

"SUCH DISORDERS CAN ONLY BE CURED  
BY COPIOUS BLEEDINGS":  
THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ISAAC CRAIG  
DURING THE WHISKEY REBELLION

Edited by KENNETH A. WHITE

ONE of the surprisingly underutilized sources on the early history of Pittsburgh is the Craig Papers. A case in point is Isaac Craig's correspondence during the Whiskey Rebellion. Although some of his letters from that period have been published,<sup>1</sup> most have not. This omission is particularly curious, because only a few eyewitness accounts of the insurrection exist and most of those were written from an Antifederalist viewpoint.

These letters have a value beyond the narration of events, however. One of the questions debated by historians is why the federal government resorted to force to put down the insurrection. Many have blamed Alexander Hamilton for the action, attributing it to his personal approach to problems or to his desire to strengthen the central government.<sup>2</sup> These critics tend to overlook one fact: government officials make decisions based not only on their personal philosophy but also on the facts available to them. As a federal officer on the scene, Craig provided Washington and his cabinet with their informa-

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1 Portions of this correspondence have been published. For example, all or parts of six of these letters appeared in Harold C. Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 26 vols. (New York, 1961-1979).

2 To cite two examples, Richard B. Morris stated that "it was characteristic of Hamilton that throughout his life he was wont to prefer military solutions to political ones in times of emergency, whether it was to satisfy the officers and public creditors in 1783, or to put down the wretched whiskey insurrectionaries a decade later. . . ." Richard B. Morris, *Seven Who Shaped Our Destiny: The Founding Fathers as Revolutionaries* (New York, 1973), 224. Another author claimed that Hamilton rode with the army "hoping to suppress the insurgents with a show of force that would enhance [sic] substantially the power and authority of the federal government." Ralph L. Ketcham, *James Madison: A Biography* (New York, 1971), 354.

tion on the events taking place in the west. To understand fully why the president acted as he did, it is necessary to know what facts were presented to him by Isaac Craig.

Born in Ireland in 1742, Craig emigrated to Philadelphia in 1765 where he worked as a carpenter. When the Revolution began, Craig joined the marines in November 1775 with the rank of lieutenant and remained in service until the end of the war. He saw action at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown. He wintered at Valley Forge and took part in General John Sullivan's Indian campaign. In 1780 he was assigned to Fort Pitt where he remained until the end of the war, rising to the rank of major.

After the war, Craig settled in Pittsburgh, marrying John Neville's<sup>3</sup> daughter Amelia. He formed a partnership with Stephen Bayard and engaged in trade and land speculation. Craig helped found the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh and, in 1787, was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society. Ten years later, he and James O'Hara built the city's first glassworks.

In February 1791, Craig reentered government service as deputy quartermaster and military storekeeper for the United States Army. He held this position throughout the administrations of George Washington and John Adams. His duties included supplying the western posts and establishing and supervising a line of mailboats down the Ohio River to Fort Washington (present day Cincinnati). After the election of Thomas Jefferson as president, the Federalist Craig retired from public service, except for a brief period during the War of 1812. He died in Pittsburgh on June 14, 1826.

He appears to have been as surprised by the outbreak of the Whiskey Rebellion as was everyone else — including the rebels themselves. The Rebellion culminated rising tensions that had begun on March 3, 1791, when Congress passed an excise tax on distilled spirits. This tax unleashed a howl of protest from farmers west of the Alleghenies. To many of them, the excise tax threatened economic ruin.

Western farmers had only two outlets for their produce — down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans or over the mountains

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<sup>3</sup> John Neville (1731-1803), a Virginian by birth, fought in both the French and Indian War and in the Revolution, rising to the rank of general. After the Revolution, he settled at Chartiers Creek. He served on the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania convention to ratify the United States Constitution, and the Pennsylvania constitutional convention. He was also the largest slaveowner in the area. *Dictionary of American Biography* (hereafter cited as *DAB*), 13: 437.

to the east coast. Unfortunately, the Spanish, who owned Louisiana, had closed New Orleans to Americans. As a result, farmers had to turn east. Only a few poorly maintained roads crossed the mountains, which drove freight charges to ruinous heights. Proceeds from grain sales barely covered transportation costs.

The farmers needed cash to buy the goods they could not produce themselves. They hit upon the solution of distilling their grain into whiskey. Twenty-four bushels of rye produced two barrels of whiskey — one horse load. The reduced freight charges enabled farmers to earn a profit on their grain. The new excise tax, however, would eat up virtually all that profit.

Not only were the farmers angry about the drying up of their major source of hard cash, they particularly hated the principle of the excise. In Europe, excise taxes were burdensome and, too often, the tax collectors highhanded and corrupt. Immigrants to America brought with them their hatred of this tax and passed it on to their descendants.

The final straw for westerners was the provision written into the law that all cases of tax evasion would be tried in federal courts. The nearest court met in Philadelphia, three hundred miles away. Any farmer failing to pay the tax or register his still would have to leave his farm untended, travel to Philadelphia, pay subsistence expenses, legal fees, and witness fees, and, if found guilty, pay a 250 dollar fine. Going to trial usually meant financial ruin.

The law required distillers to register their stills and pay the tax annually in June. To enforce the law, the country was divided into districts and the districts divided into surveys. An inspector of the revenue headed each survey. Under him were the tax collectors, one per county. Allegheny, Fayette, Washington, and Westmoreland counties formed the Fourth Survey. John Neville was appointed inspector of revenue.

Opposition sprang up immediately. A protest meeting was held at Brownsville on July 27, 1791. On August 23, a protest committee in Washington passed a resolution recommending that citizens treat "with contempt" anyone accepting an excise office.<sup>4</sup> On September 7, 1791, delegates from Allegheny, Fayette, Washington, and Westmoreland counties met and passed resolutions opposing the tax. On August 21 and 22, 1792, a meeting of citizens in Pittsburgh passed a resolution against the excise, adding:

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<sup>4</sup> John B. Linn and William H. Egle, eds., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser. (Harrisburg, 1876), 4: 7-8.

WHEREAS some men may be found amongst us, so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distresses of this country, as to accept offices for the collection of the duty:

*Resolved, therefore,* That in future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship; have no intercourse or dealings with them; withdraw from them every assistance, and withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow citizens we owe to each other; and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve; and that it be, and it is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.<sup>5</sup>

Local farmers did not limit themselves to protest meetings. On September 6, 1791, a mob tarred and feathered the collector for Allegheny and Washington counties, Robert Johnson. Warrants against those responsible were issued, but the deputy marshal, Joseph Fox, seeing the temper of the people, chose discretion over valor and turned the warrants over to a private messenger to serve. The poor wretch was whipped, tarred and feathered, and left tied in the woods. In October 1791, a man named Wilson, mistaken for an excise officer, was stripped, burned with a hot iron, and tarred and feathered.

More violence followed. In August 1792, a gang visited William Faulkner — whose Washington house was used as an excise office — and threatened him with scalping and tarring and feathering if he did not withdraw permission for Neville to use his property. The home of Benjamin Wells, collector for Fayette County, was attacked in both April and November 1793. In the second attack, the mob forced him to resign his post. By 1794, armed bands roamed the countryside planting liberty poles and destroying the property of distillers who dared pay the tax.

The government responded mildly and ineffectually. In May 1792, Congress reduced the tax rates and permitted monthly tax payments. On September 15, 1792, the president issued a proclamation stating:

WHEREAS, Certain violent and unwarrantable proceedings have lately taken place, tending to obstruct the operation of the laws of the United States for raising a revenue upon spirits distilled within the same. . . .

Now, therefore, I, George Washington, President of the United States, do by these presents, most earnestly admonish and exhort all persons whom it may concern, to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatsoever, having for object or tending to obstruct the operation of the laws aforesaid, inasmuch as all lawful ways and means will be strictly put in execution for bringing to justice the infractions thereof, and securing obedience thereto.<sup>6</sup>

By 1794, the government had decided to take sterner measures.

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

United States marshal David Lenox came to Western Pennsylvania to serve warrants on tax evaders. He traveled through Fayette County without incident. While in Allegheny County, he asked Neville to act as his guide. After serving a warrant on William Miller<sup>7</sup> on July 15, the two were fired upon by thirty to forty men. The next day a mob attacked Neville's home, signaling the start of the Whiskey Rebellion.

### *Note on Editorial Methods*

Unless otherwise noted, the correspondence published here is taken from the Craig Papers in the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. Most letters are from letterbooks IC, IIB, and IIC. A note on the address, endorsement, docketing memoranda, and location of the documents is given on all unbound letters. Only letters or portions of letters that touch on the Whiskey Rebellion are reproduced. As Craig had other concerns at the time, he will occasionally refer to letters that have not been included here.

All letters are reproduced as written, with the following exceptions: superscript letters are brought down to the line; salutations, complimentary closes, and signatures have been dropped; interlineations and corrections are not indicated; dashes used as periods are replaced by periods; contractions, spelling, and grammar are retained as written except that all words at the beginning of sentences and all names and honorifics are capitalized; the name of the recipient, usually shown at the bottom of the letter, has been moved to the heading.

### ISAAC CRAIG TO JAMES O'HARA<sup>8</sup> (IIB 203-205)

Pittsburg 19th July 1794

But I am sorry to inform that your friend Genl Nevill in Consequence of holding an appointment in the Revenue Department was the day before yesterday stript of every all his Property that an enraged multitude could distroy. About day break in the morning of the 16th Instant A number of armed men attack'd Genl. Nevills House, he himself only defending it. He however dispersed the party having

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<sup>7</sup> A pamphlet titled "The Oliver Miller Homestead," published by the Oliver Miller Homestead Associates, identifies William Miller as the son of Oliver Miller, whose homestead has been preserved as a museum in South Park, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.

<sup>8</sup> At this time, O'Hara (1752-1819) was quartermaster general of the army. *DAB*, 14:3-4. Craig repeated the same information in two letters he wrote on July 18 to Henry Knox and Samuel Hodgdon.

wounded six or seven one of whom it is said mortally.<sup>9</sup> And yesterday a large Body of Armed men Amounting it is said to seven hundred assembled and attacked his house defended only by himself Majr Kirkpatrick<sup>10</sup> & ten soldiers during attack Genl. Nevill seeing it impossible to defend the House against such Numbers took an opportunity of escaping & conscealing himself in a Thicket expecting that Major Kirkpatrick might make terms for saving the Buildings but nothing but unconditional submission would be accepted of the Major, therefore Continued to defend the House till one of his men was Kill'd & four other Badly wounded. Having kill'd two & wounded several of the insurgents,<sup>11</sup> as soon as the Major surrendered the enemy set fire to the House which Consumed to ashes with all the Property it Contained not a single article was saved only the Clothing which the family had on when escaped during the Attack. Previous to Burning the House they had sett fire to the Barn, Stable Kitchen & Granary which also Consumed with Contents amongst which were several Valuable Horses and a large quantity of Grain. Major Lenox Colo. Nevill myself and two others,<sup>12</sup> in Attempting to git into the House with a supply of ammunition were made Prisoners disarmed & confined till the action was over & then Carried several miles to their Rendezvous treated Major Lenox with the utmost Contempt, & all of us with insult during the night I was fortunate enough to make my escape & find Genl Nevill and to escort him to my House where he

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9 The dead man was Oliver Miller, Jr., brother of William Miller. Richard T. Wiley, *The Whiskey Insurrection, A General View* (Elizabeth, Pa., 1912), 51. In his account of the insurrection, Hugh H. Brackenridge stated that Neville's slaves fought with him. Hugh Henry Brackenridge, *Incidents of the Insurrection*, ed. Daniel Marder (New Haven, Conn., 1972), 64-65.

10 Abraham Kirkpatrick (1749-1817) married Mary Ann Oldham, whose sister Winifred was John Neville's wife. His rank dated from his Revolutionary War service; at Neville's house he fought as a private citizen. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 11.

11 One of the dead insurgents was James McFarlane, who led the attackers. The other is unknown. While Craig states that one soldier died, Neville, in a letter dated July 18, 1794, states that three soldiers were wounded. Margaret Moore Felton, "General John Neville" (M.A. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1932), Appendix F. The muster roll of troops at Fort Fayette for July shows no deaths on July 17. A private James Wells died on July 23, but the cause of death is not given. Five privates — John Smith, Frederick Williams, John Cotter, Richard Price, and Alexander Lemon — are listed as "sick present" and may include casualties of the fighting. "Muster Roll of a Detachment of Troops in the Service of the United States at Fort Fayette under the Command of Captain John Crawford from the first to the 31st of July 1794," Craig Papers, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

12 Presley Neville (1755-1818) was John Neville's son. The other two were Ensign Robert Semple and John Ormsby, Jr. Walter T. Kamprad, "John Ormsby, Pittsburgh's Original Citizen," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* (hereafter cited as *WPHM*) 23 (Dec. 1940): 220; Neville B. Craig, *The History of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1917), 250.

now is he having to begin the World anew. Mrs. Nevill and my little daughter<sup>13</sup> are Both safe. I have not yet slept my head aches & I feel otherwise very unwell.

HENRY KNOX TO ISAAC CRAIG  
(IC 24)

War department  
July 25. 1794

I have received your letter of the 18 instant which has been submitted to the President of the United States.

The information contained therein has a very important and unhappy aspect. It seems as if Mankind were destined to be the sport of the cunning and ambitious and that happiness is too often sacrificed to misrepresentation and the gratification of the black passions.

This information is too recently received to form any conjecture in the present moment of the probable consequences. But no doubt can exist that those measures which are right and just will be adopted and executed.

I wrote you by the last post that a supply of medicines would be forwarded.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 206-207)

Pittsburg 25th July 1794

In my last I informed you of the distruction of General Nevills Property on Account of holding an office in the revenue department. But the Insurgents not satisfied with distroying His Property Continued determined on his & Major Lenoxs Personal Distruction. They were therefore under a necessity of decending the OHIO in a small Boat in Order to avoid numerous Parties of armed men that had Waylaid every road with an avowed intention of sacrafising every person Concerned in the Revenue Law, and all those that had Countenanced it.

Major Kirkpatrick for acting a Brave and Disinterested part in

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13 Winifred Neville (1736-1797) and Harriet Craig. Both were present during the fighting on the sixteenth, but left under a flag of truce on the seventeenth. Leland D. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising* (Pittsburgh, 1939), 116-19.

endavouring to defend Genl. Nevill Property is denounced by those savages. Colo. Nevill & myself are also threatened with destruction of Property & assassination. We are therefore under a necessity of being on our Guard. The Civil Officers & officers of the militia are either unwilling to incur the displeasure of the insurgents or afraid to do their duty.

SAMUEL HODGDON<sup>14</sup> TO ISAAC CRAIG  
(IB 205)

Philadelphia July 26 1794

You favour of the 18th instant is before me. Most sincerely do I sympathize with your family under their unfortunate circumstances. General Nevil, to use the expression of the French, deserves well of his Country; his losses become the debt of Government and will be paid with a generous interest.<sup>15</sup> We all lament that so few of the insurgents fell. Such disorders can only be cured by copious bleedings. The Sword of the Law will however come in aid of the musket; and more may prepare for an ignominious death. The Governments lenity has been too long abused the incendiaries that have so long misled the people, have now passed the rubicon and an ample reward for their labours awaits them.

Present my best respects to Genl Nevil and tell him if I can be of any service to him in any way, I shall be happy in being employed.

PScript

A part of the Clothing intended for the troops on the upper parts of the Ohio are on the road.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 211)

Pittsburg 28th July 1794

Last night a Boatman arrived from Fort Washington by land from Wheeling, who delivered a Packet from Head Quarters which is now sent forward in charge of Ensign Sample.

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<sup>14</sup> Samuel Hodgdon held the position of commissary of stores for the army. Syrett, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 16: 504.

<sup>15</sup> The government reimbursed Neville \$6,172.88 2/3. Felton, "General John Neville," Appendix G.



Majr Butler<sup>16</sup> being so Obliging on my application as to send Mr. Semple in order if Possible to insure a safe Conveyance, & particularly as we have information that the Pittsburg mail was Robed last saturday morning<sup>17</sup> near Greensburg, of this you will no doubt have information by Colo. Mintges<sup>18</sup> who sett off same day for Phila. This Robbery has been particularly unfortunate to me as the mail contained Returns of Stores up to the first Instant together with an abstract & vouchers of my disbursements at this post during the last six mo. As these Papers could be of no use to the insurgents I am in hopes they have suffered the post rider to carry them. I have herewith enclosed a Duplicate of my letter of that date, Duplicates of the Returns & Abstracts of Disbursements can also be made out & Transmitted if it is found necessary.

ISAAC CRAIG TO JAMES O'HARA  
(IIB 212)

Pittsburg 1st Augt 1794.

This day 5000 men are to assemble at Bradocks Field armed and furnished with four days provision what may be the result of this meeting God only Knows. Major Kirkpatrick James Brison Esqr. and Edwd Day<sup>19</sup> are proscribed and to leave this Country this day.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 213-214)

Fort Fayette 3d August 1794

On the 1st Instant a numerous body of armed men assembled on Bradocks Fields about nine miles from this place, and Continued there

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16 Thomas Butler, commander of Fort Fayette. During the crisis, he received his promotion to lieutenant colonel. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 75.

17 July 26. The insurgents robbed the mail to discover what people were saying about the insurrection. Craig's later precautions to get his mail through to Philadelphia proved needless as the insurgents did not again interfere with the mail. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels*, 138.

18 Francis Mentges, colonel of the Pennsylvania militia. Joseph Howell to Isaac Craig, July 12, 1794, Craig Papers, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

19 James Brison was prothonotary of Allegheny County while Edward Day was a clerk in the city. The insurgents banished them after discovering letters they had written in the robbed mail. Day wrote to Hamilton suggesting ways to implement the excise tax while Brison identified David Bradford as one of the leaders of the insurrection. Brackenridge, *Incidents of the Insurrection*, 110; Syrett, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 17: 9.

till yesterday morning. Their numbers increasing it is asserted to four thousand five hundred, being Joined by a number of the Inhabitant of Pittsburg, commenced their march about nine O Clock, & it was Confidently reported with a design of attacking the Fort. But some of their leaders being informed that every possible means had been adopted for its defence, they Prudently concluded to postpone the attack to some more favourable oppertunity, & Sent a flag to inform the Commandant that they intended to march Peaceably past the Fort into Pittsburg, & there cross the monongohela & Return home. Major Butler intimated to the flag that their peacable intentions would be evinced by their Passing the Fort at proper distance. They therefore took another road into Town. (Having as they asserted accomplished the object of their assembling Viz forming a union with the Inhabitants of Pittsburg, Banishing some Gentleman inimical to their Cause and proscribing several Others who are also Obligated to leave this Country in a few days.) When there Committed several excesses Crossed the River, Burned a barn & a large quantity of Grain in stacks the property of Major Kirkpatrick, whom they have Banished. Colo Nevell & Genl. Gibson<sup>20</sup> are under Proscription and to leave Pittsburg immediately. I am told that I am allowed till the 12 of this month to settle my affairs at Pittsburg and then to disappear.

On the 14th instant an other Genl. meeting is to take place the result of which God only Knows.

Every possible pains has been taken & is now pursued to protect the property & Support the Honor of the arms of the United States. I feel particulary happy that Major Butler command at this Crisis.

The bearer Edw OHara<sup>21</sup> leaves this on foot to Prevent a suspicion of Conveying intelligence be pleased to direct means for his returning on Horse Back. The arms and ammunition is all safely Come to hand in good time.

HENRY KNOX TO ISAAC CRAIG  
(IC 26)

War department Augt. 8. 1794

Your letters and vouchers came safe in the mail which was robbed only of loose letters.

<sup>20</sup> Both also wrote indiscreet letters. Brackenridge, *Incidents of the Insurrection*, 110. John Gibson was a Revolutionary War veteran, major general of the militia, and judge of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 68.

<sup>21</sup> Edward O'Hara of Franklin, Westmoreland County(?). 1800 Census.

Mr. Semple delivered your letters safely. The well disposed inhabitants of the western counties may rely upon the protection of the laws, and that the President of the United States is fully aware of the pernicious consequences attending the late insurrection of a number of misguided men. The humanity of the Government will not be more manifested by the pacific measures about being taken than will be its firmness and power if the measures should be rejected.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO ISAAC CRAIG  
(IC 27)

Philadelphia August 13. 1794

In consequence of an arrangement of the Secretary at war, who is absent, your letter of the 3d. instant has been communicated to me.

It is satisfactory to receive exact intelligence of the movements of the insurgents.

Your care of the interests confided to you is in every event depended upon, according to circumstances. The keeping the arms and stores out of the hands of the Insurgents is a matter of great importance. *It is hoped that you will personally in the worst issue of things find safety in the Fort.*

The friends of Government may depend, that it will not be wanting to its duty and interest upon this occasion. And can there be any doubt of the sufficiency of its means?

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 221)

Fort Fayette 15th August 1794.

I have herewith enclosed an Invoice of stores ship'd from this post since the 11th July 1794 & I have the pleasure to inform you that all these stores have safely reached Fort Washington except the last Boat which sett off on the 10th Inst with a fine fresh in the River I have therefore no doubt of her reaching her destination in safety.

Neither I nor Colo. Butler have receiv'd any letters from the war office by this days mail.

I have seen the Presidents Proclamation<sup>22</sup> & am apprehensive that

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<sup>22</sup> Upon hearing the news from the west, President Washington began preparations to use force to quell the disturbance. By August 4, he had requested and received from Supreme Court Justice James Wilson authorization to call

it will be treated with Contempt in this unhappy & distracted Country.

Colo. Butler apprehensive of his Letters being intercepted has not wrote by this post. He is most industriously engaged in Putting this Post in the Best Possible state of Defence.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 223-224)

Fort Fayette 17th August. 1794

Your letter of the 8th Instant by Ensign Semple is just received. Messr. Yeats, Bradford, & Ross,<sup>23</sup> are now here. I beleave they are by what they have seen and heard *Pritty well Convinced that the powers they are vested with will have but a small effect in bringing the Mis-guided multitude to a sence of their duty as Citizen of the United States*, and although I have no Doubt but Proper measures will be adopted, I must beg leave to Offer as my Opinion that something ought to be done immediately to excite Confidence in those that remain well effected to Government.

Several of the inhabitants of Pittsburg say that they submitted to the Humilating Condition imposed on them by the multitude on Bradocks Field only with a view of saving their Property & that if the Town could have been protected it would have been Otherwise, therefore as the Works & Troops at this post is not adequate to the protection of the Town on all sides, I presume another work ought to be erected on the point of Grants hill Mounted with two 12 poundrrs & two three pounders & also that two 12 poundrrs & two three pounders & a 5½ inch Howitzer with Proper apparatus ought to be added to Fort Fayette. A Company of Artillery I presume will Also be Necessary I have mentioned my Opinion on the above Particulars to Colo Butler who fully approves of it.

up the militia. Before sending an army, however, he decided to make one more attempt to resolve the issue peacefully. On August 7, he issued a proclamation calling on the insurgents "to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes" by September 1. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 126.

23 After issuing his proclamation, Washington commissioned United States Senator James Ross of Pennsylvania, United States Attorney General William Bradford, and Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Jasper Yeates to negotiate with the insurgents. They were instructed to make clear that the government intended to enforce the excise law and that, if necessary, the militia would be sent to restore order. They could, however, offer an amnesty for past crimes and the previous years' taxes if the citizens agreed to comply with the law immediately. They could also promise that tax cases would be tried in the state courts rather than federal court whenever possible. *Ibid.*, 136-37.

The Bearer James Baird<sup>24</sup> goes express at the request of the Commissioners he is a very Deserving man having on the most arduous Occasions Offered his services performed his duty with spirit & Promptitude, It is probable he may want a Horse & money to enable him to return.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 225)

Fort Fayette 22 August 1794

I am favoured with the Secretary of the Treasurys letter of the 13th Inst. acknowledging the Receipt of mine of the 3d to the Secretary of war & I have also received Major Staggs<sup>25</sup> letter of the 16th Ins.

The Commissioners of Government held a Conference with Deputies from the several Counties<sup>26</sup> Yesterday the result of their deliberation is not fully known. It is however agreed that a more numerous meeting of Deligates from the several Counties take place on thursday next at Redstone to take into consideration the propositions made by the Commissioners of Coverment.

Every Possible exertion has been made to put Fort Fayette in the best state of Defence, which has and is Occasioning a considerable additional Charge against the QM Dept. not Contemplated in the ecstimate for the year 1794. I am therefore under a necessity of requesting a remittance of five thousand Dollars as well to answer the above Purpose as to discharge several large accounts Occuring for Forage etc. contracted for by Order of the QM Genl.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO ISAAC CRAIG  
(IC 30)

War Department August 25th. 1794

Your letter of the 17th Instant to the Secretary at War has been received and duly attended to.

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<sup>24</sup> James Baird was a local blacksmith. Craig, *History of Pittsburgh*, 248.

<sup>25</sup> John Stagg, chief clerk of the war department. North Callahan, *Henry Knox, General Washington's General* (New York, 1958), 308.

<sup>26</sup> On August 14, 260 elected delegates from the four counties of the Fourth Survey, Bedford County, Pennsylvania, and Ohio County, Virginia, met at Parkinson's Ferry and formed a standing committee to decide their next course of action. When the United States commissioners arrived, the committee chose a delegation of three members per county to meet with them. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 159-61.

The suggestions respecting additional measures of defence have been considered, but the danger of the means falling into the hands of the insurgents, appears at present an objection.

It is hoped that everything at Pittsburgh or which shall come there, not necessary for the Post itself, has been forwarded down the river & will continue to be so as long & as fast as it can be done with safety.

The friends of Government at Pittsburgh ought to rally their confidence and if necessary to manifest it by Acts. They cannot surely doubt the power of the U. States to uphold the authority of the laws, and they may be assured that the necessity of doing it towards preserving the very existence of Government so directly attacked will dictate & produce a most vigorous and persevering effort; in which the known good sense and love of order of the great body of the people and all the information hitherto received of their sentiments & feelings with regard to the present emergency, authorise a full expectation of their hearty co-operation.

DAVID LENOX TO ISAAC CRAIG<sup>27</sup>

Philada August 25th 1794

Mr. Baird has been so obliging as to call & inform me that he setts off early tomorrow Morning which gives this opportunity to thank you for your attention to me while in your quarter. Believe me I have felt very sencibly for the situation of you & your immediate connections, your fortitude has been equal to the trial, and I hope the day is not far distant when you will all be fully compensated *in every way*. Our friend Presley has not yet made his appearance among us. We however have had the pleasure to hear of his being on the road. The General I have just parted with & he no doubt will inform you more particularly as to circumstances which have occasioned his delay. I beg you to present my best respects to Mrs. Craig, to both the Mrs Nevills & to assure them that I sympathise with them, at the same time assure them that there are virtuous Men enough left to do ample justice to the virtuous parts of the community among whom their Husbands have the first rank.

I sent my Portmantau from Marietta by return of Crawfords Serjiant,<sup>28</sup> has it reached you? If so send it forward at your conveni-

<sup>27</sup> Craig Papers, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. Addressed: Majr Isaac Craig Pittsburgh; endorsed: Letter D. Lenox Augt 25 1795.

<sup>28</sup> Captain John Crawford. The sergeant was William Holinshead, John

ence. One of my Horses I found at Lancaster. The other I am told is with you, he had a very sore back and as it would be attended with trouble & expence in sending him down I think you had better sell him for what he will bring. He was an excellent Carriage Horse & when in my possession perfectly sound.

Things look with you as I expected but you may expect to see *better days* and this I shall be happy to contribute to all in my power, tell my friend Butler that I should have wrote him *now*, to thank him very kindly for his attention & support as well as convey my thanks for the attention of Mrs. Butler, but that I really had not time, this shall be done by letter in a few days, but I expect to do it in person *before many Months*.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 230)

Pittsburg 29th August 1794

Nothing new has Occured in our neijhbourhood since my last. Yesterday a Meeting of the Genl. Committe took place at Redstone, to take into consideration the proposition of the Commissioners of Government, the Result is not yet known here.

It has been suggested that the Garrison of Fort Fayette will be augmented (will it not in that case) be necessary to Provide Quarters by erecting Barracks in the Fort in addition to those already there, which Cannot accomodate more than one hundred men including Officers.

ISAAC CRAIG TO JOHN NEVILLE  
(IIB 233)

Pittsburg 29th Augt 1794

I am favoured with your letter of the 23d Inst encloseing one for Mrs. Colo. Nevill.

Mrs. Nevill satisfied that you are well in Phila. has recovered her spirits, & is I think as well as she has been for a Considerable time. She has employed William French<sup>29</sup> as an Overseer, he is to

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Whitsel, or Joseph McKennon. "Muster Roll . . . from the first to the 31st of July 1794," Craig Papers, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

<sup>29</sup> The 1790 census lists two individuals named William French. Both lived in the portion of Allegheny County taken from Washington County.

have a share of next crop I beleave 1/5. Mrs. Craig Mrs. Nevill & Mrs Kirpatrick together with all the little Ones are well.

I have enclosed you the Preceedings of the Commissioners & Committee a Genl meeting was to take Place at Redstone yesterday, the result of which is not known. A submission to the law is not Generally expected.

Colo. Nevill by this time I expect is with you. Please to present my respects to him & the Major & the rest of my friends in the city.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 235)

Pittsburgh, 5th Septemr 1794

I have Received Major Staggs Letter of the 29th Ultimo together with a Packet addressed to the Command in Chief, & other Packets and Letters for Officers with the Army, all of which shall be sent forward.

Our Prospect of Peace in this Unhappy Country is Still Obscured by thick Clouds, which dont seem to disperse as has been Wished and expected.

Be pleased to direct a Packet herewith sent, to be Delivered agreeable to Address.

JOHN STAGG TO ISAAC CRAIG  
(IC 33)

War department, September 6 1794

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29 ultimo, to the Secretary at War, who is yet absent, and which have been submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury. He directs me to inform you, that as there is no positive arrangement at present for a permanent augmentation of force, to the garrison of Fort Fayette, the erecting of additional barracks therein, as suggested in your letter, is a matter that must be governed by existing circumstances on the spot.

If the proceedings at Redstone shall indicate a restoration of peace and good order among the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, it may be postponed, but, if the reverse, you will, after taking the opinion and receiving the approbation of Lieut Col. Butler, cause to be built, barracks capable of containing an additional number of One hundred Men, on the most oeconomical plan.



ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 238)

Pittsburg 12th Septemr. 1794

I have received Majr Staggs letter of the 6th Instant covering one addressed to Colo Butler who has urged me to make a further provision of Barracks in Fort Fayette as well for the present Garrison as for a reinforcement, which from the present Complexion of affairs in this Country he thinks absolutely necessary the Buildings are accordingly going on & shall be Prosecuted with the strictest eoconemy.

ISAAC CRAIG TO JOHN NEVILLE  
(IIB 240)

Pittsburg 12th Septemr 1794

In consequence of repeated threats of Visits from the Insurgents, some pains has been taken to impress on the minds of the People of Pittsburg a necessity of an assotiation for mutual defence, but this measure has been Constantly opposed by a number of the enemies of Goverment & in particular by Samuel McCord Andrew Watson, John Hanah & Alex. McNickle<sup>30</sup> & their adherants who you know are pritty numerous However on saturday last a few of us met at Morrows Tavern<sup>31</sup> in order to enter into an agreement for the Protection of our families & property & After some opposition by Mr. Brackenridge<sup>32</sup> did agree to the enclosed milk & water association, which (hower exceptionable as it may appear to People full of Patriotic Zeal) has been attended with good Consequences, ite was immediately signed by upwards of 150 men & the number is still increasing. This has given a new turn to the Business here, and yesterday being the day appointed

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30 John Hannah was a local merchant. Walter L. Riggs, "The Early History of McKeesport," *WPHM* 13 (Jan. 1930): 15. Watson owned a Pittsburgh tavern. John W. Harpster, "Eighteenth-Century Inns and Taverns of Western Pennsylvania," *WPHM* 19 (Mar. 1936): 15. The other two mentioned are unknown.

31 The "Green Tree Tavern" owned by William Morrow and located along the banks of the Monongahela River between Market and Wood streets. A. G. Hauman, map: "Pittsburgh 1795."

32 Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748-1816) was one of Pittsburgh's more prominent citizens. At various times a teacher, minister, lawyer, editor, author, and judge, he helped establish the city's first newspaper, first bookstore, and the Pittsburgh Academy. He and the Nevilles were bitter political enemies. Although the Nevilles claimed that Brackenridge was one of the moving forces behind the insurrection, historians have accepted his contentions that he worked to moderate the situation. *DAB*, 2: 544-45.

by the Commissioners, for takeing the Opinion of the People Respecting Peace or War, upward of 560 in the District of Pittsburgh Subscribed the declaration for Submission to and support of the Law,<sup>33</sup> but it has not been so General in the other District that we have heard from. At Reeds Station<sup>34</sup> Only 20 has signed, in the Fork of Yough<sup>35</sup> you have been burnt in Effagy the Ashes Scattered abroad & not one signature for Peace in that District. Accts from other places are not yet come in, but you are a Pretty good Judge of what is to be Expected from other Districts.

Judge Wallace<sup>36</sup> has given Samuel McCord a Horse Whipping the other day which seems to have a good effect on him and others.

Mrs. Nevill is very well, as well as is also your other Friends, I have seen your Letter of the 6th Instant, and shall present your Respects to your Friends in this Place, I think they Rather increase in Pittsburgh, although I beleive not Generally in the Country, Owing to the Friends of Government Still being in doubt, with Respect to any force coming to their Assistance.

Please present my Respects to Coll Nevile and the Major, and also any of our other friends you may meet.

PRESLEY NEVILLE TO ISAAC CRAIG<sup>37</sup>

Sept 12 1794

My Anxiety to hear from Pittsburgh can only be equalled by my uneasiness on account of my Family. The Commissioners arrived yesterday, but have nothing decisive with them. The post arrived last night not a single letter from any one to us band of Exiles. What can be the reason of this? Surely we have some friends behind us.

33 After two days of negotiations on August 21 and 22, the delegates and commissioners reached an agreement to settle the dispute. In return for an amnesty and the promise that tax cases would be tried in state courts, the standing committee would declare for submission to the law and urge the people to do so as well. Meetings would be held in each township on September 11 for all citizens eighteen years and older to vote upon the agreement. All who favored acceptance on the terms would sign a declaration of submission. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 187-237.

34 Located in Westmoreland County at the junction of the Allegheny and Kiskiminetas rivers. Washington Township Bicentennial Book Committee, *Washington Township Bicentennial, 1776-1976*, 5.

35 Youghiogheny River.

36 George Wallace, judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County. A. B. Reid, "Early Courts, Judges, and Lawyers of Allegheny County," *WPHM* 5 (July 1922): 189.

37 Craig Papers, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. Addressed: Major Isaac Craig Pittsburg; endorsed: Letter Presley Nevile Sep. 12. 1794.

We are told that yesterday was the day when the general sense of the Country was to be taken on the important question of Peace or War. What has been determined? Did Reason, Prudence and good Sense prevail? Or was the Triumph in favour of Violence & Intrigue? Shall we meet returning Peace, or be involved in the horrors and difficulties of a War? If an accommodation takes place all is well, if not, government is surely roused and a very few days will show ten or twelve thousand Men on their march — dreadful Alternative!

In what temper are the Pittsburghers. I have heard that they determine to associate to preserve a neutrality, if not to support government. If I was sure this was the case I would immediately join them and partake of their fortunes.

If an accomodation does not take place, will they then not attack Fort fayette? In that case what will become of the town and what will be the situation of our families? Pray endeavour to guard against contingencies.

The troops of Jersey are embodied and now about to march. They are encamped at Trenton. Govr Mifflin pitches his Marquee on the opposite Bank of Schuykill tomorrow, and will march in a few days. The Marylanders are ready. The Virginians under Genl Morgan<sup>38</sup> are I suppose now ready also. Every class and denomination in the country of whatever party reprobate the conduct of those Enemies to Peace and good order and every Man seems determined to assist in crushing so unjustifiable an opposition.

How is my mother, and how Mrs Craig and the Children? We are all Well, (I mean the Exiles) & receive from the Hospitality Attention & politeness of the Philadelphians, as well as the Officers of the federal Government, a compensation in some measure for the unmeritted indignity intended us by our Countrymen.

How is Colo Butler, his family, Capt Howe<sup>39</sup> and the other Officers. I shall never forget the Attention of those Gentlemen. I am Happy to say that Government think highly of them, and approve [paper mutilated] of their conduct.

My love to my Mother Mrs Craig & Mrs Kirkpatrick.

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38 Daniel Morgan was a Revolutionary War hero and Presley Neville's father-in-law. *DAB*, 13: 166-67. With summer coming to an end, the president decided against waiting for the result of the September 11 vote before gathering the militia. On September 9, 2,100 men left New Jersey to rendezvous at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, with 5,200 Pennsylvanians. At the same time Virginia's 3,300 soldiers and Maryland's 2,350 began their march to Cumberland, Maryland. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 267-69.

39 Bezaleel Howe. Henry Knox to Isaac Craig, 14 June 1794, Letterbook IC, 18, Craig Papers, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

ISAAC CRAIG TO JOHN NEVILLE  
(IIB 244)

Pittsburgh 19th Septemr 1794

I have Received your Letter of the 12th Instant together with One for Mrs. Col P Neville of same Date.

I am sorry my Letters has not Reached you I have not neglected to write by every post, but as my letters to you have been inclosed in the War Office Packet it will be proper to enquire of Major Stagg.

Mrs. Neville Mrs Craig Mrs P Neville & Mrs Kirkpatrick, together with all our families are well, we are since our Association enabled to sleep in peace.

On the day Assigned for taking the sense of the People nearly the Whole of the Inhabitants signed a Declaration for peace, in other Districts very few came forward on that day, but have since & are daily Comeing in, & Claiming the benefit of the Amnesty, in other places a Refractory spirit still prevails, Notwithstanding the Insurgents are Generally Deserted by their Leaders, the Opposers of Government therefore are mostly at this time, the Ignorant & Deluded, who have been led astray by a set of Designing Men, that have taken shelter under the Amnesty Offered by the Commissioners, & will Escape a punishment, that must Ultimately [fall] on less Criminal but Deluded Multitude. At a meeting of the Associates last evening it was agreed that the Exiled Citizens ought not to Consider themselves any Longer in a state of Proscription, & are therefore invited to Return to their families & Connections, but notwithstanding I believe the Gentlemen Proscribed, would be safe in Pittsburgh, I am still of Opinion that, it would be imprudent for any of them to Come here, without a strong Escort, perhaps Governor Mifflin Legion.

Present my Respects to Col Nevile, & other Friends, & tell Coll. Nevill I have not time to write him by this Post.

ISAAC CRAIG TO JAMES O'HARA  
(IIB 247)

Pittsburgh 23d September 1794

Govenor Mifflin is on his march wt 6000 Militia for this Country to quell the Insurrection, the Virginia & Jersey Troops are also on their Way the movements of these Troops has inducd the leaders of the Insurgents to Avail themselves of the Amnesty, Offered by the Com-

missioners of Government, it will therefore so happen, that those who are most Criminal, will Escape punishment, whilst the Ignorant & deluded must suffer for the Crimes of the Leaders. We are all Anxiety to hear from you. Mrs OHara<sup>40</sup> & family are well.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 251)

Pittsburgh 26th September 1794

In Consequence of the present Insurrection the Garrison of Fort Fayette has been Augmented, additional Quarters therefore became necessary. I am Accordingly agreeable to the Orders of Coll Butler, Enlargeing the Barracks & building a Store House in one of the Bastions of the Fort, this business is going on with the greatest Expedition & Oeconomy possible. Two Boxes of Eight by Ten Window Glass will be wanted for the Barracks, for which I have this day Wrote to Mr. Hodgdon.

Late Accounts from Head Quarters say that Genl Wayne has defeated the Indians near Rouchdebout,<sup>41</sup> Killed upwards of one hundred of them wt the loss of two Officers & 20 Men Killed & 70 Wounded.

ISAAC CRAIG TO JOHN NEVILLE  
(IIB 252)

Pittsburgh 26th September 1794

Your letter of the 19th Instant is Received and gives a very pleasing Acct. of the Martial spirit that pervades the United States & Philadelphia in particular, and we only have to lament that present Exertions have been so long delayed as it has prevent your Return to your Connections as well as the other Gentlemen with you in Exile.

The Leaders of the Insurrection, are now endeavoring by a new finess to lull Government by a Representation, that the County is in a State of Peace and submission to the Laws, & that the Interference of an Armed Force is Altogether an unnecessary Expence & therefore they Request that the Army may not proceed any further. I hope this

<sup>40</sup> The former Mary Carson of Philadelphia. *DAB*, 14: 4.

<sup>41</sup> Anthony Wayne. Rouch de bout is on the Maumee River. This is the Battle of Fallen Timbers, fought on August 20, which broke the power of the Indian tribes in the Old Northwest. Glenn Tucker, *Mad Anthony Wayne and the New Nation* (Harrisburg, 1973), 240-43.

Representation may be treated with that degree of Contempt it so justly merits, for notwithstanding a few have taken the benefit of the Amnesty, Offered by the Commissioners, yet several of them immediately after Openly declaring that no Excise Man shall Exist in this County this you may be assured is the General disposition of the People, indeed it [is] evident from what we daily hear & see that the Weight of the Exeutive Armament be sensibly felt in this Country before any Laws of the United States can be Inforced. We had some hopes of seeing Coll Nevile befor the Election I am persuaded you & him would both be perfectly safe under the protection of the Associates of Pittsburgh. General Wayne has been Attacked near Rouch de bout & has defeated the Indians killed upwards of 100 hundred of them, Capt Campbell of Dragoons & Leut Toles of Infantry<sup>42</sup> & about non Commissioned Officers and Privates Killed and 70 Wounded.

ISAAC CRAIG TO DAVID BRADFORD<sup>43</sup>

Pittsburg Oct 1rd 1794

When the Commissioners of the United States were at this Place they were told by H. Brackinridge Esqr in my Presence that had it not been for his interposition I would have been Proscribed at the time the People were Assembled at Bradock Field. It is said the Circumstances that induced this was facts stated by you, viz that I had said I would suffer my own Home to be made an Excise Office of etc. This if true was what any Citizen was justifiable in doing, but not being so with respect to me I consider the Lye to have been designed for my distruction, and now Call on you for your Authority. I would not have Addressed You on this subject had I not suposed that you were deceived in your information and could point of out the scoundril with whome it Originated, and from whome I might seek Redress for injuries intended & suffered.

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42 Robert Mis Campbell and Henry B. Towles. Richard C. Knopf, ed., *Anthony Wayne, A Name in Arms* (Pittsburgh, 1960), 26, 354.

43 Craig Papers, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. Endorsed: Copy of a letter to David Bradford Esq. Craig sent the letter to the *Pittsburgh Gazette* with the following notation: "Mr Scull [the editor] Your inserting the following letter, and the answer thereto, in the Pittsbq Gazzette will Oblige a Subscriber." David Bradford, a prominent Washington County attorney, became one of the leaders of the Whiskey Rebellion. He was one of the men specifically excluded from the government's amnesty for the insurgents. He fled to Louisiana at the approach of the militia army, where he remained until his death. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 111.

DAVID BRADFORD TO ISAAC CRAIG<sup>44</sup>

Washington, October the 5th, 1794.

I received yours of the 1st of this current month, in which you have said that Mr. Brackenridge asserted in the presence of the Commissioners of the United States, that had it not been for his interposition on your behalf at Braddocks Fields, that you would have been banished.

I must inform you that Mr. Brackenridge has either a very treacherous memory, or a strong disposition to assert falsehoods if he asserted as you state. The truth of the case was that he evidenced to me the strongest desire to have you banished, I shall state to you his expressions, or at least some of them. You may then judge for yourself.

The first day at Braddock's Field Mr. Brackenridge told me, the people of Pittsburgh were well pleased, that the country were about to banish the persons whose name had been mentioned, he added that they ought to go further — that little Craig ought to be banished, for he was one of the same *damned junto*. I replied, there appeared to be no grounds to proceed against you — that there was no letter of yours intercepted mistating facts on the conduct of individuals to government, further conversation took place, which had manifestly for its object to irritate me against you.

The next day when the commissioners sat, Mr. Brackenridge took me aside, and mentioned to me your conduct after the burning of Nevill's house, that you assumed high airs in contempt of every thing that had been done by the people — that you had declared in the most positive manner that you would keep up the letters designating the office of inspection at every risque, and though the people of Pittsburgh requested you to take them down that you would not, in short, that you were determined to keep the office open in contempt of the then ruling opinion.

He told further that he put in operation a stratagem to see whether you had firmness to support all the vaunts and blasts you had made. He said that he went out in the street and asked the first person he met if he had heard there were 500 of the Washington county people coming down armed to burn Pittsburgh, because the inspection office was kept open — the answer was no, he asked the next he met the same answer was received, by this means he said the news was spread over the town in a few minutes, that 500 armed men were approaching the place to burn it, etc. He said the letters were then

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<sup>44</sup> *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Oct. 11, 1794.

immediately taken down and torn to pieces, in short, he told me you were one of the warmest sticklers for the revenue law, and that you had been as odious to the citizens of Pittsburgh, and the neighbourhood as the excise officer himself had been.

I then mentioned to Mr. Brackenridge that he had better state to the commissioners the circumstances he had just related to me; he said it was disagreeable to him as he lived in the same place, I replied, that I could open the way, and immediately stated to the commissioners a report, which I had heard respecting your conduct after the burning of Nevill's house, and stated precisely what Mr. Brackenridge had stated one minute before, not mentioning from whom I had the report, I observed as it was only a report it would be improper to take it up as true, till it could be discovered, whether true or false, I then called upon the gentlemen from Pittsburgh, to give information if they knew any thing on the subject, Mr. Wilkins observed that he did not know any thing against you, Mr. McMasters<sup>45</sup> to the like effect and Mr. Brackenridge also concurred — he declined to give the narrative which he had done to me just before, though I opened the way, on what principle I know not. I shall here mention another circumstance, though it does not concern you, it may perhaps obviate false insinuations which he may be disposed to make. On the morning of the second days meetings of the commissioners at Parkinson's ferry, Mr. Brackenridge told me, that there was a young man who wrote in Bryson's office attending the commissioners for the purpose of presenting a petition for the return of Bryson, he wished me to oppose it, suggesting reasons, that he had always been a pest to them at Pittsburgh, that he was a great friend to the excise — alluded to a certain period when a number of suits were brought, or indictment preferred to the grand jury, that Bryson was known to be at the bottom of that business. That he was a damned scoundrel, and a conceited coxcomb — that nothing could even turn out about Pittsburgh, but he must be writing to the governor. A puppy, added he, what had he to do with the governor, it was his place to have set in his office and to have issued writs when called on, etc. I observed to him if he had any reasons to offer to the commissioners, why Bryson should not be suffered to return, he had better offer them himself, no petition was presented. These are facts which I have stated, and I leave you at full liberty to make any use of them you may think proper. I would have answered your letter before, but have been much indisposed.

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<sup>45</sup> John Wilkins, Jr., of Pittsburgh, brigadier general of militia and judge of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County. Brackenridge, *Incidents of*



ISAAC CRAIG TO CAPTAIN JOHN HETH<sup>46</sup>  
(IIB 257)

Pittsburg 8th Octr. 1794

The army intended to surpress the Insurrection, is on its March from Carlisle & Winchester. The whole is under the Command of Governor Lee.<sup>47</sup> I have sent one Drum Cord.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 258)

Pittsburgh 10th October 1794

The Leaders of the Insurrection, in Order to Escape punishment, are using means to Deceive the President into an Opinion that the People of this Country are in a State of Submission, to the Laws of the United States, whilst nothing is more Certain, than although they have Desisted from Burning Houses, etc the Generality Declare that an Officer of the Excise Shall not Exist amongst them, and Notwithstanding the Army Intended for that Suppression had advanced to Carlisle they are Still of Opinion it will never Cross the Mountains.

ISAAC CRAIG TO SAMUEL HODGDON  
(IIB 263)

Pittsburgh 17th October 1794

I have Received your Letter of the 11th Instant together with the News Papers.

The few friends of Government are again holding up their heads, and the leaders of the Insurrection begin to Tremble, several of them have fled, and others preparing to follow the Ohio affords them an easy Retreat, & I expect Kentucky will afford them an Assylum. The Clothing & other Articles are Much wanted, together with Twenty Rifle Locks, your finding a Quarter Cask of good shery, by an early Opportunity will be Esteemed a particular favor.

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*the Insurrection*, 66. John McMasters, a Pittsburgh tavern owner and captain of militia. *Ibid.*, 109.

46 Addressed: Captain John Heth Commandant Fort Franklin.

47 Henry ("Light Horse Harry") Lee, governor of Virginia, Revolutionary War hero, and father of Robert E. Lee. *DAB*, 11: 107-8.

ISAAC CRAIG TO JOHN NEVILLE  
(IIB 265)

Pittsburgh 20th October 1794

Your Letter of the 15th Instant gives Us the pleasing Information of your safe Arrival at Bedford, and of the Movement of the Army. I am sorry this business has been delayed so long, as the Approach of Winter, must Render duty disagreeable to new Troops, and particular to the more delicate Young Men who are now on their first Tour.

It is Certainly a fortunate Circumstance, that Major Finley and Reddick,<sup>48</sup> has not had Influence Enough, with the President to prevent the Troops from Crossing the Mountains. Andrew Bogs<sup>49</sup> tells me this Morning that the People of his Neighbourhood, are still of the same temper with Respect to the Laws of the United States, and have proposed an Association not to Enter their stills, nor to suffer others to Comply with the Laws.

In the Neighbourhood of Washington they are of the same mind notwithstanding some of the Leaders of the Rebellion, have thought proper to Decamp and Others are preparing to follow. It is said David Bradford has disappeared, A Mr. Fulton<sup>50</sup> and others, are takeing the hint. Mrs Nevile Mrs. Craig Mrs Kirkpatrick Mrs Presley Nevile and families are all well, and Anxiously waiting the Return of the Exiles. We shall provide some Beef, Bread & Whiskey for our Friends on your Arrival here. Be kind Enough to bring as many of them With you as our House will Contain to take a Cut of Ham and a Little Whiskey Grog. Mrs Nevile has been fitting out the Redoubt,<sup>51</sup> for your Winters Residence & Reno<sup>52</sup> is preparing Timber for a finale House to stand on the Old Ground unless you should think Otherwise.

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48 Congressman William Finley and David Redick, clerk of the courts of Washington County, served as envoys from the standing committee to the president. They hoped to convince Washington that the western counties intended to submit to the law and that the army was not needed. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 46, 48.

49 Andrew Boggs of Fallowfield, Washington County. 1790 Census.

50 Alexander Fulton. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 79, 479.

51 Not the blockhouse that is preserved in Point State Park in Pittsburgh, but another of the redoubts built by the British in 1764. This one was located on the banks of the Monongahela at the foot of Redoubt Alley. A. G. Hauman, map: "Pittsburgh 1795."

52 Unknown.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIB 267)

Pittsburgh 24th October 1794

In my Letter to you of the 26th of September, I Observed to you that in Consequence of the Insurrection in this Country, the Garrison of Fort Fayette, had been Augmented, the Barracks then became Insufficient to Accomodate all the Troops. I am therefore at the particular Request of Coll Butler making an Addition to the Barracks, and have a Erected a Block House, which stands in the South West Bastion, the Lower Story of the Bastion is to serve as a Commissary Store House, it was also found necessary to Build an Oven & Bake House, and a Guard House, these Buildings notwithstanding I have carried them on with the strictest Oeconomy will Considerably increase the Expenditures at this Post. All this additional Exence has been Occassioned by the leaders of the Insurrection, the principles of Which I am Apprehensive will Escape punishment, by either absconding Or by deceiving Government into an Opinion, that the Country is in a State of Submission to the Laws in order to prevent the approach of the Army, which is much dreaded by the Insurgents, but which, is Essentially necessary to the Execution of the Laws of the United States.

JOHN NEVILLE TO ISAAC CRAIG[?]<sup>53</sup>

Bedford 28th Octbr 1794

We shall I believe move from this place to Morrow morning, perhaps the Glade road will be our Route. We have Nothing New in this Quarter all the Accounts we receive in this place is that peace is established in every Quarter in Your Country. I sincerely wish it had been the case three months ago. I might now have had some Shelter for My Poor Distrest family. Last Night Judge Peters had Harman Husbands and a Certain Filson<sup>54</sup> storekeeper in the Glades brought to Town and safely Lodged in jail. It is Generally thought it will go hard with them. The Judge and Attorney General marches with the Army. What will be the Consequence when we arrive over the Mountain I know not. Presley Came here last Night from Cumberland in Com-

<sup>53</sup> Neville Papers, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

<sup>54</sup> Richard Peters, judge of the U.S. District Court in Pennsylvania. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 174. Robert Philson, Henry M. Brackenridge, *History of the Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania Commonly called the Whiskey Insurrection 1794* (Pittsburgh, 1859), 330.

pany with the President and the Commander in Chief (Governor Lee). He will return to the Left Collum on Braddocks road tomorrow or the Next day at Farthest Wednesday morning. The Troops are just ready to march and four of the Insurgents taken at this place or at Least in the County old Husbands among them<sup>55</sup> are seting of for the jail in Philadelphia under the Command of 12 Light Horse and an Officer 10 or 12 more are bound over to the District Court to be Tryed in the County Their offences being less criminal.

ISAAC CRAIG TO SAMUEL HODGDON  
(IIC 5-6)

Pittsburg 21st Novr 1794

The Militia Army are generally on their return home having during their continuance in this Country convinced the deluded multitude that the arms of Government is sufficiently strong to chastise them when necessary. Several of the insurgents are in Confinement & will be sent to Philadelphia for trial, but the principles have either availed themselves of the Amnesty, or have escaped by abandoning this Country perhaps with intentions of returning after the dissolution of the present Army. A part of the Camp Equipage and Ordinance Stores of the Pensylvania & Jersey Troops have been and are now delivering up at this Post in a very confused manner and in bad order, this Occasions a very troublesome piece of business.

I am again under a pressing necessity of calling on you for money to enable me to meet the many demands that have been occasioned by preparing Quarters, Fuel, Forage, etc etc for the Troops that have been added to the Garrisons of the upper posts of the Ohio, by Estimation five thousand Dollars will be required immediately for the several purposes of providing for the approaching winter.

ISAAC CRAIG TO HENRY KNOX  
(IIC 6)

Pittsburg 22d Novr 1794

Capt Lymans Detachment is here together with twelve Dragoons brought to this post by Cornet Slough,<sup>56</sup> who has left this detachment

<sup>55</sup> Husband, Philson, George Lucas, and George Wasegarver. None of the four was ever convicted of any crimes. Harmon Husband, who had also been active in the North Carolina Regulator movement, died after his release from prison.

<sup>56</sup> Cornelius Lyman and Matthias Slough, Jr. William H. Powell, *List of*

in charge of a Corporal & returned to Lancaster, both those Detachments are in quarters here and I have not yet learned from Governor Lee whether they are to continue or be removed to a post on the Monongahela, I presume that it will be determined shortly as it is said the Governor intends in a day or two to set off on his return to Virginia.

ISAAC CRAIG TO DANIEL MORGAN  
(IIC 7-8)

Pittsburg 2 Decr 1794

Agreeable to his Excellency Governor Lees instructions, I have had six hundred Copies of Proclamations<sup>57</sup> printed & have herewith enclosed two hundred of them, the others I shall circulate agreeable to the Governors instructions throughout the several late rebellious Counties.

The Carpenters tools have been purchased and delivered to the bearer of your order, the bill shall be transmitted.

I have delivered a Medicine Chest to Doctr Longstreet<sup>58</sup> & it will be necessary to apply the Medicine it contains to the sick of your Troops generally, as there is not another chest to be obtained until it is applied for at the war office and sent from Philadelphia the one now sent was appropriated for one of the posts on the Ohio.

Colo. Butler desires me to request you to send one of your three pounders which shall be returned at any time you may please to call for it. If it is convenient for you to be so obliging as to send it, it may be sent down on board the boat now building at Elizabeth Town.

ISAAC CRAIG TO ANTHONY WAYNE  
(IIC 8)

Pittsburg 3d. Decr. 1794.

His Excellency Governor Lee on his departure from this place directed me to send you the enclosed copy of a letter from Captain *Officers of the Army of the United States from 1779 to 1900* (New York, 1900), 38-39.

<sup>57</sup> After ordering the arrests of those "who, it is understood on good grounds, have committed acts of treason," Lee issued a proclamation of pardon on November 29, 1794. Specifically excluded from the pardon were a few of the leaders of the insurrection — including David Bradford — who had escaped before the army arrived. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 455-80.

<sup>58</sup> John F. Longstreet, Receipt dated December 2, 1794, Craig Papers, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

D Hebecourt, and at the same time desired me to request of you in his name to take such measures with Samuel Duncan (Pack horse Master in the service of the Contractors) as his conduct with respect to the unwarrantable protection of David Bradford may merit.<sup>59</sup>

I have enclosed a few of the Governors last Proclamations agreeable to his instructions. Fifteen hundred men under the command of Genl. Morgan are now preparing to winter on Bentleys farm west side of Monongahela two mile above Elizabeth Town this army is to continue in service six months in order to establish the laws of the United States.<sup>60</sup>

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59 Francis D'Hebecourt, captain of militia at Gallipolis, received word that Bradford was fleeing down the Ohio River and sent four men to intercept him. They found him on October 31 on board a boat commanded by Duncan. They also found on board "13 men, all ready to protect Bradford, and massacre any who would undertake to take him away." In the face of this superior firepower, the four wisely retreated. They attempted to secure help by offering a fifty dollar reward to any who would join them to arrest the lawyer. No one accepted the offer and they had to watch helplessly as the fugitive sailed away. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4: 450-51, 470-71.

60 When the militia army left for Philadelphia, they took with them twenty prisoners for trial. They arrived on Christmas day and were paraded through the city on their way to jail. The trials dragged on through the spring and summer of 1795; however, all cases except two were dismissed for lack of evidence. Philip Weigel of Fayette County and John Mitchell of Allegheny County were convicted of treason and sentenced to death. Both received pardons. The excise tax itself remained in force until the election of Thomas Jefferson.