

A

for Fanning, and a Touch-  
Stone to Tryon.

(No. IV.)

WHEN seldom give up any natural perfect Right, without some degree of Reluctance; but, *of two Evils choose the least*, is so plain, and easy a truth to human Nature, that feelings dictate an attention to it: Thus it was the People in North-Carolina; they were possess'd of an absolute Right of instructing Representatives, they were sensible of it; but saw that they could not *at this time* exercise Right—And they chose to suspend an attempt enforcing it. One reason that operated much with them was, they could not get an Attorney in all Orange-County, that would appear for them against Extortioners; this supposes that there was a combination of some sort, or that Fanning's influence was very great.

Thus the People saw their Money taken from them and they *must* not know *for what*; Nor can they know by what Laws, they are govern'd; obliged to sit down tamely, and bear the insolence of Sheriffs, and the gripings and oppression of Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, Vestry-Men, Tax-gatherers, &c. &c. Had Col. F——g been a wise Man,  
D he

he would have profited by the conduct of the People and would, as he might have done, have taken this opportunity to fix himself in the good opinion of his Electors; but his ideas of Despotism, were too sublime to suffer such an Indignity as had been offer'd by them who believed him not omniscient for this seems their Crime, as they say, "No Man in the County is known of more than one tenth of its Inhabitants," and such Representative would find himself at a great loss if deprived of an Opportunity of consulting his constituents—Therefore F——g, not contented with having put a stop to the People, and having robbed them of a perfect natural Right, his "discreet and steady" Soul, G. T. calls him, breathed Vengeance, Destruction and Poverty to these insolent Men that dared suspect him, and attempt to call him to an account. The Consequence of which was, "the Bomb Sheriffs now grew more and more sulking, taking unusual Distresses for Levies: taking Double, Treble, or four times the Value and bearing all they took off to Town, thirty, forty, and sixty Miles; treating the People with remarkable Crossness, taking By-paths, and other Ways than those they had promised to go in so that those who follow'd, with design to recover their Goods, could never overtake them".

THESE Goods thus taken, were all sold in Town at under Rates; and this became a constant Trade, so that the People of the Town, Officers &c, who gloried in the spoils of the honest Planters depended on these Sales to raise their fortunes—



from the Dutch-Folks, and such as were ignorant, they took Four-pence, Six-pence, and a shilling, in their Tax, more than from such as were more of the Nature of Taxation ; and they, the Tax-gatherers, never returned any overplus".

It has been said, "The People knew not by the Laws" they were governed. This may seem strange to them who have it in their Power to consult Lawyers, and Law-Books when they please. What has been said respecting the Manner in which these People were treated by the Lawyers shows that they had nothing favourable to expect from that Quarter. And the following will show how industrious certain Characters were, to prevent a Knowledge of the Law from spreading among the People". Some Months ago, it was still, on the part of the People, there seem'd to come out a new Collection of the Laws in one Book ; two Farmers took a Copy of the Fees, out of it, for recording Deeds of Conveyance ; and carried said Copy with them to Court, August 1767. They offered the customary Fees for recording and proving their Deeds, as were taken in other Counties, though what they offered exceeded the lawful Due ; at the same time offered to pay more, if any of them, the Officers would show any Law for more".

THIS was done in Court ; upon which, the Judge was asked, how long it was since he had consulted a Lawyer ? The Man, not chusing to be sh'd out of his Money, or rather chusing to be govern'd by Law, and not *Will*, persisted in desiring

ring to know by what Law he was refused his Business done, when he offered *More than legal Fee*. Upon which the *Right worshipful* threatened him, so standing as they said, in Contempt of THE COURT, which obliged him to withdraw. Here is one Instance of the *unaccountable* Conduct of the civil Court, in Orange County mentioned in a former Number of this Paper.

“ The Person who had got this Law-Book being half Owner of it, had it at Court, and it was handed about among the People; which the other Owner knowing of, and being one of the Court, on the Bench at that Time, came immediately to the Court, and calling his Partner in the Book on one side, earnestly desired him to keep the Knowledge of the Book being handed about, among the People, *a secret from the rest of the Court*. In other replies, I have given such a caution also to them to whom I lent the Book, for I see *Matters stand among you*”. By which he meant that an honest Man could hardly live among them. The reason of the above caution was, that the Magistrate, who was part Owner of the Book, knew that F——; and the rest of the Court would tell who lent his Book to the People; because they knew who had and who had not these Books there being but a very few of them suffer'd to go into the Country, and these only into the Hands of them who were *known* by the Junto. Though they were sometimes mistaken, yet they cured the mistake as soon as possible; therefore it was, that the Magistrate, part Owner, of the above mentioned Book, was for his kind Office, *turned*



*Commission.* And this accounts for what was said before of F——s influence with the Governor. It shows also how very careful the civil Officers were to make the Law a Secret ; and this may account for what the People say of a Mason Club, whose system is Secrecy.

ABOUT this Time, an Act of Assembly pass'd, to render the Business of Tax-gathering as easy as possible ; in Consequence of which the Sheriff of Orange County advertis'd as follows, viz. "Whereas, by a late Act of Assembly, the Sheriffs of the several Counties in this Province, are obliged to attend at five different Places in their County, at least two Days at each Place, at some time between the first Day of January, and the first Day of March, in order to receive the publick County, and parish Taxes ;

I hereby inform the County of Orange, that I intend to comply with my Duty in attending according to Law, at Times and Places hereafter to be advertis'd ; and that every Man who fails paying their Dues, at these Times and Places, is, by the same Law, obliged to pay me *Two Shillings and eight Pence* extraordinary ; which Sum I shall demand, without respect to Persons ; whereof every one concerned is desired to take notice.

" AND should any Person imagine, that it is sufficient if they have the Money ready, when I or my Deputy comes for it. I advise them to be provided with *Two Shillings and eight Pence* for the Visit.

From their humble Servant, *Tyree Harris.*

THE remark of a certain Inhabitant of Orange County on the above Advertisement was, "Every one could see how insulting this was, as well as an attempt to make Asses of us; for no one but had Sense enough to know this new Law was calculated for the Sheriff's ease; and instead of being careful to Word his Advertisement, that "the Sheriffs were obliged to attend", he might have said, "The Asses were obliged to bring their Burdens to him in order that one of the Deputies might collect the whole sitting at ease, in five Places only".

THUS were the People of Orange insulted by the Sheriff, robbed, and plundered by Bombs, neglected and contemned by their Representatives, and abused by the Magistracy; obliged to pay Fees regulated only by the Avarice of the Officer; obliged to pay a Tax which they believed went to enrich, and aggrandise a few, who lorded it over them continually; and from all these Evils they saw no way to escape; for the Men in Power, and Legislation were the Men whose interest it was to oppress and make gain of the Labourer.

WHILE the People were in this situation a Rumour spread "That the general Assembly had voted Fifteen Thousand Pounds to the Governor, for the Purpose of building him a House, afterwards called a Palace". And that the said Sum was to be added to the Taxes already complain'd of, and raised from the People. It is said, "a Rumour was spread", &c, because the People were to be kept in ignorance, otherways they perhaps might prove refractory, and unwilling to bring their Burdens, &c.



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 people in the Face at once, they were "made  
 mad"—and if it be true "that Oppression makes  
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 ces and reiterated Oppressions so wrought upon the  
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 Revolution, which at first was called by Col. F——g  
 and his———"The Mob, and which afterwards  
 took the Name of "the Regulators".

THIS was a considerable Time after they, who  
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 thoughts of relieving themselves, by moderate and  
 constitutional Measures; therefore, this took the  
 name of "the New Association"; it began in a  
 different Settlement, or Neighbourhood, from the  
 former; though, in their proceedings they refer'd  
 to the conduct of the *Remonstrants and Addressors*—  
 into this Association the People enter'd by Hun-  
 dreds; and it spread every way like "Wild-fire",  
 until, after sometime, it reach'd *Sandy Creek Set-  
 tlement*, where the principal Men, concerned in  
 the former Agreement, Proposals &c, to the Re-  
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 tion met with some Opposition—because, as they  
 say, "it was too hot and rash, and in some things  
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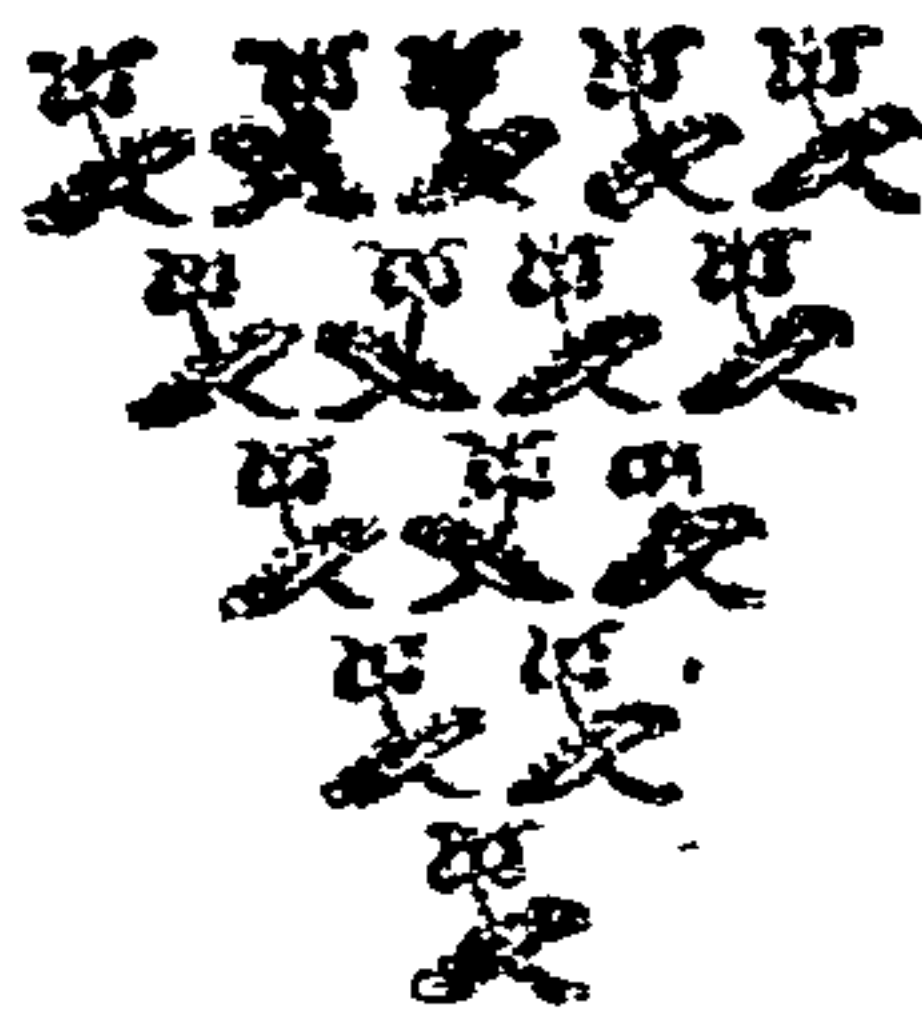


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form'd, and into which they had enter'd, as is before, "by Hundreds"; and to agree to a New set of Articles—from which they took to themselves the Name of Regulators—not only from the declared purpose of their union, but from the *Regulating* their mode of Union, altering their Articles of agreement, &c.

FOR the Readers satisfaction, the Articles, both of the New Association, and of the Regulators will be published; tho' these will necessarily lengthen out the History, and increase the Numbers, both of which the writer means to avoid, as much as possible, so as not to leave out any important part of the Account.



To be CONTINUED Weekly on Friday



A

in for Fanning, and a Touch-  
Stone to Tryon.

(No. V.)

THE Articles mentioned in No. IV, formed  
by a Number of Persons before the Regula-  
tion took Place, a Copy whereof was sent  
to the Assembly-Men, &c, were as fol-  
lows, viz.

THE 22d Day of March, 1768. The Re-  
quest of the Inhabitants of the west side of Haw-  
ker, to the Assembly-Men, and Vestry-Men of  
Orange County.

WHEREAS the Taxes in this County are larger,  
according to the Number of Taxables, than in  
adjacent Counties, and continue so Year after  
Year; and jealousies still prevail among us, that  
we are wronged; and having the more Reason to  
think so, as we have been at the trouble of chu-  
sing Men, and sending them after the civillest  
manner we could, to know what we paid our Levy  
for, but could receive no Satisfaction. For James  
Watson was sent to the Meeting of the Deputies  
of the Neighbourhoods, and said that Edmond Fan-  
ning looked on it, that the Country called him  
Arbitrary, as if they had a Right to call him to  
account; not allowing the Country the Right  
they have been intitled to, as English Subjects;

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for

for the King requires no Money from his Subjects but what they are made sensible what use it is

“ WE are obliged to seek Redress by denying Payment of any more, until we have a full Settlement of what is past, and have a true Regulation with our Officers. As our Grievances are too many to be notified in a small piece of writing, we desire, that you, our Assembly Men, and Vestry Men, may appoint a Time, before next Court, at the Court House, and let us know by the Bell, and we will choose Men to act for us, and settle our Grievance”.

“ UNTIL such time as you will settle with us we desire the Sheriffs will not come this way to collect the Levy; for we will pay none until there is a Settlement to our Satisfaction”.

“ AND as the nature of an Officer is a Service to the publick, we are determined to have the Officers of this County under a better and honest Regulation than they have been for some time past”.

“ THINK not to frighten us with Rebellion in this Case, for if the Inhabitants of this Province have as good a Right to enquire into the Nature of our Constitution, and Disbursements of our Funds, as those of our Mother Country, (and surely they have) we think it is by arbitrary Proceedings, that we are debarred of that Right. Therefore to be plain with you, it is our Intention to have a full Settlement of you in every particular”.



at point that is matter of Doubt with us. So fail not to send an answer by the Bearer, if no answer, we shall take it for granted, that we are disregarded in this our Request again from the publick.

This is the first Message or Request the *New Association* sent to the Officers; which was received with a Degree of warmth, full as high as it deserved; for, "Rebels, Insurgents, &c, to be Shot, Hanged, &c; as Mad Dogs", &c, was the "discreet" language of Fanning and the rest of the Gentlemen Officers. And it is confessed, that these Measures were far from moderate, on the side of the People; therefore, as was said before, when the News of it reach'd Sandy Creek Settlement, they opposed the mode of proceeding as, "too hot, and rash"; and in a Conference with their Fellow-Sufferers, they prevail'd with them to censure these, and to form new Articles, which were as follows, viz. "We the Subscribers do voluntarily agree to form ourselves into an Association, to assemble for Conference, and regulating publick Grievances and Abuses of Power, in the following particulars, with others of the like Nature that may occur".

1. That we will pay no more Taxes until we are satisfied they are agreeable to Law, and apply'd to the Purposes therein mentioned; unless we cannot help it, or are forced.

2. That we will pay no Officer any more Fees than the Law allows, unless we are obliged to it; and then to show our dislike, and bear an open Testimony against it.

3. That

3. That we will attend our Meetings of Conference as often as we conveniently can, and as often as may appear necessary, in order to consult our Representatives on the amendment of such Laws, as may be found grievous and unnecessary, and to Petition the Houses of Assembly, Governour, King and Parliament, for Redress of such Grievances as in the Course of the undertaking may occur; and to inform one another, learn, know, and enjoy all the Priviledges and Liberties that are allowed, and were settled on us, by our worthy Ancestors, the Founders of our present Constitution, in order to preserve it on its former foundation, that it may stand firm and unshaken.

4. That we will contribute to Collections for defraying necessary Expences attending the Work, according to our Abilities.

5. That in Case of Difference in Judgment, we will submit to the Judgment of the Majority of our Body.

To all which, we solemnly Swear, or, being a Quaker, or otherways scrupulous in Conscience, of common Oaths, do solemnly Affirm, that we will stand true and faithful to this Cause, 'till we bring things to a true Regulation, according to the true intent and meaning hereof in the Judgment of the Majority of us.

It appears that the Officers to whom the Copy of the first Articles was sent, sued the Men who were concerned in the Proposals, saying, That, because



cause the New Association referred to the Pro-  
 als, &c, they were therefore accountable for the  
 ble; when, in fact, they neither had seen the  
 icles, nor did they know who they were that  
 e concerned in the New Association, 'till some-  
 e after the Articles had been sent to the Officers.  
 what kind of Action they brought against them,  
 ether of Slander, or Defamation, or for Trea-  
 or what, does not appear, nor does it appear  
 at was the issue of the Suit. This only we  
 w, that they imprison'd those who had scarcely  
 d of the Articles, or any thing else concerning  
 New Association.

THE Consequence of this violent attack made  
 to the *Innocent* was, That the People took the  
 m; and finding that *innocence* was no security,  
 d together as one Man, or as they say, "they  
 e forced to join together in Defence of their  
 "; whereas until now, not a third part had  
 into the Association. The general union  
 into the last recited agreement, in which  
 bound themselves in an Oath to be faithful  
 e another, as the Reader may observe.

At a Meeting of the People banded together as  
 e, who now took the Name of REGULATORS  
 themselves, they agreed to send two Men to  
 ust the two late Sheriffs, and the Vestry-Men,  
 et twelve Men to be chosen by the Regula-  
 from among themselves, to produce to them  
 opy of the List of Taxables for each Year,  
 a List of the Number and Names of the Insol-  
 returned each Year, with an Account how  
 the

the Money was applied, to whom paid, and what uses, and to request our Representatives confer with them on our behalf, and show us Lists for the customary Fees that have been taken for Deeds, Indentures, Administrations, &c, and them appoint a time when it suits them.

BEFORE, the above Request was delivered to the Officers, as directed, the Taxgatherers, either to try or exasperate the already enraged populace, to by way of distress, a Horse, Saddle, and Bridle, one Levy. And the People rose to the Number of Sixty or Seventy, and took the Horse from the Officers; and fired some Guns at the Roof of Fannings House, to signify that they blamed him for all this Abuse. And afterwards delivered the Request into the Hands of the established Minister of the County, who undertook to accommodate the Matter; who, soon after, returned with an answer from the Officers, that they appointed the 11th Day of May for a Settlement.

HEREUPON the Regulators called a Meeting and chose twelve Men, and sent Notice thereof to the Officers. But Col. F——g was behind hand with them; for instead of meeting the People, and endeavouring to satisfy them, and restore Peace, matters were so managed, that about the same Time the Governor's Secretary arrived in the County, with his Excellency's Proclamation, commanding all Rioters to disperse, and all Officers to be aiding in dispersing them, &c. This was some Weeks after the taking the Horse &c; which there had not been the appearance of a



Notwithstanding which the Officers the next Day after the reading the Proclamation, on Sunday, assembled themselves to the Number of about thirty, "with a Tavern-keeper or two, and a Man who had lately killed another, which the Jury of Inquest had adjudged wilful Murder, all armed with Guns, Pistols and Swords, and rode all Night the Distance of 40 Miles, and took one Man who was concern'd in what was call'd the Riot, viz. taking the Horse, &c, from the Officer; this Man they seized by Authority, having a Warrant for it; but they also seized one who was not in the Riot, nor concerned in it, and that without any Authority, having no Warrant for it".

THE taking this innocent Person alarmed the People, because they thought this might be the case of any or all of them; therefore they made haste and gat themselves ready and pursued the Captors even to the Gates of the Town, so that Day-light next Morning, some Hundreds were assembled near the Town, many of whom had travelled that Night more than forty Miles on foot. Before the People reach'd the Town, they were met by the Men who had been carried off Prisoners; they having given Bail for their Appearance at Court, had been thereupon released. The reason of their having been admitted to Bail, seems to be the fear of the Officers, occasion'd by the News of Hundreds from all parts of the County coming with design to rescue the *innocent* Man; and if it not been for this, it is supposed that the Officers intended to take them down to Newbern,

200 Miles ; that, having them there, they might wreak their Vengeance on them.

THE Companies that collected from the County, when together, made about 700 Men, Arms ; they encamped near the Town, and continued there, next Day, until the Governor's Secretary met them, and read the Proclamation, before ; to which he added, what he called a verbal Message from the Gov. viz. That if they would Petition the Governor, he would protect and address them against any unlawful extortions, or oppressions of Officers, provided they would disperse and go home.

No sooner was the word spoke, than the whole Multitude, as with one Voice, cry'd out, "Agreed That is all we want ; Liberty to make our Grievances known. The Joy with which they returned home (says our Author) tho' the Distances to many were great, was inexpressible, for Men can feel things of an oppressive Nature, which they cannot express. They hitherto had been debarred from complaining, and that thro' the influence of F——g &c with the G——r. Hitherto the People could not have access to the Gov. with Petitions, unless they would let F——g &c, form the Petitions for them. But now they rejoiced, they had his Excellency's word in their favour. They return'd home advertised the Governor's Promise, and appointed a Meeting. This opened the Eyes of the Juniors who now began to see what was like to come to them if the People were suffered to tell the Truth.

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A  
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Stone to Tryon.

( No. VI. )

A MAN governed by Passion is a plague to himself, a trouble to his Friends, and an injury to his Dependents; and this seems to have been the Case of Gov. Tryon. When the Creditors were almost at his Door, he sends his Secretary with a Message to them. This put his Friends and Fanning to the trouble, when no apparent Danger was near, to persuade him to deny his Obligation, which he did; and this injured the People of Orange much. For they put Confidence in the Governor tho' a Man, and Dependance on his Word, and hoped they should be delivered; but by the denial, all their Calamities stared them in the Face, with new force.

THE Governour having deny'd his Message, the first thing his Friends had to do, was to *wipe his Name clean of a FALSHOOD*: This they could accomplish so easily, as they had brought the Charge upon him; for Hundreds had heard the Message; and therefore the Governor or his Secretary had said that which they were unwilling to say again; nay, they, or one of them, had said that which they, together with all their Friends, strenuously

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strenuously and repeatedly deny'd. The People found it their interest to keep his Excellency to his Word ; therefore they insisted much on it, and produced " Preaching, Writing, Harangues " on the side of the Governor and his Friends ; and when the People could not be dissuaded from asserting the Governor's Promise of giving them a hearing they were told, " that no Petition could or would go down with the Governor, but such an one as they, the Officers, &c, had wrote for them, which they made them say, that they had the Officers wronged them ; but had now found out that was owing to some mistake or Defect in their Proceedings. They were also told, that if they persisted, Col. Fanning would represent the Case to the Governor as high Treason, and as a Riot".

THUS went on their Affairs until the 21st of May. the Day appointed by the People's Meeting, to form an Address and Petition to the Governor ; on which, when the Inhabitants of Orange met, a party of the Governor's Friends came with design to give Disturbance to, and prevent the People from doing any thing ; and, Alas for the Tribe of Levi, a Clergyman, in black, came and they render'd the Business of the People, as they say, " exceeding unpleasant" : notwithstanding which, they had resolution enough to come to the following Agreement, viz. " At a general Meeting, &c, It was agreed unanimously to continue our Petition agreed on at our last Meeting to the Governor, Council, and Assembly, for redressing very Grievous, Cruel, Iniquitous and oppressive



the practices of our Officers, which we generally conceive we have laboured under for many Years contrary to Law".

AND in pursuance of a Verbal Message from the Governor, delivered to us by his Secretary, on the third of this Instant, we agree to renew our said Petition.

FOR this Purpose the Regulators chose from among themselves Eight Men, to be a Committee, for the Purposes of laying their Complaints before the Governor &c, which Committee they instructed as follows, viz.—“ Being conscious of our loyalty to King GEORGE the third, on the present Throne, and of our firm Attachment to the present establishment, and form of Government, to which we sincerely believe all our Grievances are quite opposite and contrary; We order the abovementioned Committee to implore the Governor's Pardon and Forgiveness, in the most submissive Manner, for any errors we may have committed, that are or may be construed to derogate, in any way, from the Honor of his Majesty's Crown and Dignity, or as tending to obstruct the Peace and good order of Government”.

THEY also order their Committee to present his Excellency with Copies of all their proceedings from the beginning, for “ his better information”; which orders the said Committee executed accordingly; and in June waited on the Governor with the Petition of the suffering People, and a History of their Conduct thro' the whole of their struggle; that he might Judge for himself, whether or not  
they

they were such as they had been represented  
Col. Fanning; and whether their Conduct was  
had been suggested by the Officers, "high Treason

THEY also order'd their Committee to answer  
a Letter they had received from Anson County  
which contained a request, "that the People  
Orange would inform them of the Manner of the  
proceeding"; as they, of Anson County, were  
like situation, as they apprehended with their Neigh-  
bours of Orange—This Circumstance is mention-  
ed, for the sake of the Reason the Regulators give  
for their taking notice of the said Letter; which  
was, "We order a Copy of this (viz their Petition  
to be sent to them immediately, to prevent them from  
running into Error. If they had a design of over-  
turning the Government," as, "Discreet Mr. Fan-  
ning was wont to assert, they never would have  
been so solicitous to prevent Errors in the Conduct  
of the Inhabitants of Anson. The truth is; they  
were sensible they had, thro' the Novelty of the  
undertaking, as they say themselves, done things  
that were not justifiable; therefore they "implore  
the Governors Pardon and Forgiveness, in the  
most submissive Manner":—And they are anxious  
for the People of Anson County lest they also, from  
the same Cause, fall into the same Errors; like good  
Citizens, and Friends to just Government. They  
do all they can to preserve Peace, while they  
deavour to do themselves Justice. The aforemen-  
tioned Committee of the People presented according  
to the Instructions, the Petition, &c, to his Excel-  
lency Gov. Tryon, and received a long Letter  
Answer to their Address from him; which I shall



verbatim, that all may see a *Scetch* of the Political Picture of the "Magnanimous General Try-

Gentlemen,

"I RECEIVED by the Hands of Messrs. Hunt & Howel a Petition, and other Papers, subscribed by several of the Inhabitants of the South of Haw River, in the County of Orange, under borrowed Title of Regulators, assuming to themselves Power and Authorities (unknown to the Constitution) of calling publick Officers to a settlement, together with a Narrative of their Conduct, and detail of the Grievances and Complaints against the Clerk of the County Register, and other publick Officers, whose Exactions and Oppressions pretended have been the Cause of the late insurrections which have disturbed the Peace of that County".

THESE *Papers* I have, agreeable to your Desire, communicated to the Members of his Majesty's Council, who having taken the same into their deliberate Consideration, Unanimously concur with me in Opinion, that the Grievances complain'd of do by no means Warrant the extraordinary steps you have taken, in assembling yourselves together with Arms, to the Obstruction of the Course of Justice, (*he should have said, Injustice*) and to the injury of private Property; Measures, as they manifestly tend to the subversion of the Constitution of Government, would inevitably if carried but a little further, have been denominated, and must have been treated as high Treason, and consequently

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