date their pretensions & offer their joint services to your public.
My Father (I submit, properly) declined it conceiving it to be using
too much freedom with you & that from the natural contrariety
of men's opinions it would be neither agreeable to them nor serviceable
to you. As I mention'd next year I propose revisiting Cambria; I
honestly conceive you will take every step as to the appointment of
an agent next Assembly. If you should, I would wish my father's
name used instead of mine for the reason above. If you decline
this matter at your next meeting it is more than probable at the
next succeed I am with you I impatiently wait letters from Vir-
ginia and morning after their receipt propose crossing the Channel.
I will do myself the favor to write you a few lines before I set out
and shall now conclude with repeating my best wishes for your
health and happiness I subscribe myself truly your ass'd hle S
H E McCULLOH

[B. P. R. O. AM. & W. I. N. C. No. 216.]

REGULATORS' ADVERTISEMENT No. 10.

At a General Meeting of the Regulators and numbers of other
Inhabitants of the County of Orange held at George Sally's on the
21st. May 1768, agreed on last meeting
It was unanimously agreed to continue our Petition to the Gov-
ernor, Council & Assembly for redressing very grievous, cruel,
inquisitions and oppressive practices of our Officers which We
generally conceive We have laboured under these many years contrary
to Law and in pursuance to a verbal message sent us by His Excel-
leny our Governor sent express by His Secretary M't Edward
delivered to us the third day of this Instant We unanimously agree
to renew our petition to the Governor, and as sundry forms of said
Petition have been read here this day and signed by sundry neigh-
bourhoods We appoint Wm. Maffit, Wm. Cox, Hermon Cox, John
Low, John Marshall, James Hunter, Rednap Howell and George
Hendrey to form one out of the whole referring to the separate com-
plaints for information of Grievances and being conscious of our
loyalty to King George the Third now on the British Throne and
our firm attachment to the present Establishment and form of Gov-
ernment which we sincerely believe all our grievances are quite
opposite & contrary to by the downright roguish practices of ignorant
and unworthy men who have crept into Posts of Office and prac-
tised upon our ignorance and new settled situation We therefore order
the above Committee to implore the Governor's pardon and forgiveness
in the most submissive manner for any errors we have committed that
is or may be construed to derogate from the Honor of His Majesty's
Person, Crown or Dignity or tending to [derogate from] the peace
or good order of Government; and for His better information We
likewise order said Committee to prepare copies of all our proceed-
ings which (have been) agreed on by our body from the beginning
to go with the said Petition, and they are to send a suitable number
of said Committee to wait on the Governor as soon as possible with
the same. And as we have received a Letter from Anson County
informing us of an Association there on the same account and
requesting an information of the manner of our proceedings We
order a copy of this to be sent them immediately to prevent speedily
their running into any errors, believing their scruples to be well
grounded & their intention good and honest, and to be followed with
copies of all the rest of our papers. And the Public who have any
grievances are desired to send the same to some one of the Com-
mittee before next Monday come week when they are to meet at the
house of Harman Cox on Deep river for the purposes above mentioned.

[B. P. R. O. AM. & W. I. N. C. No. 216.]

REGULATORS' ADVERTISEMENT No. 11.

Address of the Regulators to Governor Tryon and the Council
MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY & YOUR HONOURS,

At a Committee of the regulators held May 21st 1768, a Com-
mittee was appointed to form a petition to be laid before your
Excellency and your Honors, wherein among other things it was
ordered us to implore the pardon & forgiveness of the Legislature,
for whatsoever hath been acted amiss &c see Paper No. 10. and as a
Petition had been already formed we agree to let that stand and
in lieu of a better present you with a plain simple narrative of
Facts accompanied with and supported by authentic Papers and
such as have been from time to time sent to our Officers. This We
humbly conceive will give you a more clear and distinct idea of our grievances and the several causes thereof than anything could be conceived in form of a Petition. As to the other part of our Instructions, which were to implore your Clemency in behalf of the poor oppressed People, we undertake it with inner pleasure, humbly beseeching your Excellency and your Honors and every one of you graciously to forgive, and pardon not only them, but everyone of Us, anything that by you may be construed as derogatory to His most sacred Majesty's Prerogative, Person, Crown or Dignity, or in opposition to His Laws, or that may in any wise contribute to the Disquiet, Dissatisfaction, or Infelicity of your Excellency's Administration whereby to deprive you of that Bliss you promised yourself when appointed by His Majesty to rule over Us. And we assure Gentlemen that neither Disloyalty to the best of Kings nor Disaffection to the wholsomest Constitution now in Being, nor yet Dissatisfaction to your present Legislative Body gave rise to these Commotions we now make so much noise throughout the Province. Which after you have candidly perused this Paper, together with the concomitant proofs you will easily perceive that those Disturbances had their source in the corrupt and arbitrary Practices of nefarious & designing men who being put into Posts of Profit and Credit among us, and not being satisfied with the legal benefits which arose from the execution of their Offices have been using every artifice, practicing every Fraud, and where these failed threats and menaces were not spared whereby to squeeze and extort from the wretched Poor, who as Colonel Fanning himself observes in the petition he has sent us (if tis his) with their utmost efforts can scarce gain a wretched subsistence for themselves and families — Allowing this to be a truth which it lamentably is, how grievous judge you dear Sirs, must it be for such wretches to have their substance torn from them by those Monsters in iniquity, whose study it is to plunder and oppress them. People can feel Oppression and yet be utterly ignorant how or where to apply for redress. This was absolutely the Case with us, & looking on Colonel Fanning as our fast friend in whom we could confide (in fact the favors we have conferred on him, one would imagine were sufficient to rivit him to our Interest, were he susceptible to gratitude) We applied to him to screen us, from the many arbitrary and fraudulent impositions we continually groaned under, how far and to what purpose that Gentleman has answered our Expectations, together with the Artifices he practiced to elude our hopes, and evite [shun] the consequences of a Settlement the several Papers wherein are contained the Transactions will more fully inform you. You will likewise perceive that those frequent applications, and the satisfaction we promised ourselves to redound therefrom prevented us from laying our Complaints & grievances sooner at your feet, as being unwilling to give You any trouble, on that score, before we had tried our every effort to accommodate & terminate matters among ourselves. But 'tis our fate to be constrained to give you this trouble, and what we sincerely regret great uneasiness. We therefore humbly beseech you to take our affairs under your serious consideration, and if it appears to you that we have been oppressed to grant us such justice on our Oppressors as to you in your great goodness, candor and wisdom shall seem meet. We shall just add, that we should have given you this Trouble sooner but that we have been so embarrassed by your Officers ever since they understood our resolution to seek you for redress, that we could not bring our affairs to any Conclusion, seeing they have left no stone unturned by the which they hoped to retard our designs. Flattery on one hand, and menaces on the other, have not been spared to deter us, from our Purposes of complaining as may be seen by the Papers marked B. C. D. but when they found all was ineffectual they changed their Battery, and endeavoured by their emissaries to prevail on or frighten us to sign a Petition marked E. drawn up among themselves, and sent us in a letter marked C. by Mr Ralph McNair. You will see how this Petition is calculated entirely to screen themselves and throw the blame on your poor suppliants. We however have sent it you together with all the Papers we have received from them that as it contains some truths however disguised whereby you will plainly discover the deplorable situation of our miserable County, and the reasons in a great measure namely the unequal chances the poor and weak have in contentions with the rich and powerful and as 'tis attested by an enemy you will the reader give it credit — However not longer to trespass on your Patience we shall without further Preface proceed to our promised Detail.

In the year 1768 there appearing a general Discontent in the countenances of the People, & grievous murmurs ensuing the Popular Voice gave out that the demands of Court Officers for Fees
every kind were exorbitant, oppressive and extra-legal. In order therefore to prevent such Frauds if real or if only imaginary to give our Officers an opportunity to still these clamors, by disproving their entity We drew up the Paper No. 1. and Jn’ Marshall waited on them with Copies of the same at the Inferior Court August Term M’ Thomas Lloyd being present & the purport thereof appearing reasonable to M’ Lloyd he promised to give us a Hearing but altered the day as by Appointment on account of his attendance at the General Assembly. Wherefore in consequence of and encouraged by M’ Lloyd’s approbation Meetings were held in various Neighbourhoods wherein conjunctively was drawn up the Paper No. 2. and nominated 2 or 3. men in each who signed the remainder of their Names, & exposed the same to Public View.

In expectation therefore of a Meeting, and a satisfactory settlement as a consequence thereof, about twelve men went to M’ Maddock’s Mill on Eno River, the place appointed, where waiting until late in the day, and no Officers appearing we made a motion to disperse but at the instance of M’ Maddocks, we waited until he could dispatch a lad to Hillsborough to inform himself of the reasons of the Officers non appearance as he had frequently discoursed with them on the Subject, who had all signified their intentions to meet the People, particularly M’ Lloyd who had said nothing but death or sickness should prevent him. In about an hour the Messenger returned and brought word they would all instantly be on the spot, but quite contrary to our expectation M’ James Watson came alone and brought a Paper marked (A) which he said Colonel Fanning had drawn up, but said Colonel Fanning had not given him any Orders to show it, and then cavilled at a word in our Paper (viz) Judiciously and said that the Colonel with the others, had been preparing to meet us some time since but on observing the aforesaid Term in our Paper No. 2. they declined it as the word denoted we intended to set up a Jurisdiction among ourselves, to the which he must be subject and therefore he rejected our purposes as looking more like an Insurrection than a Settlement besides he could not brook the meanness of being summoned to a Mill, the Court House appearing to him, a more suitable place. To both which frivolous objections, we replied that as to the Term in question we were no Criticks that as to the Term in question We knew not how many different Constructions it might bear but as to ourselves we meant no more by it than wisely, soberly and carefully to examine the matter in hand — That with respect to the Court House we had no right to appoint a convention there but to the Mill we had, having first obtained the Owner’s Leave to that purpose — However in order to remove all objections as we were conscious to ourselves that what we aimed at was just and legal, we drew up the Paper No. 3. couched as we conceived in such Terms, as would remove all further remora [delay] to our designs. And M’ Watson himself after perusing the same, declared in his opinion it was reasonable, just and legal. And on our presenting M’ Watson with a Transcript of the same he engaged his honor to present our Officers with the same which we think he did accordingly. For in the ensuing Court Colonel Fanning read a prolix Instrument in Court to the Justices in contrariety to our designs of which he vaunted and asserted he had served us with Copies thereof but we declare, no such Paper ever came into our hands. Sheriffs &c. as we imagine by the imperious Carriage of their Superiors began now to assume airs, threatening us behind our backs, which Menaces working on the imbecility of some, and the Pusillanimity of others, caused the Association at that time to be laid aside. Nevertheless some of the Comonalty endeavoured to be heard at Court about paying 2s. more for recording Deeds, than was paid in any other County, but they were silenced. The Sheriffs now grew very arbitrary, insulting the Populace and making such Distresses, as are seldom known — Double, Treble, may even Quadruple the value of the Tax or debt was frequently distrained, and such their seizures so hurried away to Hillsborough, there to be disposed of, and so hurried away to Hillsborough, there to be disposed of, and so recovered, altho’ they were followed with the money in a few hours after, nor could we ever learn that they returned any Overplus. For better information we refer you to the grievances proved &c. And information we refer you to the grievances proved &c. And
Number of reasonable men to meet them the 11th day of May at Hillsborough they would give them a settlement: At the same time Mr McEljohn drew up a Paper, which was signed by some private Regulators see No. 7, but signifying withal that if the Majority disserted therefrom it should be void, which Paper was objected to first because it insinuated, a falsity, as tho' we intended violence, whereas in fact to such thing was designed, whatever private Papers might be handed about by particular Persons — 2nd. It was objected to meet at the Town as we had intimation they were fortifying that place, in order as we apprehend, to secure us in Gaol, as soon as they had us in their Power, & that this was their design will appear by the Sequel. Nevertheless we determined to give them a Settlement in conformity to their message by Mr McEljohn, and greatly pleased with the happy prospect of having our differences so speedily terminated we convened April 30th in order to appoint proper Persons as Settlers, Where we drew up the Paper No. 8, and appointed the men therein specified Ordering one of our Body to notify the same to our Officers and drew up and signed the Paper No. 9, lest the Officers by again deceiving us might put us to further trouble which should be the case it might be ready. Thus stood Affairs when on Monday morning May 2nd we were alarmed at the astonishing news that Col. Fanning at the head of 27 armed men consisting chiefly of Sheriffs Bombs Tavern Keepers, and Officers after traveling all night, were arrived by break of day on Sandy Creek, and had made prisoners Mr Hermon Husbands & Mr W. Butler the former a Gentleman that had never joined the Regulators, had never been concerned in any tumults, and whose only crime, was his being active in trying to bring on the intended settlement. This extraordinary step of the Colonel's alarmed the whole County, Regulators or Antiregulators, all were unanimous in the recovery of the Prisoners; many who had till then opposed, the prevailing measures, now went down with the foremost, as judging none were now safe, whether active, passive or neutral, but being arrived near the town, we there met your Excellency's private Secretary Mr Edwards, & Mr McEljohn our Rector in Town, about the Mare desiring him to deliver it to the Officers in our names. Which he accordingly did. For shortly after he came up among us with a verbal message, as he said from our Officers, and by their Orders, to the following effect viz: That if the Regulators would nominate any
by your Excellency's gracious Declaration, and by an agreement with Colonel Fanning to leave our case to the Arbitrment of your Excellency and Honours, we convened again May 21st in order to consult such further Measures, as might facilitate our first designs. See No. 4. the result of which we now lay, at your Excellency's and Honors feet for your inspection — We humbly beg leave to observe on some of Col' Fannings strange conduct, that on the very day he set off for Sandy Creek, he directed Letters to 3. of the Regulators inviting them to Hillsborough, and promising them all imaginable satisfaction, one of which directed to Jacob Fudge we send herewith for your Perusal — And now Gentlemen you see We have sent without reserve or disguise, our whole Proceeding in this affair, having concealed nothing whether for or against us, and as you are chosen by the contending Parties to arbitrate the difference, and as we on our parts, are fully determined to abide by your decision, we humbly hope, naked Truth, and native Ignorance will poise the super-excellent Flourishes, and consummate Declarations of our powerful Adversary, & relying on your benignity and Justice we humbly beg leave to subscribe Ourselves your poor oppressed Suppliants and very humble obedient Servants.

Signed in behalf and by Order of the Regulators by us the Committee —

JOHN LOW
JAMES HUNTER
REDNAP HOWELL
HARMON COX
JOHN MARCHEL
Wm COX
Wm MOFFITT
GEORGE HENDRY.

To His Excellency Wm Tryon Esq” our Governor & to the hon” the Members of His Majesty’s Council for the Province of North Carolina.

At a Committee of the regulators as by appointment of their General Assembly of May 21st (see paper No. 10) held at Thomas Coxes Mill by a movement from Harmon Coxes on Monday the 30th of May 1768, it was then and there ordered that the paper No. 11 should be presented to His Excellency our Governor and to the Hon” the Members of His Majesty’s Council and that James Hunter

and Rednap Howell do wait on His Excellency and their Honours with the same as also with the Petition No. 9, together with all the other papers that are to accompany them containing all our Transactions from the beginning, and that they present the same to His Excellency and their Honours in the Names and on the behalf of the regulators.

JOHN LOW
HARMON COX
JOHN MARCHEL
WILLIAM MOFFITT
WILLIAM COX
GEORGE HENDRY.

Marked C.
M’ Ralph M’Nair to M’ Hermon Husbands

Dear Sir,

I now according to my promise send you the Petition which I think ought to be sent to the Governor nor can any Man who has the least sense of the Danger these inconsiderate men have run themselves into say it is in the smallest degree too submissive — You M’ Husbands to whom I have opened my thoughts on this subject more than to any other man I expect will use your utmost influence to prevail on all you see to choose it, for you may assure yourself from my knowledge of things that one conched in any other Terms will not, cannot, go down with the Governor. I’m afraid many of the People who are to become Subscribers would object to it imagining they have been only doing their Duty in opposing the Publick Collectors in the execution of their Offices and from this principle that a man once exacted upon may with a safe conscience take any measures however unlawful for redress, or this that not being satisfied as to the legality of the Collectors demand a man may oppose them all the same impartial use of them that I have done since the late disturbed and examining the Statutes of England & making the perusing and examining the Statutes of England & making the law of nature and nations which always were, are, and ever will be, the same — That their method of redress is wrong according to the opinion of all preceding Ages I need only put you in mind of
the ancient Fable ascribed to Esop of the Hands and Feet running in mutiny against the Head.

The truth of the Fable and its having been made use of to a good purpose. We may easily credit whether we believe there ever was such a man as Esop or not. As I have your good Mr. Husbands and the good of the whole County at heart, I shall unbosom myself to you in a manner I would to very few concerned, I shall therefore impart to you some of the knowledge I have gained by a perusal of the Law Books. For writing, copying, carrying about or dispersing a Libel (and anything tending to stir up a People to a dislike of a Government or even to a single Person is a Libel) the Sentence is Confiscation of goods and chattels; Painful Punishment—Public shame and perpetual Imprisonment—Mobs and Riots (that is where a number rise without Arms and only murmuring) are treated generally with Lenity as to the multitude tho' where the Offence is against Government and ringleaders are to suffer death without the King's pardon. But where they take up Arms to remove a Grievance or to alter the form of Government it is Treason of which there are four sorts—1. against the King's Person—2. Against the Administration of His Laws—3. That which concerns His Seal and 4. Counterfeiting His Coin—Speaking of the second sort it is expressly said that whether it be to remove a real or a pretended Grievance it is deemed High Treason and the punishment is the forfeiture of goods and chattels, lands & Tenements and the Guilty to suffer the most horrid death allowable by the English Laws, something of this kind I mentioned to you when at your House but with some degree of uncertainty, but since my return I have examined more particularly and am now convinced beyond the possibility of a doubt that the above Account is Truth—However Sir, I can assure you with the utmost confidence that this affair if it stops here will never be represented by Col. Fanning any otherwise than as a Mob.

I have now to inform you that I have been often in Colonel Fanning's Company since I saw you and have had an opportunity of knowing his mind in almost every particular respecting this affair and I find him most cordially disposed to give any who will come to his house, all the satisfaction they can ask or is in his power to give—he says he never was applied to by any man that was wronged to prosecute a Sheriff but that he cheerfully undertook it, where he found the complaint just, and that he always would be ready to do it whenever required, that he wishes for nothing so much as that some of the principal men of the Regulators would call upon him for information in any particular they are in doubt about and that he expects the new Laws up this week together with the Journals of the House of Assembly a sight whereof would silence every murmur dispel every fear, banish all distrust and convince the whole County how much he has been our friend, our Patron, our Benefactor—it is impossible Sir, in the small compass of a letter (already longer than I expected) to answer particularly all the charges that I have heard against him such as his receiving £1500 for his trip with the Governor, his receiving £40 of the Vestry for a dinner &c &c &c, let it suffice to say, that he has convinced me of the falsehood of these, and many other lies that are spread abroad to his prejudice and I shall inform you at full upon sight. And since he so much desires to see some of the principal men your way let me beg, let me entreat you to come this way tho' a little round about as you are going to George Sally's and bring with you Mr. Wm. Butler, Mr. John Lowe and Mr. James Hunter and any two or three candid discerning men in your Neighborhood, I'm sure 'twill add much to your satisfaction and greatly to the Peace, Quiet, Ease and happiness of the Country. For my own part I would rather you should come on Thursday evening than on Friday morning for as I could find provision for your Horses and beds for yourselves I should by that means have an opportunity in some measure to return that kind and hospitable treatment which I so lately received on Sandy Creek—I assure you my dear Sir you will find Col. Fanning quite different from what he has been represented and I'm certain he would find you very different from the accounts he has heard of you. The stories that have been told backwards and forwards are really amazing and I am now convinced that nothing but downright mistake has been the cause of all the late disturbances I therefore beg leave to return my request may I conjure you as you love yourself leave to return my request may I conjure you as you love yourselves as you love the peace and happiness of your country to come down and see the Chief Officer-appointed by His Excellency of things for as he is the Chief Officer-appointed by His Excellency as he is the Representative of the County chosen by ourselves to as he is the Representative of the County chosen by ourselves to watch over our interests and as the Governor himself knows and was an eye witness how he labored for our Good at the last Assem-
bly (as the Laws and Minutes of the House I'm sure will show us when they arrive) he undoubtedly will not attend to complaints against him till he hears what he has to say in his own vindication—but of this no more as I expect to see you so soon & have the pleasure of seeing you in Town. This must also serve for an excuse for my not sending you the Laws by this opportunity however if it will afford you satisfaction you shall carry the book home with you—The book I spoke of borrowing for your perusal is too bulky and cumbersome for transportation I have not therefore spoke of it. You see Sir by my taking no pains in writing to you that I treat you like my best Friend, you have my thoughts just as they occurred and every word I assure you, is warm from my heart. My best wishes are for the welfare of you and your Family, and you may rest assured that no man more ardently wishes the real good, peace, happiness and prosperity of this County or would do more to serve it according to his abilities than Dear Sir,

Your most obed' Servant

RALPH McNAIR.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY WILLIAM TRYON Esq" CAPT. GENERAL GOVERNOR & COMMANDER IN CHIEF IN AND OVER THE PROVINCE OF N. CAROLINA

The Petition of We the Subscribers Inhabitants of Orange County True & Faithfull Subjects to His most sacred Majesty King George the Third Humbly sheweth

That Whereas We your Petitioners have for a long time imagined that We have been imposed and exacted upon by Sheriffs and other Persons not only in taxing their Fees or Suits receiving Sums on Executions but also in collecting the Public Levys and have seen many enormities (as We apprehended them) committed under colour of their Offices some few specimens of such grievances We herewith send to be laid at your Excellency's feet for your inspection and this we are emboldened to do from the Assurances given us by your private Secretary M' Edwards that you would graciously hear our Complaints that you would redress as far as in your Power our grievances, where found real and where only imaginary kindly excuse the Trouble in compassion to our ignorance—This goodness Sir, we acknowledge We have not only forfeited all title to, but also rendered ourselves liable to severe and heavy punish-

ment by our late illegal & unwarrantable conduct in holding unlawful Assemblies to consult means of redress within ourselves in taking away goods distrained by the Sheriffs, to satisfy the Public demands, and in attempting by forcible means the release of certain Prisoners, taken by virtue of the Chief Justices Warrant—

For which offences (infinitely more criminal than we apprehended or imagined and which we now see would certainly be productive of the most dangerous consequences) We your Excellency's Petitioners thoroughly convinced of our Errors and heartily sorry for our past conduct yet conscious to ourselves, of our loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign, of our firm attachment to the Blessings of the British Constitution Our readiness to submit to the Laws of our Country, in paying the public dues for the support of Government when known, and our most cordial and warmest wishes for the Ease, Peace, Quiet and happiness of your Excellency's Administration throw ourselves on your Excellency's clemency having nothing to offer in excuse for our errors or in mitigation of our past offences but only that the party aggrieved were generally ignorant men, and at the same time in such necessitous Circumstances that their utmost industry could scarce afford a wretched subsistence to their Families, much less enable them to engage in uncertain Law Suits, with the rich and powerful, (tho' injured) for we have often seen with Astonishment and concern, the cause of Justice unsuccessful in Courts of Law, this we then interpreted as some great defect in Justice, which we now understand was owing to errors in proceedings Thus Sir, has want of knowledge and a misapprehension been the cause of all our late unwarrantable behaviour and in many instances the cause and foundation of our Complaints. We therefore your humble Petitioners in the most supplicant manner submit ourselves to your Excellency's mercy and consideration as to you in your great wisdom and goodness shall seem meet. And your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray &c. &c. &c.

[B. P. O. A. & W. I. N. C. No. 216.]

Whereas by a late Act of Assembly the Sheriffs of the several counties in this Province are obliged to attend at five different places