from the House to a place of concealment—Major Kirkpatrick generously

459 agreeing to remain with the <Eleven Men, in the intention, if practicable to make a capitulation in
460 favour of the property, if not to defend it as long as possible.

461 A parley took place under cover of a flag, which was sent by the Insurgents to the house to
462 demand, that the Inspector should come forth, renounce his Office, and stipulate never again to
463 accept an Office under the same Laws. To this it was replied, that the Inspector had left the House,
464 upon their first approach, and that the place to which he had retired was unknown. They then
465 declared that they must have whatever related to his Office. They were answered that they might
466 send persons, not exceeding six, to search the House, and take away whatever papers they could
467 find appertaining to the Office. But not satisfied with this they insisted unconditionally, that the
468 armed Men, who were in the House, for its defence, should march out and ground their arms,
469 which Major Kirkpatrick peremptorily refused; considering it, and representing it to them, as a
470 proof of a design to destroy the property. This refusal put an end to the parley.

471 A brisk firing then ensued between the Insurgents and those in the House, which it is said lasted
472 for near an Hour, till the assailants having set fire to the neighbouring and adjacent buildings
473 eight in number, the intenseness of the Heat, and the danger of an immediate communication of
474 the fire to the House, obliged Major Kirkpatrick and his small party to come out and surrender
475 themselves. In the course of the firing, one of the Insurgents was killed and several wounded, and
476 three of the persons in the house, were also wounded. The person killed is understood to have
477 been the leader of the party, of the name of James McFarlane, then a Major in the Militia formerly
478 a Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line. The dwelling House, after the surrender, shared the fate of
479 the other buildings; the whole of which, were consumed to The ground. The loss of property to the
480 Inspector upon this occasion, is estimated, and, as it is believed with great moderation, at not less
481 than Three Thousand pounds.

482 The Marshall, Colonel Presley Neville, and several others were taken by the Insurgents going to
483 the Inspectors House. All, except the Marshall and Colonel Neville, soon made their escape; but
484 these were carried off some distance from the place where the affray had happened, and detained

485 till one or two O'clock the next morning. In the course of their detention, the Marshall in
486 particular suffered very severe and humiliating treatment; and was frequently in imminent danger
487 of his life. several of the party repeatedly presented their pieces at him, with every appearance of a
488 design to assassinate, from which they were with difficulty restrained by the efforts of a few more
489 humane, and more prudent.

490 Nor could he obtain safety or liberty, but upon the condition of a promise guaranteed by Colonel
491 Neville, that he would serve no other process on the west Side of the Alleghany Mountain. The
492 alternative being immediate death extorted from the Marshall a compliance with this condition;
493 notwithstanding the Just sense of Official dignity, and the firmness of character, which were
494 witnessed by his conduct throughout the trying scenes he had experienced.

495 The Insurgents, on the 18th sent a deputation of two of their number (one a Justice of the peace)
496 to Pittsburgh, to require of the Marshall, a surrender of the processes in his possession, intimating
497 that his compliance would satisfy the people, and add to his safety; and also to demand of General
498 Neville, in peremptory terms, the resignation of his Office, threatening, in case of refusal, to attack
499 the place and take him by force: demands which both these Officers did not hesitate to reject, as
500 alike incompatible with their honor and their duty.

501 As it was well ascertained, that no protection was to be expected from the Magistrates or
502 Inhabitants of Pittsburgh, it became necessary to the safety, both of the Inspector and the
503 Marshall to quit that place; and as it was known that all the usual routes to Philadelphia were
504 beset by the Insurgents, they concluded to descend the Ohio, and proceed, by a circuitous route,
505 to the seat of Government; which they began to put in execution on the night of the 19th of July.

506 Information has also been received of a meeting of a considerable number of persons at a place
507 called Mingo Creek Meeting House, in the County of Washington, to consult about the further
508 measures which it might be advisable to pursue: that at this meeting, a motion was made to
509 approve and agree to support the proceedings which had taken place, until the excise Law was

510 repealed, and an Act of oblivion passed. But that, instead of this, it had been agreed, that the four
511 Western Counties of Pennsylvania and the neighbouring Counties of Virginia, should be invited to
512 meet in a convention of Delegates, on the 14th of the present Month at Parkinson's on Mingo
513 Creek, in the County of Washington, to take into consideration the situation of the Western
514 Country, and concert such measures as should appear suited to the occasion.

515 It appears, moreover, that on the 25th of July last the Mail of the United States, on the road
516 from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, was stopped by two armed Men, who cut it open, and took out all
517 the letters, except those contained in one packet: these armed men, from all the circumstances
518 which occurred, were manifestly acting on the part of the Insurgents.

519 The declared object of the foregoing proceedings, is to obstruct the execution and compel a repeal
520 of the laws, laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States and upon Stills; There is just
521 cause to believe, that this is connected with an indisposition, too general in that quarter, to share
522 in the common burthens of the community; and with a wish, among some persons of influence, to
523 embarrass the Government. It is affirmed by well informed persons to be a fact of notoriety, that
524 the Revenue laws of the State itself have always been either resisted or very Defectively complied
525 with in the same quarter. With the most perfect Respect, I have the honor to be Sir, Your most
526 Obedient and Humble Servant

527 (signed) Alexander Hamilton>

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The
HISTORY
of the
AMERICAN
REVOLUTION

IN TWO VOLUMES

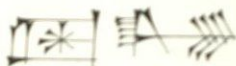
by David Ramsay, M.D.

EDITED BY LESTER H. COHEN

Volume I

LibertyClassics
INDIANAPOLIS

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The cuneiform inscription that serves as the design motif for our end-papers is the earliest-known written appearance of the word "freedom" (*ama-gi*), or "liberty." It is taken from a clay document written about 2300 B.C. in the Sumerian city-state of Lagash.

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theless, to the persecution and tyranny of his evil ministry, we will not tamely submit. Appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free." From the commencement of hostilities, the dispute between Great-Britain and the colonies took a new direction.

Intelligence that the British troops had marched out of Boston into the country on some hostile purpose, being forwarded by expresses from one committee to another, great bodies of the militia, not only from Massachusetts but the adjacent colonies, grasped their arms and marched to oppose them. The colonies were in such a state of irritability, that the least shock in any part was, by a powerful and sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt throughout the whole. The Americans who fell were revered by their countrymen, as martyrs who had died in the cause of liberty. Resentment against the British burned more strongly than ever. Martial rage took possession of the breasts of thousands. Combinations were formed and associations subscribed, binding the inhabitants to one another by the sacred ties of honour, religion, and love of country, to do whatever their public bodies directed for the preservation of their liberties. Hitherto the Americans had no regular army. From principles of policy they cautiously avoided that measure, lest they might subject themselves to the charge of being aggressors. All their military regulations were carried on by their militia, and under the old established laws of the land. For the defence of the colonies, the inhabitants had been, from their early years, enrolled in companies, and taught the use of arms. The laws for this purpose had never been better observed than for some months previous to the Lexington battle. These military arrangements, which had been previously adopted for defending the colonies from hostile French and Indians, [192] were on this occasion turned against the troops of the Parent State. Forts, magazines, and arsenals, by the constitution of the country, were in the keeping of his majesty. Immediately after the Lexington battle, these were for the most part taken possession of throughout the colonies, by parties of the provincial militia. Ticonderoga, in which was a small royal garrison, was surprised and taken by adventurers from different states. Public money which had been collected in consequence of previous grants, was also seized for common services. Before the

commencement of hostilities these measures would have been condemned by the moderate even among the Americans, but that event justified a bolder line of opposition than had been adopted. Sundry citizens having been put to death by British troops, self preservation dictated measures which, if adopted under other circumstances, would have disunited the colonists. One of the most important of this kind was the raising an army. Men of warm tempers, whose courage exceeded their prudence, had for months urged the necessity of raising troops; but they were restrained by the more moderate, who wished that the colonies might avoid extremities, or at least that they might not lead in bringing them on. The provincial congress of Massachusetts being in session at the time the battle of Lexington was fought, voted that "an army of 30,000 men be immediately raised, that 13,600 be of their own province, and that a letter and delegate be sent to the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island." In consequence of this vote, the business of recruiting was begun, and in a short time a provincial army was paraded in the vicinity of Boston, which though far below what had been voted by the provincial congress, was much superior in numbers to the royal army. The command of this force was given to general Ward.

Had the British troops confined themselves to Boston, as before the 18th of April, the assembling an American army, though only for the purpose of observation and defence, would have appeared in the nature of a challenge, and would have made many less willing to support [193] the people of Massachusetts, but after the British had commenced hostilities the same measure was adopted without subjecting the authors of it to censure, and without giving offence or hazarding the union. The Lexington battle not only furnished the Americans with a justifying apology for raising an army, but inspired them with ideas of their own prowess. Amidst the most animated declarations of sacrificing fortune, and risking life itself for the security of American rights, a secret sigh would frequently escape from the breasts of her most determined friends, for fear that they could not stand before the bravery and discipline of British troops. Hoary sages would shake their heads and say, "Your cause is good and I wish you success, but I fear that your undisciplined valour must be overcome, in the unequal contest. After a few thousands of

1775

1 Winchester [Va.] the 24th Sept 1794

2 Sir

3 I am sorry to understand the Difficulty in the state of Pennsylvania to Raise their quota of men to
4 suppress that Horrid insurrection on their frontiers—The state of virga seem to be unanimous and
5 Determined to suppress it and it is my opinion that we shall in a very few Days have men Enough
6 at this post to Do that business. for my own part I wish I was at Morgan Town at this time with
7 2000 men; which would be as Many as I would ask, with what would join me at that place to
8 Bring them people into order, they are very much alarm'd at this time—this I have from the best
9 Intelligence—we have been greatly Disappointed with Respect to arms, only 400 stand have yet
10 arrived, and them come from Phila. we have been Expecting 1500 stand from New London we
11 have applyd to the Executive of virga for 3000 stand those and the arm from New London will I
12 Expect arrive Near the same time which Will be about the last of this month—I wish an
13 accomodation may Not be patch'd up with them Rioters under an apprehention of Not getting
14 troop to suppress them, virga could and would furnish an army sufficient for that purpose—a
15 young man a Brother to colo. Heth gave me the best account of them people that I have had, he
16 was at Bradocks field—he says there was Not four thousand men, of all Descriptions, that there
17 was Not More then one thousand guns among them, and if the amunition Had been Divided
18 among them he Dose Not suppose there would be more than on[e] round a man for my own part I
19 think it a very Easy Matter to bring them people in to order—I Dont wish to spill the Blood of a
20 citizen but I wish to March against them people, to show them our Determination to bring to
21 order and to support the Laws—I took the liberty to write you this, least your Intelligence might
22 Not be so good, or that this might th[r]ough some light (or be of some service[]). I have the Honor
23 to be with very great Esteem your obedt Hble servt I am sorry to understand the Difficulty in the
24 state of Pennsylvania to Raise their quota of men to suppress that Horrid insurrection on their
25 frontiers—The state of virga seem to be unanimous and Determined to suppress it and it is my
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28 would ask, with what would join me at that place to Bring them people into order, they are very
29 much alarm'd at this time—this I have from the best Intelligence—we have been greatly
30 Disappointed with Respect to arms, only 400 stand have yet arrived, and them come from Phila.
31 we have been Expecting 1500 stand from New London we have applyd to the Executive of virga for
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35 furnish an army sufficient for that purpose—a young man a Brother to colo. Heth gave me the best
36 account of them people that I have had, he was at Bradocks field—he says there was Not four
37 thousand men, of all Descriptions, that there was Not More then one thousand guns among them,
38 and if the amunition Had been Divided among them he Dose Not suppose there would be more
39 than on[e] round a man for my own part I think it a very Easy Matter to bring them people in to
40 order—I Dont wish to spill the Blood of a citizen but I wish to March against them people, to show

41 them our Determonation to bring to order and to support the Laws—I took the liberty to write you
42 this, least your Intelligance might Not be so good, or that this might th[r]ough some light (or be of
43 some service[]). I have the Honor to be with very great Esteem your obedt Hble servt

44 Danl Morgan

GEN. WILKINS TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, *August 8th*, 1794.

SIR:—I received a few lines from you, Directed to A. Tannehill & myself, Requesting that we Would Exart ourselves In Bringing to Justice those who were concerned in Burning Gener'l Nevel's Buildings. I can, at present, say no more than that Our Laws, Property & all suffers the moment the Smalest attempt is made In Bringing forward any one person who Opposes the Excise Law. The people in this Part of the united States Seem determined. I hope mild Measures, by the heads of Government, may be adopted; if otherwise, God alone knows the Event. I Supose you will, through Sundry Chanals, hear such Reports as may convince you & His Excellency the Governor, that it is not in our power to put your orders into Execution.

I'm, with Esteem, your

Most obedient Hum. Ser't,

JNO. WILKINS.

To A. J. DALLAS, Esq., *Sec'y, Philadelphia.*

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE * TO TENCH COXE.

PITTSBURGH, *August 8th*, 1794.

SIR:—Have received no papers from you; your letter by the post is the first I have heard from you. I take the opportunity

* HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE, was a native of Campbelton, Scotland, where he was born, in 1748. At the age of five he came with his father to Pennsylvania. He became a tutor at Princeton, having graduated at that College in 1771, and was master of an academy in Maryland when the Revolution broke out. He removed to Philadelphia, and having studied divinity, became a chaplain in the army. Relinquishing the pulpit for the bar, he edited for a time, the *U. S. Magazine*. In 1781 he settled at Pittsburgh. In 1786 was sent to the Legislature to attain the establishment of the county of Allegheny. Was made a judge in 1789, and from 1799, until his death, was judge of the Supreme Court of the State. The part he took in the Insurrection made him prominent. His course, in that affair, he vindicated in his "History of the Whiskey Insurrection," published the year after. Washington, Hamilton and Mifflin well understood his position. He published a poem on the "Rising Glory of America," 1774; "Eulogium of the Brave who fell in the contest with Great Britain, delivered at Philadelphia, July 4, 1779;" "Modern Chivalry, or the Adventures of Capt. Farrago," 1796, an admirable satire; "Oration, July 4, 1793;" "Gazette Publications collected," 1806. He died at Carlisle on the 25th of June, 1816.

to give you, in return, a summary of the present state of this Country, with respect to the opposition that exists to the Excise law. It has its Origin, not in any Anti-Federal spirit, I assure you. It is chiefly the principles and operations of the Law itself that renders it obnoxious. Be this as it may, the facts are these:

The opposition which, for some time, showed itself in resolves of Committees, in representations to Government, in Masked attacks on Insignificant Deputy Excise Officers—for only such would accept the Appointment—did at length, on the appearance of the Marshal, in this County, to serve process, break out in an open and direct attack on the Inspector of the Revenue himself, General Neville. These circumstances you will, by this time, have heard from the General himself, and from the Marshal, Major Lenox. Subsequent to their departure from the country, notice was given of a meeting on the Monongahela River, about 18 miles from the Town of Pittsburgh. Six delegates, of whom I was one, were sent from this Town. Nothing material was done at this meeting, but the measure agreed upon of a more general meeting, on the 14th August, near the same place, to take into view the present State of affairs of the Country.

Subsequent to this the Mail was intercepted. Characters in Pittsburgh became Obnoxious by letters found in which sentiments constructed to evince a bias in favour of the Excise Law were discovered. In consequence of this it was thought necessary to demand of the Town that those persons should be delivered up or expelled or any other obnoxious character that might reside there; also, that the Excise Office, still kept in Pittsburgh, or said to be kept there, should be pulled down; the House of Abraham Kirkpatrick burnt or pulled down, other Houses also that were the property of persons unfavourable to the cause. For this purpose, Circular letters were sent to the Battalions of the Counties, detachments from which met on Braddock's Field to the amount of at least five thousand Men on the second of the month. It was dreaded, on the part of the Town, that from the rage of the people involving the town in the general odium of abetting the excise law, it would be laid in Ashes. And I aver that it would have been the case, had it not been for the prompt and decisive resolutions of the Town to march out and meet them as Brethern, and comply with all demands. This had the effect, and the Battalion marched into Town on the third, and during their delay there and Cantonment in the neighbourhood, with a trifling exception of a Slight damage done to the property of Abraham Kirkpatrick, in the possession of his Tenant, which was afterward compensated, behaved with all the regularity and order of the French or

American Armies in their March through a Town during their Revolution with Great Britain.

The Town of Pittsburgh will send delegates to the meeting of the 14th instant. What the result will be I know not. I flatter myself nothing more than to send Commissioners to the President with an address, proposing that he shall delay any attempt to Suppress this Insurrection, as it will be stiled, untill the meeting of Congress. This will be the object, simply and alone, with all that labor to avert a Civil War.

On the part of the Government, I wou'd earnestly pray a delay, untill such address and Commissioners may come forward. This is my object in writing to you this letter, which I desire you to communicate, either by the *Gazette* or otherwise.

It will be said, this insurrection can be easily suppressed. It is but that of a part of four Counties. Be assured, it is that of the greater part; and I am induced to believe, the three Virginia counties this side the Mountain will fall in. The first measure, then, will be the Organization of a New Government, comprehending the three Virginia Counties and those of Pennsylvania to the Westward, to what extent I know not. This event, which I contemplate with great pain, will be the result of the necessity of self defense. For this reason, **I earnestly and anxiously wish that delay on the part of the government may give time to bring about, if practicable, good Order and Subordination. By the time the Congress meets, there may be a favourable issue to the Negotiation with regard to the Navigation of the Mississippi, the Western posts, &c. A suspension of the excise law during the Indian War, a measure I proposed in a publication three years ago in Philadelphia, may perhaps suffice.** Being then on an equal footing with other parts of the Union, if they submitted to the law, this Country might also.

I anticipate all that can be said with regard to the example, &c. I may be mistaken, but I am decisive in opinion that the United States cannot effect the operation of the Law in this Country. It is universally odious in the Neighbouring parts of all the Neighbouring States, and the militia, under the Law in the hands of the President, cannot be called out to reduce an opposition. The Midland Counties, I am persuaded, will not even suffer the militia of more distant parts of the Union to pass through them.

But the Excise Law is a branch of the Funding System, detested and abhorred by all the Philosophic Men & the yeomanry of America, those that hold certificates excepted. There is a growling, lurking discontent at this system, that is ready to burst out and discover itself everywhere. I candidly and decidedly tell you, the Chariot of Government has been driven Jehu-like, as to the

finances; like that of Phæton, it has descended from the middle path, and is like to Burn up the American Earth.

Should an attempt be made to suppress these people, I am afraid the question will not be, whether you will March to Pittsburgh, but whether they will March to Philadelphia; accumulating in their course and swelling over the banks of the Susquehanna like a torrent, irresistible and devouring in its progress. There can be no equality of Contest between the rage of a Forrest and the abundance, indolence and opulence of a City. If the President has evinced a prudent and approved delay in the case of the British Spoilations, in the Case of the Indian Tribes, much more humane and politic will it be to consult the internal peace of the Government, by avoiding force, until every means of accommodation are found unavailing. I deplore my personal situation. I deplore the situation of this Country, should a Civil War ensue.

An application to the British is spoken of, which may God avert. But what will not despair produce?

Your most obed't h'ble serv't, &c.,

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE.

TENCH COXE, Esq., Philadelphia.

CONFERENCE AT THE PRESIDENT'S.

Saturday, the 9th [2d?] August, 1794.

PRESENT:

The President,	The Governor,
The Secretary of State,	The Chief Justice,
The Secretary of the Treasury,	The Attorney General of the
The Secretary at War,	State,
The Attorney General of the	The Secretary of the Common-
U. S.	wealth.

The President opened the business by stating that it was hardly necessary to prepare the subject of the conference, as it was generally understood, and the circumstances which accompanied it were such as to strike at the root of all law & order; that he was clearly of opinion that the most spirited & firm measures were necessary to rescue the States as well as the general government from impending danger, for if such proceedings were tolerated there was an end to our Constitutions & laws. He then observed that there were some papers besides those already communicated to the Gov'r which would throw additional light on the subject, and he presented them to the Secretary of State who read them aloud.