

Prelude to the American Revolution? The War of Regulation: A Revolutionary Reaction for Reform

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"I must now close my afflicting Duty, by pronouncing upon you the awful Sentence of the Law; which is, that you Benjamin Merrill, be carried to the Place from whence you came, that you be drawn from thence to the Place of Execution, where you are to be hanged by the Neck; that you be cut down while yet alive, that your Bowels be taken out and burnt before your Face, that your Head be cut off, your Body divided into Four Quarters, and this to be at his Majesty's Disposal; and the Lord have Mercy on your Soul."

Chief Justice of Hillsborough, North Carolinaⁱ

THIS SIGNIFIES THE DEMISE of the young, admired captain of the Regulators, Benjamin Merrill. That fateful, sweltering day of June 19, 1771, he and eleven of his compatriots were condemned to the gallows for high treason. But what heinous actions did these men commit? What reprehensible crime would constitute such a punishment? The answer lies in the failure of the Regulator Rebellion, a prolonged conflict in the North Carolina backcountry spanning from 1766 to 1771.

Introduction

Today, this unsuccessful revolution is best known as the War of Regulation, or more simply, the Regulation. The backcountry men of neighboring South Carolina, who protested the legislature's inability to establish local government in the western settlements, first assumed the moniker of "Regulator." The term was later adopted in the 1760s to denote persons of the North Carolina backcountry whose purpose was to "regularize" and reform the protocols and procedures of their local governments.ⁱⁱ These Regulators, a group consisting of seven thousand men, endeavored to obtain redress of their grievances from their colonial government.ⁱⁱⁱ When their peaceful, legal measures were repeatedly blocked,^{iv} primarily by Royal Governor William Tryon, the backcountry men reacted with open violence.^v Their hostilities culminated in the Battle of Alamance, which concluded the war with a Tryonian victory. In the aftermath of Alamance, the governor's forces decimated Regulator strongholds, hanged a select number of the Regulator rebels, and required more

than 6,000 individuals^{vi} to swear an oath of allegiance^{vii} to the King. Though the larger portion of the insurrection had been subdued by 1771, the Regulator Movement persisted in the backcountry throughout much of the 1770s.^{viii}

On the eve of the American Revolution, the Regulators would appear to be America's first Patriots; however, such was not the case. Although the Regulators prefigured the larger American Revolution with their willingness to fight for fairer taxation and governance against their ruling body, they were not always the anti-British Patriots historians have assumed them to be. Thorough investigation of primary resources reveals that the Regulators were certainly not American Patriots: for the most part, they were loyal British subjects—reacting to and endeavoring to reform corruption in their local government through means of revolution.

Historical Context

The royal colony of North Carolina was established in 1729, though immigration to the region had begun nearly seven decades previous.^{ix} By 1776, more than half of North Carolina's population was located in the westernmost counties of the colony,^x such as Orange, Anson, Granville, Rowan, and Mecklenburg.^{xi} In these areas, complaints pertaining to unfair representation, taxation, extortion, corruption of local officials, and subjugation of the poor soon flourished. Additionally, economic hardship, Easterner versus Westerner tension, dramatic population increases,^{xii} religious unrest, and a spirit of individuality and independence^{xiii} were significant in the cultivation of conflict in the North Carolina Piedmont, or backcountry region.

Those who flocked to North Carolina were often independent farmers, usually of meager means.^{xiv} Having spent much of their limited funds to travel to the territory, many immigrants lacked the necessary finances to purchase the land on which they settled. Hoping for what later became known as preemption, the right to improve the land and make a profit sufficient to purchase it, families squatted on sections of the millions of acres owned by absentee speculators. Speculators, who often procured the territories through their participation in colonial government, initially promised to settle people in the Piedmont. Yet, when approached, speculators would only offer to sell their property at inflated costs, due to the "improvements" to the land. These "improvements" were the very toil of the settlers, such as cleared fields, cultivated crops, and newly constructed homes.^{xv} The indignant squatters were backed into a corner: either they could desert the land on which they had sweat equity in search of cheaper land, or they could purchase the land at the higher price.^{xvi} Both were quite unattractive options, and such situations bred resentment amongst the poor farmers, who felt cheated by the wealthy of the province.

The gentry, though only five percent of the total population of the colony, dominated the political landscape.^{xvii} Public officials, including sheriffs and judges, were appointed on the recommendations of their fellow, affluent officials instead of a vote of the people. Thus, the infamous "courthouse rings" began, whereby the elite obtained legalized authority over the descending tiers of classes. Furthermore, sheriffs and clerks were not paid direct salaries; rather,

their commissions came from the fees that they collected. Therefore, the men holding these positions were encouraged to impose excessive fees on the farmers as a method of gaining additional income.^{xviii} While the backcountry farmers had little representation in their local governments, they exerted even less influence in the North Carolina General Assembly;^{xix} those living in the eastern areas of the province often determined the decisions regarding taxation and other important matters.^{xx} Additionally, embezzlement by members of this body^{xxi} was a recurring frustration for future Regulators.

Moreover, the backcountry men endured tremendous stress due to the droughts of 1758.^{xxii} By 1764, many areas were in desperate need of relief.^{xxiii} Credit, as it is known today, was unavailable at that time, the only viable sources being the elite of the province. Yet, to accept credit from such persons would endanger the economic independence of the small farmers. It was not an uncommon occurrence^{xxiv} for a creditor to claim that debts had not properly been paid then seize an amount greater than the original debt.^{xxv} When such cases were tried in local courts, judges consistently decided in favor of moneyed interests.^{xxvi} As a result, the backcountry men could not rely upon the law as it would “terminate inevitably in the ruin” of their families.^{xxvii} This fear of economic destruction at the hands of the elite fed the growing despair of the Piedmont farmers. The vulnerability of their position distinguished the people of the backcountry from those living farther east, and the disparities between the coastal populations and their western counterparts were further exacerbated by their differences in religious beliefs.^{xxviii}

The tumultuous political, social, and economic climate of the Piedmont could not be indefinitely sustained. The fiscal burdens were often too great for many farmers to bear, and the direness of their predicament nourished a growing sense of helplessness. They drew strength from the central teachings of the First Great Awakening,^{xxix} incorporating the individualist character into their personas. Moreover, the unrest generated by the infringements on poor backcountry men’s rights, which ranged from inequitable representation in the General Assembly and local government to unjust taxation, would propel men to commit acts of revolution.

Escalating Conflict

As the abuses accumulated in the collective conscience of the Piedmont populace, the Regulator association was born.^{xxx} Beginning in 1766,^{xxxi} these backcountry crusaders reacted with resolution to oppose fraudulent court proceedings and secure fair trials for all as mandated by the British constitution.^{xxxii} To accomplish their lofty reform purposes, the Regulators prudently planned to petition^{xxxiii} their governor and the General Assembly, while also seeking to elect representatives who better represented “the judgment of the Majority.”^{xxxiv} They complained that their constitutional rights under Crown Law had been violated,^{xxxv} considering that they were “Free-Men-British Subjects” who contributed their “Proportion in all Public Taxations.”^{xxxvi} They issued the warning that it was their “right to enquire into the nature of [their] Constitution” and their concerns that “by arbitrary proceedings” they would be “debarred of that right.”^{xxxvii} To this

end, they agreed upon the “Articles of Settlement and Oath,” which in essence was another appeal for their cause to their local government. Their objectives reflected, “a regular, plain, and uniform Method” of dealing with the public books of account, which would limit the abuses of officers^{xxxviii} and “do equal right and justice...according to Law.”^{xxxix} Nevertheless, the legislature and the Governor speciously perceived the Regulators’ legal lobbying for reform in local government as an indicator of irreverence^{xl} to the Crown.

Fearful that Governor Tryon would amass forces to hang their leaders, the backcountry men reassured him of their unwavering allegiance to his master, the King.^{xli} They begged Tryon not to raise a militia against them, professing their “true faith and allegiance,”^{xlii} veneration of the British Constitution,^{xliii} and determination to defend the King “to the last drop of blood.”^{xliv} Alas, their last hope for redress was undermined when he callously ignored their cries of injustice and professions of loyalty.^{xlv} Only when the Regulators, the “unhappy objects of oppression,” were left without the “most distant prospect or latent means of redress,” did they resort to the extra-legal measure^{xlvi} of rebellion. The military-minded Tryon^{xlvii} dealt with this occurrence^{xlviii} as best as he knew how—by raising an army.

The Battle of Alamance

By nightfall of May 16, 1771, Tryon’s highly organized forces^{xlix} and those of the disheveled Regulators were both camped in the vicinity of the backcountry’s Great Alamance Creek.^l The previous day, the Regulators had entreated the governor with one final plea for arbitration, but the impetuous Tryon was in no mood for compromise,^{li} providing them with only one hour and ten minutes to relinquish their arms, “swear to be subjects of the laws of their country,” and surrender their outlawed leaders for execution, or if they should refuse, fight to the death.^{lii}

The Governor’s troops fired the first shot prior to the termination of the allotted time.^{liii} The battle was finished within an hour, as all the Regulators who were not killed, wounded, or captured had retreated. The 1,500 Regulator troops had utilized guerrilla tactics, for like the British regulars in coming revolution, Tryon’s militia marched in the conventional European formation of the day.^{liv} This made them exceedingly vulnerable to Regulator sharpshooters, who exploited the cover of the surrounding woods and structures^{lv} (a successful strategy that would be remembered and executed by future Patriot commanders^{lvi}). However, the backcountry men lacked the necessary leadership^{lvii} and ammunition to sustain them for the duration of the battle.^{lviii} As the Regulators fled the field, their dreams of victory were left with their fallen comrades: dying.

With his enemy’s forces in shambles, Tryon’s militia embarked on a vengeful reprisal^{lix} “made necessary by the laws of war.”^{lx} Six Regulators were sentenced for their so-called “crimes of high treason.”^{lxi} On the hot morning of June 19, 1771, onlookers jeered as these men trudged to gallows. Captain Benjamin Merrill was executed, his body buried in a grave along with those of his five comrades.^{lxii} This was the treatment that men received for reacting to the injustices of their

government—a lesson that would not soon be forgotten by the settlers of the backcountry.

Legacy of the Regulation

On the surface, the Regulators, with their grievances and protest against the government, appear to foreshadow the later Patriots of the American Revolution. Thus, historians have erroneously dubbed the War of Regulation as the “catalyst” of the American Revolution.^{lxxiii} William Fitch was among the numerous 19th- and 20th-century scholars who went so far as to claim that Alamance was the first battle of in the War of Independence.^{lxxiv} Author Joseph Seawell believed it “reasonable to regard the Regulators in the Province of North Carolina as the vanguard of the American Revolution”^{lxxv} and the War of Regulation as “the very inception of the American Revolution, seven years before the battle of Concord.”^{lxxvi} However, these conclusions are quite simply false. The Regulators opposed corruption in state and local government rather than Crown Rule.^{lxxvii} Though their ideals appear to be reflected in the maxims of the Patriots, such as “no taxation without representation,”^{lxxviii} the Regulators learned the consequences of being labeled traitors to the King’s authority. As a result, they were often Loyalists during the War of Independence,^{lxxix} a trend that becomes evident by tracing the major actors in the Regulation through the 1770s and 1780s. They doggedly fought alongside the British, prolonging combat in the Southern theater.^{lxxx} Meanwhile, staunch anti-Regulators, such as William Hooper, Alexander Martin, and Francis Nash,^{lxxxi} became fervent Patriots, integrating their military experiences during the Regulation into their battlefield tactics.

After the disaster at Alamance, many Regulators fled the Piedmont to escape persecution.^{lxxxii} As many as 1,500 families departed:^{lxxxiii} some in the quest for independence; some in the pursuit of freedom from the oppression of the elite. These men explored and conquered the vast frontier, forming the first enduring communities in the Appalachians and developing societies such as the Watauga Association. In Tennessee, former Regulators established the revolutionary independent state of Franklin.^{lxxxiv} Additionally, the spirit of the Regulation was reflected in Shay’s Rebellion, the Whiskey Rebellion, and the Populist Movement. These events similarly epitomize the clash between the haves and have-nots, as well as the pursuit of a more representative democracy; thus, the War of Regulation serves as a predecessor for the class conflict and reform movements that have occurred throughout our nation’s history. Former Regulator leader Herman Husband was a principal force in the Whiskey Rebellion, as he urged men to revolt against what was viewed by the common man as inequitable taxation and exploitative government. The Populists endeavored to obtain fairer treatment under the law and sought freedom from the corruption of the elite and agrarian debt, yet their efforts initially proved unsuccessful.^{lxxxv} However, like the Regulators, Populist goals were later incorporated into state constitutions and eventually, into the national Constitution.

At a North Carolina convention in 1776, a *Declaration of Human Rights* was appended to the state constitution.^{lxxxvi} Article II ensured that, “the People of

this State ought to have the sole and exclusive Right of regulating the internal Government and Police thereof.” Article X decreed, “excessive Bail should not be required, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual Punishments inflicted.” Finally, Article XVII asserted, “the People have a Right to assemble together, to consult for their common Good, to instruct their Representatives, and to apply to the Legislature for Redress of Grievances.”^{lxxvii} For the initial group of Regulators, this document would have produced mixed sense of bitterness and accomplishment; it encompassed the very rights for which they had so determinedly fought but had not been realized until nearly five years after the conclusion of the Regulation. Nonetheless, their achievement was considerable, as state constitutions served as models for the writers of the U.S. Constitution. The deprivation of due process rights for men such as Merrill was now condemned; the Regulators’ revolution had indeed produced reform.

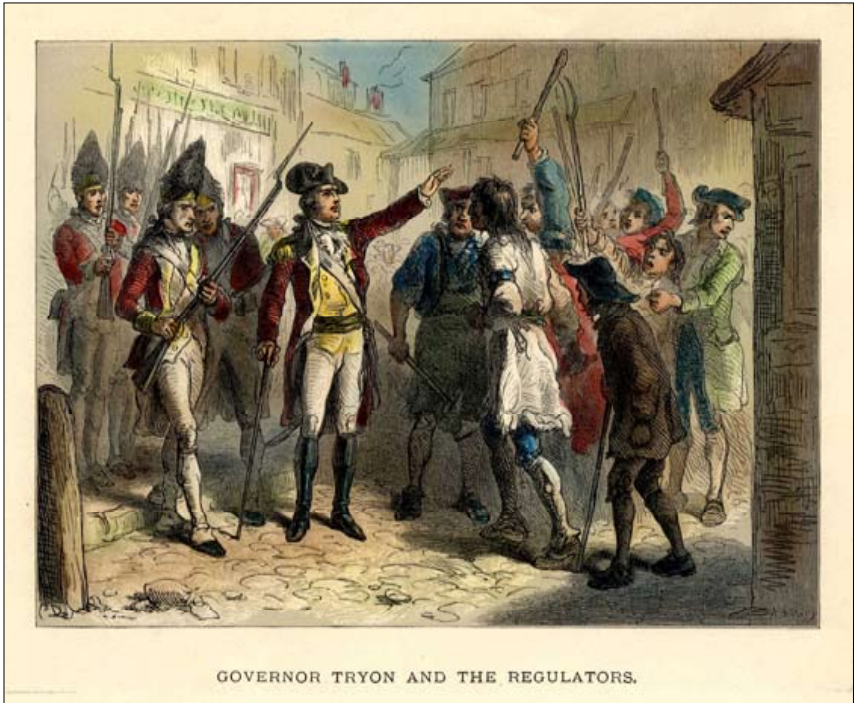
The Regulators were not reacting against the King’s authority, but rather against corrupt local officials and an unsympathetic governor. They had not originally intended to become the revolutionary rebels that they were labeled; rather, the misconceptions regarding their intent blinded the public from seeing their true dispositions—those who desired reform and above all else, the rule of law, not the rule of avaricious men.

Appendix I



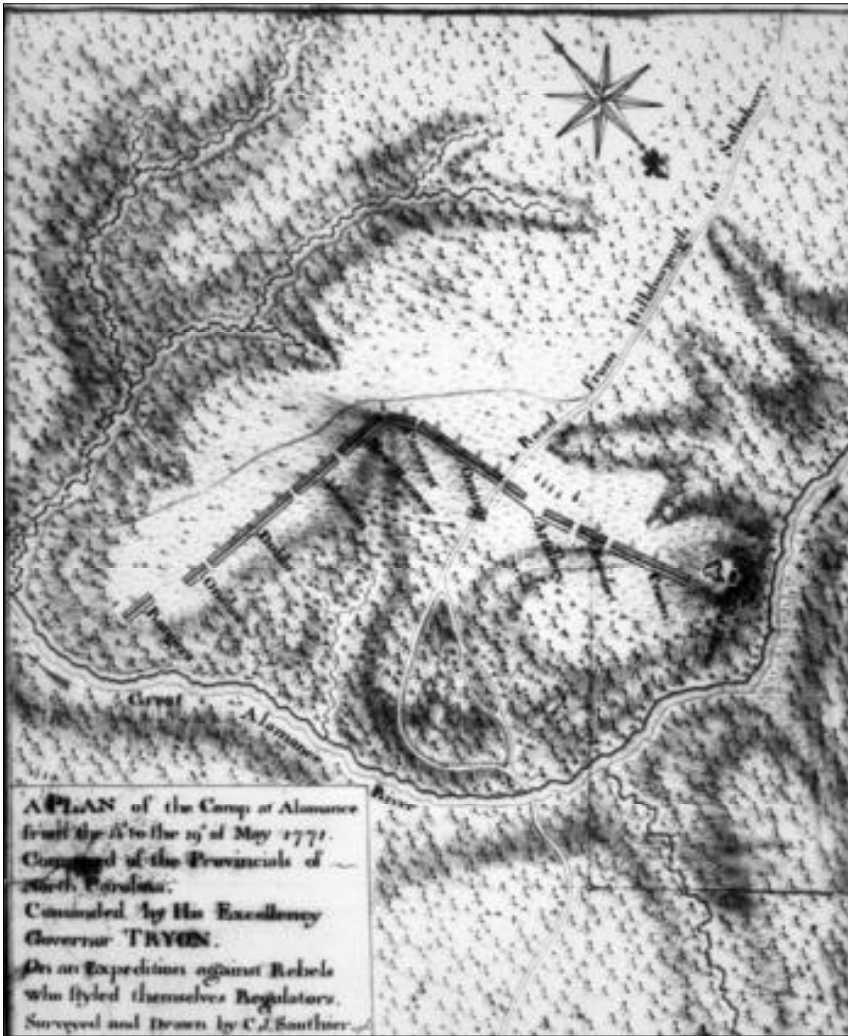
Engraving of Edmund Fanning, an anti-Regulator who sought to vilify the backcountry men as “traitorous dogs.”^{1xxviii} As a corrupt judge, clerk, and rich inhabitant of Hillsborough, he incited anger in the public with his excesses, such as his purchase of the gold-laced jacket featured in this portrait.^{1xxix} From the *North Carolina Colonial Archives*.

Appendix II



Tryon and the Regulators in Hillsborough, “The Capital of the Backcountry.” The courthouses in Hillsborough served for the majority of the Piedmont region. Many principal figures of the War of Regulation settled in the area, including the “unscrupulous and libertine” anti-Regulator Edmund Fanning, who constructed a magnificent Masonic mansion there, much to the aggravation of his Piedmont neighbors. The constant activity and presence of so many diverse individuals in such close proximity to one another would inevitably make this town the breeding ground for revolution.

Appendix III



1771 Map of the Alamance Battleground. On the 13th of May, the Council of War was held in Tryon’s encampment. Based off intelligence ascertained, it was concluded that the army would change its course, foregoing its original plan and instead travel the road from Hillsborough to Salisbury. They would advance with “all possible expedition” past the little and Great Alamance Rivers. This crucial decision would mark the beginning of the end for the Regulators.

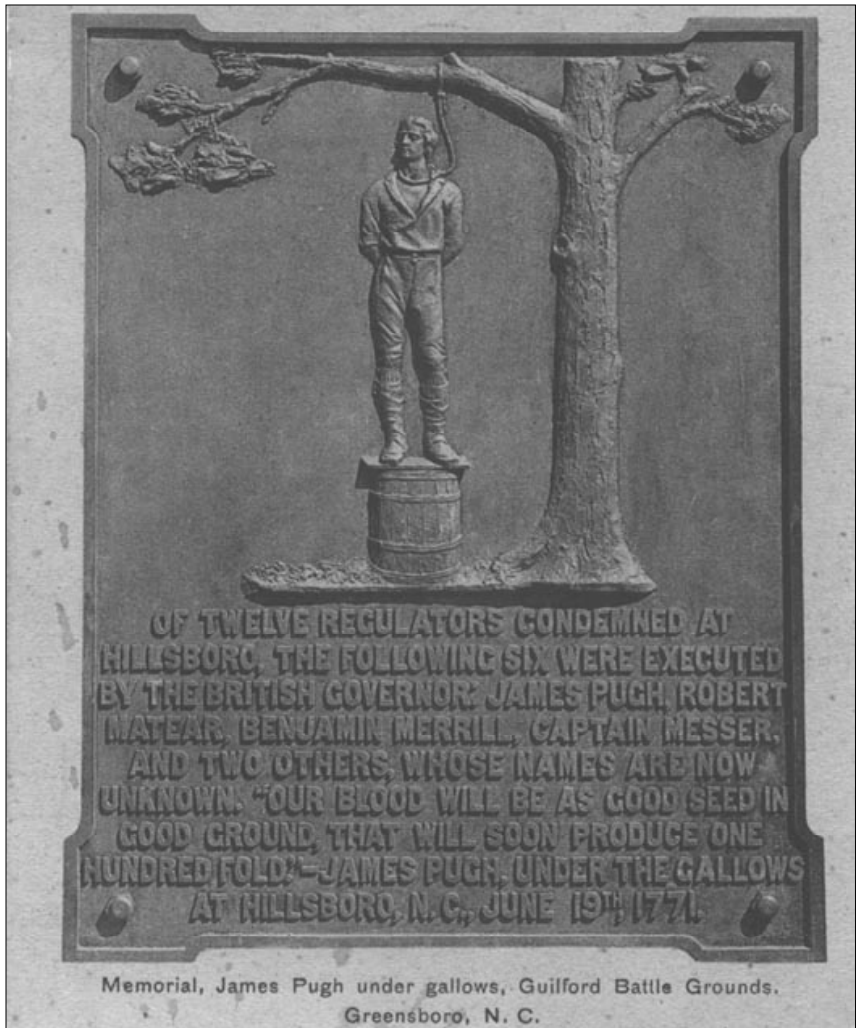


Present-day marker at the Alamance.



Monument in memory of the Regulators' struggles and sacrifices.

Appendix IV



Close-up of the plaque on the previously shown monument. This depicts the hanging of James Pugh, who was executed with Benjamin Merrill. This memorial testifies to the heroic nature of the Regulators' revolution.

Notes

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- ii. Helen Hill Miller, *The Case for Liberty* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press 1965), 209.
- iii. Regulators of North Carolina, *Regulators' Advertisement No. 6 - Minutes of a meeting of the Regulators* (April 4, 1768), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 7 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 702-703, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0385> (accessed July 16, 2011).
- iv. North Carolina County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (Rowan County), *Minutes of the Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions* (October 18, 1768), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 7 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 856, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0351> (accessed July 13, 2011).
- v. Waightstill Avery, *Deposition of Waightstill Avery concerning the actions of the Regulators* (March 1771), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 8 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 520, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0190> (accessed July 22, 2011).
- vi. Marjoleine Kars, *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 2-3.
- vii. William Tryon, *Proclamation by William Tryon concerning a pardon for rioters* (June 1, 1771), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 8 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 617-618, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0237> (accessed July 21, 2011).
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- ix. Charles Lee Raper, *North Carolina, A Study in English Colonial Government* (New York, N.Y.: The Macmillan Company, 1904), 12, <http://www.archive.org/details/northcarolinaas01rapegoog> (accessed July 5, 2011).
- x. Robert L. Ganyard, *The Emergence of North Carolina's Revolutionary State Government* (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Dept. of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1978), 1.
- xi. Annie Sutton Cameron, *Hillsborough and the Regulators* (Hillsborough, N.C.: Orange County Historical Museum, 1964), 2.
- xii. Lindley S. Butler, *North Carolina and the Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1776* (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Dept. of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1976), 3.
- xiii. William Henry Foote, *History of the Presbyterian in North Carolina [Extracts]* (1846), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 5, (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1901), 1193, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr05-0362> (accessed July 17, 2011).
- xiv. Ganyard, 3.
- xv. Kars, 36-37.
- xvi. *Ibid.*, 36-37.
- xvii. Ganyard, 3.
- xviii. Kars, 69-70.
- xix. Stephen Beauregard Weeks, "Historical Review of the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina," in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol.

19 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1914), 6, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr19-0008> (accessed June 18, 2011).

xx. Atticus, *Letter from "Atticus" to William Tryon [as printed in the Virginia Gazette]* (1771), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 8 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 719-720, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0370> (accessed July 21, 2011). According to Judge Martin, this letter was actually written by none other than Maurice Moore, who was, at that time, an associate justice on the North Carolina Supreme Court.

xxi. "Article from the Boston Gazette concerning opposition to taxes and fees for public officials in North Carolina" (October 21, 1771), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 8, (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 644, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0255> (accessed July 20, 2011).

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xxiii. Foote, 1214-1215.

xxiv. Kars, 56-57.

xxv. Charles Bruce, et. al., *Depositions concerning complaints about taxes and fees for public officials* (April 14, 1763 - May 28, 1768), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 7 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 777, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0313> (accessed July 16, 2011).

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xxvii. North Carolina Council, *Minutes of the North Carolina Governor's Council*. (August 13, 1768), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 7 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 802-803, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0331> (accessed July 15, 2011).

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xxxii. Kars, 112.

xxxiii. George Sims, *Sims Address* (1765), in *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, ed. William K. Boyd, (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1927), 188, <http://www.ncpublications.com/colonial/Bookshelf/Default.htm#tracts> (accessed July 6, 2011).

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Carolina, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 7 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 716, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0277> (accessed July 16, 2011).

xxxiv. Regulators of North Carolina, *Advertisement No. 4*, 672.

xxxv. Herman Husbands, et. al., *A fan for Fanning, and a touch-stone to Tryon: containing an impartial account of the rise and progress of the so much talked of regulation in North-Carolina*, by Regulus (Boston: Daniel Kneeland, 1771), in *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, ed. William K. Boyd (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1927), 346-347, <http://www.archive.org/stream/someeighteenthce00boyd#page/346/mode/2up>.

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xlvi. a. Richard Henderson, *Riot of The North Carolina Regulators* (1770), in *Eyewitness to the American West: 500 Years of Firsthand History*, 2nd ed, ed. David Colbert, 57-59 (New York, N.Y.: Penguin Putnam, 1999).

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d. Ransom Sutherland, *Deposition of Ransom Sutherland concerning the resolutions of the Regulators* (August 3, 1768), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 7 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 799, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0329> (accessed July 15, 2011).

xlvii. Julia S. White, *A Church Quarrel and What Resulted* (Guilford College, N.C.: s.n., 19--?), 95.

xlviii. Charles S. Cooke and Lawrence N. Morgan, *The Governor, Council and Assembly in Royal North Carolina [by] C.S. Cooke. Land Tenure in Proprietary North Carolina [by] L.N. Morgan*, J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton and Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, eds. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina, 1912), <http://www.archive.org/details/governorcouncila12cookoofit> (accessed June 24, 2011).

xlix. Claude Joseph Sauthier, *Plan of the Camp and Battle of Alamance the 16 May 1771 Between the Provincials of Nth: Carolina, Commanded by His Excellency Governor Tryon, and Rebels Who Styled Themselves Regulators: Survey'd and Drawn* (1771), http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/ncmaps&CISOPTR=696 (accessed June 19, 2011).

i. Miller, 221.

ii. "Extracts from the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury" (August 19, 1771), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 10 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 1017-1024, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0447> (accessed July 20, 2011).

iii. "Article from the Boston Gazette concerning opposition to taxes and fees for public officials in North Carolina," (October 21, 1771), 647-648.

iiii. Kars, 200.

liv. *Ibid.*, 201.

lv. William Stevens Powell, ed., *The Correspondence of William Tryon and Other Selected Papers*, 2 vol. (Raleigh, N.C.: Division of Archives and History, Dept. of Cultural Resources, 1980-1981), Vol. 1., 788.

lvi. Powell, 788.

lvii. John S. Bassett, *The Regulators of North Carolina, 1765-1771* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 157, <http://www.archive.org/details/regulatorsofnort00bass> (accessed June 24, 2011).

lviii. Kars, 201.

lix. a. *Journal of the Military Campaign Against the Regulators* (April 21, 1771-June 21, 1771), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 19 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1901), 836, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr19-0008> (accessed June 18, 2011).

b. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present* (New York: Harper-Perennial, 1995), 64-65.

Ix. "Newbern (North Carolina) June 7," *Virginia Gazette* (July 4), republished by the *Boston Gazette* 8 (July 1771): 1-2, <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-revolution/4242> (accessed July 10, 2011).

Ixi. Kars, 206.

Ixii. William Conrad Guess, *County Government in Colonial North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1911), <http://www.archive.org/details/countygovernment00guesrich> (accessed July 4, 2011).

Ixiii. Annie Sutton Cameron, *Hillsborough and the Regulators* (Hillsborough, N.C.: Orange County Historical Museum, 1964), 32.

Ixiv. William Edward Fitch, *Some Neglected History of North Carolina; Being an Account of the Revolution of the Regulators and of the Battle of Alamance, the First Battle of the American Revolution* (New York, N.Y.: Neale Publishing Company, 1905), 15, <http://www.archive.org/stream/someneglectedhis00fitcuoft#page/n9/mode/2up> (accessed July 4, 2011).

Ixv. Joseph Lacy Seawell, "The First Lynching Was the First Overt Act for American Liberty," in *Wayside Tales of North Carolina* (July, 1927), 9-10.

Ixvi. Seawell, 13.

Ixvii. Francis Nash, *Hillsboro, Colonial and Revolutionary* (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton, printers, 1903), 12, <http://www.archive.org/details/hillsborocoloni00nashgoog> (accessed June 24, 2011).

Ixviii. Maurice Moore, *Justice of Taxing American Colonies, Great-Britain, Considered* (Wilmington, N.C.: Andrew Steuart, 1765), in *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, ed. William K. Boyd (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1927), 169, <http://www.ncpublications.com/colonial/Bookshelf/Default.htm#tracts> (accessed July 6, 2011).

Ixix. a. *Letters from inhabitants of North Carolina* (May 10, 1776), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 11 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 286-287, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr11-0148> (accessed July 20, 2011).

b. Continental Congress, *Minutes of the Continental Congress* (November 24, 1775 - November 26, 1775), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 10 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 338-339, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0148> (accessed July 17, 2011).

Ixx. a. Andrew Armstrong, *Letter from Andrew Armstrong to Thomas Burke* (August 28, 1781), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 22 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1907), 1047, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr22-0744> (accessed July 20, 2011).

b. *Letter from an inhabitant of North Carolina* (February 13, 1776), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 10 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 452-453, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0226> (accessed July 20, 2011).

c. William Purviance, *Letter from William Purviance to the North Carolina Provincial Council* (February 23, 1776 - February 24, 1776), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 10 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 468, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0232> (accessed July 17, 2011).

d. *Letter from an inhabitant of Halifax to Robert Howe* (February 24, 1776), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 11 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1895), 282-283, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr11-0145> (accessed July 20, 2011).

- lxxi. a. Nash, 99.
 b. General Assembly of North Carolina, *Minutes of the North Carolina House of Commons* (April 14, 1778 - May 02, 1778), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 12 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1895), 655, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr12-0006> (accessed July 17, 2011).
- lxxii. a. Rev. Charles A. Goodrich, "William Hooper (1742-1790)," *Lives of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (New York: William Reed & Co., 1856), 422-427, <http://www.worldcat.org/title/william-hooper-1742-1790/oclc/46365057?title=&detail=&page=frame&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.colonialhall.com%2Fhooper%2Fhooper.asp%26checksum%3Dc3d5f906e7cf5aa1a2d952dd48800cf9&linktype=digitalObject> (accessed June 26, 2011).
 b. Robert Martin Douglas, *The Life and Character of Governor Alexander Martin*, (Greensboro, N.C.: 1898), 5, <http://www.archive.org/details/lifecharacterof00doug> (accessed June 29, 2011).
 c. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *Governor William Tryon, And His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771: Services in a Civil Capacity and Military Career as Commander-in-chief of Colonial Forces which Suppressed the Insurrection of the Regulators* (Raleigh, N.C.: E. M. Uzzell, Printer, 1903), 101, <http://www.archive.org/details/governorwilliam00haywgoog> (accessed July 3, 2011).
- lxxiii. Miller, 225.
- lxxiv. Kars, 211.
- lxxv. John Haywood, *History of the early settlement of Tennessee* (1823), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 8 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1914), 653-654, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0258> (accessed July 15, 2011).
- lxxvi. Kars, 218.
- lxxvii. North Carolina Provincial Congress, *North Carolina Declaration of Rights* (December 17, 1776), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 10 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 1003-1004, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0443> (accessed July 27, 2011).
- lxxviii. Edmund Fanning, *Letter from Edmund Fanning to Richard Bennehan* (July 1767), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 7 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 507, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0210> (accessed July 16, 2011).
- lxxix. William Tryon, *Letter from William Tryon to Edmund Fanning* (April 27, 1768), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 7 (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886), 717, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0279> (accessed July 15, 2011).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- A. Bollet Company. *Governor Tryon and the Regulators*. Engraving, the Bruce Cotton Collection, North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Library. Web. Jan. 15 2012. This engraving in Appendix II

depicts the infamous Regulator riot at Hillsborough. Notice how Tryon is illustrated as a dashing, heroic leader whereas the Regulators appear to be scrappy troublemakers.

Armstrong, Andrew. *Letter from Andrew Armstrong to Thomas Burke* (August 28, 1781). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 22, 1047-48. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1907. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr22-0744> (accessed July 20, 2011). This letter from an inhabitant of the backcountry to Patriot Governor Thomas Burke reveals that Regulator bands still remained intact as late as 1781. Furthermore, under the name “the King’s Militia,” they endeavored to support the Redcoats.

“Article from the Boston Gazette concerning opposition to taxes and fees for public officials in North Carolina” (July 22, 1771). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark, vol. 8, 639-643. (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886). Originally published in the *Boston Gazette*. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0254> (accessed July 20, 2011). This article from the *Boston Gazette* expresses sympathy towards the Regulators, who “have been intolerably oppressed; and the government instead of duly attending to their repeated complaints, and redressing their grievances, encouraged numbers to enlist as soldiers, and under the command of their late humane Governor, to stain their fields with blood. Nothing can equal the rancor of some of their writers in working up accounts of this tragical affair.” Of all of my non-Regulator primary sources, it is perhaps the most condemning of Tryon, who did “not vouchsafe, even at so critical a time, when the effusion of Blood might have been prevented, and the honor of the government saved by it, to give [the Regulators] the least encouragement, that he would hear their petitions or redress their grievances.” The *Boston Gazette* even included an excerpt from a letter dramatically stating, “If Governor Tryon had been as fond of checking the officers of government for their unheard of oppressions to the poor back inhabitants, as he was of shooting these unhappy people, Carolina would not now have felt the horrors of her children murdering one another.”

“Article from the Boston Gazette concerning opposition to taxes and fees for public officials in North Carolina” (October 21, 1771). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 8, 643-648. (Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886). Originally published in the *Boston Gazette*. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0255> (accessed July 20, 2011). This Massachusetts article of the time refutes the claims of many of the North Carolinian newspapers of the day through its assertion that the Regulators were justified in their grievances, amongst which were the embezzlement practices of local officials.

Association by some inhabitants of Anson County concerning the payment of taxes (April 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 726. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0284> (accessed July 16, 2011). This source features the most professions of Regulator loyalty to the King of all my primary sources; therefore, it reinforces my claim that the Regulators truly were loyal British subjects, who only sought to oppose injustice in colonial government, not in Crown rule.

Atticus. *Letter from “Atticus” to William Tryon [as printed in the Virginia Gazette]* (1771). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 8, 718-727. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0370> (accessed July 21, 2011). According to North Carolina’s Judge

Martin, this letter was actually written by none other than Maurice Moore, who was, at that time, an associate justice on the North Carolina Supreme Court. As such, he publicly supported Tryon, though in this letter to the *Virginia Gazette*, he clearly denounces the Governor for treatment of the Regulator “mob” as a full-fledged rebellion and his monetary excesses. Thus, Moore reinforces the historical belief that the Governor’s poor decision-making contributed to the War of Regulation.

Avery, Waightstill. *Deposition of Waightstill Avery concerning the actions of the Regulators* (March 1771). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 8, 518-521. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0190> (accessed July 22, 2011). The deposition of Waightstill Avery illustrates the increasing frustration of the Regulators, who had still not achieved the reforms they desired by March 1771. Furthermore, it paints the Regulators as bloodthirsty fiends, failing to acknowledge in the least that they had valid grievances against their government.

Blauzau. *Monument at Alamance Battleground State Historic Site in Alamance County, North Carolina*. Picture, Dec. 17 2009, Panoramio, Alamance, N.C. Web. Jan. 15 2012. This picture of a sign at the Alamance battleground is in Appendix III.

Bruce, Charles, et. al. *Depositions concerning complaints about taxes and fees for public officials* (April 14, 1763 - May 28, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 773-782. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0313> (accessed July 16, 2011). This primary source demonstrated the improper debt collection practices of county officials and the elite of the province. Additionally, it is a testament to the Regulator’s initial attempts at pacifically protesting injustice.

Continental Congress. *Minutes of the Continental Congress* (November 24, 1775 - November 26, 1775). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 10, 338-339. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0148> (accessed July 17, 2011). This detailed log of the proceedings of the Continental Congress discussed the movements of former Regulators in North Carolina, who had banded together as militant Loyalists. I used this information as evidence to back my thesis that the Regulators were faithful British subjects, not America’s first Patriots.

“Extracts from the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury” (August 19, 1771). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 10, 1017-1024. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0447> (accessed July 20, 2011). These more objective accounts of the Battle of Alamance present the Regulators in an increasingly positive light while they portray Governor Tryon as an impetuous and hotheaded man, which is often the case in secondary sources of the modern day.

Fanning, Edmund. *Letter from Edmund Fanning to Richard Bennehan* (July 1767). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 507-508. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0210> (accessed July 16, 2011). Fanning, a corrupt county clerk was one of the principal instigators of the War of Regulation. He despised and vilified the Regulators in his writings because they endeavored to halt his corrupt, moneymaking practices; thus, this primary source offers an example of his anti-Regulator opinion.

- Foote, William Henry. *History of the Presbyterians in North Carolina [Extracts]* (1846). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 5, 1193-1228. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1895. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr05-0362> (accessed July 22, 2011). *History of the Presbyterians in North Carolina [Extracts]* contained the final words of Benjamin Merrill, who was the recipient of the judicial sentence quoted at the beginning of my paper. Furthermore, Foote discusses the role that religion played in the development of the Regulator Movement.
- General Assembly of North Carolina. *Minutes of the North Carolina House of Commons* (April 14, 1778 - May 02, 1778). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 12, 655-764. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1895. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr12-0006> (accessed July 17, 2011). The *Minutes of the North Carolina House of Commons* included Tory registers that featured names of former Regulators, helping me to prove that the Regulators were not, in fact, “America’s first Patriots.” I incorporated this information into the “Legacy” section of my paper.
- Hall, Samuel. *Issue of the Essex Gazette Publishing Accounts of the Regulator Insurrection, the Trial of the Regulators, and the Arrival of Gov. William Tryon in New York*. Salem, N.C.: Samuel Hall, 1771. This account of the War of Regulation contained the sentencing of Regulator Benjamin Merrill, which I employed as a hook for my paper. The author’s bias towards the Tryonian forces is blatantly obvious in his vilification of the Regulators and his approbation of “His Excellency Governor Tryon.” Furthermore, Hall concludes with the hope that “just vengeance will yet overtake” the escaped leaders of the Regulator Movement.
- Harris, Tyree. *Deposition of Tyree Harris concerning the resolutions of the Regulators* (August 3, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 798. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0328> (accessed July 15, 2011). This deposition from a backcountry sheriff and tax collector details the acts of violence perpetrated by Regulators, who were growing frustrated that their calls for reform remained unanswered and resorted to revolution.
- Henderson, Richard. *Riot of The North Carolina Regulators* (1770). In *Eyewitness to the American West: 500 Years of Firsthand History*, 2nd ed., edited by David Colbert, 57-59. New York, N.Y.: Penguin Putnam, 1999. Richard Henderson, a superior court judge of Hillsborough, was subjected to the wrath of a Regulator mob of 1,000 after their two years of petitioning of the court’s injustice fell on deaf ears. Henderson paints a picture of the Regulators as bloodthirsty, uncouth barbarians.
- Hooker, Richard James, ed. *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: the Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. This diary of Anglican itinerant Charles Woodmason provides a unique report of life in rural 18th century North Carolina. Woodmason, a proponent of the teachings of Great Awakening, was one who encouraged the development of a spiritual individualism previously unseen in the colony. Additionally, he recorded the verbatim conversations of many Regulators, excerpts of which I was able to use in “Escalating Conflict.” This book—a possession of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill—was among the many that I accessed through the interlibrary-loan system.

Husband, Herman, et. al. *A fan for Fanning, and a touch-stone to Tryon: containing an impartial account of the rise and progress of the so much talked of regulation in North-Carolina, by Regulus* (Boston: Daniel Kneeland, 1771). In *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, edited by William K. Boyd, 341-387. Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1927. <http://www.ncpublications.com/colonial/Bookshelf/Default.htm#tracts> (accessed July 6, 2011). Herman Husband, the revolutionary Quaker leader of the Regulators, penned this pamphlet of the history of the rise of the Regulation. Among other things, it details the excesses and crimes of elite figures such as Edmund Fanning and Governor Tryon. Though it cannot be said to be completely “impartial” as its title seems to imply, this account is corroborated by many primary and secondary sources that I obtained. I used it to develop my “Escalating Conflict” section.

_____. *Remarks on Religion* (1761). In *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, edited by William K. Boyd, 199-246. Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1927. <http://www.ncpublications.com/colonial/Bookshelf/Default.htm#tracts> (accessed July 6, 2011). This pamphlet by Quaker Husband discusses the influence of religion on the behavior of those in the North Carolina Piedmont, which was a partial cause of the Regulation.

Journal of the Military Campaign Against the Regulators (April 21, 1771-June 21, 1771). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 19, 837-854. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1901. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr19-0008> (accessed July 8, 2011). This journal was in the possession of a Tryonian soldier during the final months of the Governor’s campaign against the Regulators. It supplied a unique glimpse into the opinions of an anti-Regulator who was not of the upper classes and who was witness to many cruelties perpetrated by Tryon’s forces following Alamance.

Letter from an inhabitant of Halifax to Robert Howe (February 24, 1776). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 11, 282-283. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1895. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr11-0145> (accessed July 20, 2011). This anonymous letter describes the dispersal of Regulator/Loyalist forces at hands of a superior Patriot army of 5,000.

Letter from an inhabitant of North Carolina (September 9, 1775). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 10, 243. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0099> (accessed July 20, 2011). This primary source provided a fascinating look into the opinion of an average North Carolinian citizen regarding the Regulation. This particular individual was from the eastern section of the colony, making them predisposed to oppose the Regulators.

Letter from an inhabitant of North Carolina (February 13, 1776). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 10, 452-453. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0226> (accessed July 20, 2011). *Letter from an inhabitant of North Carolina* helped reinforce my assertion that the Regulators were more “often than not, Loyalists during the War of Independence.” I used this primary source in my concluding section regarding the impact of the Regulators.

Letters from inhabitants of North Carolina (May 10, 1776). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 11, 286-287. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr11-0148> (accessed July 20, 2011). This letter shows former Regulators to be of Loyalist dispositions, proving that they were not the Patriots that historians have frequently assumed them to be, nor the rebellious traitors that Tryon and his allies assumed them to be.

Lossing, Benson. *Pictorial Fieldbook of the Revolution*, engraving, 1853, the North Carolina Colonial Colonial Archives. Web. Jan. 15 2012. This engraving of Edmund Fanning is located in Appendix I. Putting a face to participating members in the War of the Regulation makes the conflict that much more tangible for readers.

McKehan, Wallace L. *Plaque*. Picture, 1997, Sons of the Dewitt Colony Texas, Alamance, N.C. Web. Jan. 15 2012. This plaque that lies beneath the statue of a Regulator at the Alamance battleground is placed in Appendix VI.

McNair, Ralph. *Deposition of Ralph McNair concerning the regulators at the Hillsborough District Superior Court* (October 9, 1770). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 8, 245. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0142> (accessed July 22, 2011). This deposition offered evidence for the Regulators evolution from a peaceful organization to an increasingly militant group. McNair recounts an incident in which he was assaulted by a Regulator mob.

Moore, Maurice. *Justice of Taxing American Colonies, Great-Britain, Considered* (Wilmington, N.C.: Andrew Steuart, 1765). In *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, edited by William K. Boyd, 162-174. Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1927. <http://www.ncpublications.com/colonial/Bookshelf/Default.htm#tracts> (accessed July 6, 2011). The anti-Regulator Moore published *Justice of Taxing American Colonies, Great-Britain, Considered* in 1765, just a year before the beginning of the War of Regulation. Though the future Patriot Moore supported “no taxation without representation” as far as Great Britain was concerned, he curiously did not agree with the Regulators similarly expressed sentiments concerning representation in the General Assembly. This was a common phenomenon amongst the elite and merchants of North Carolina. Furthermore, it partially resulted in the Regulators’ backing of the King’s forces during the Revolution.

“Newbern (North Carolina) June 7.” *Virginia Gazette* (July 4). Republished by the *Boston Gazette* 8 (July 1771): 1-2. <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-revolution/4242> (accessed July 10, 2011). This Tryonian article spread propaganda for the Governor and listed his reprisals after Alamance, such as the confiscation of over 400 acres of Regulator Herman Husband’s property and the destruction of other Regulator lands, which were “laid to waste.” I found this primary source useful in developing the “Battle of Alamance” portion of my paper.

North Carolina Council. *Minutes of the North Carolina Governor’s Council*. (August 13, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 801-806. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0331> (accessed July 15, 2011). The proceedings of the 1768 North Carolina Council revealed the apprehension of the backcountry men regarding their court systems and provided a quotation from a disgruntled Piedmont farmer that I was able to incorporate into my “Historical Context” section.

North Carolina County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (Rowan County). *Minutes of the Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions* (October 18, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 856. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0351> (accessed July 13, 2011). The *Minutes of the Rowan County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions* detailed the woes of a certain Sheriff Francis Lock Esquire of Rowan county, who found it quite impossible to collect taxes, as he was “violently opposed in the execution of his said office particularly by those who had lately styled themselves Regulators.” Thus, this source shows the growing agitation of the Regulators and their resolution to oppose injustice through revolution.

North Carolina Provincial Congress. *North Carolina Declaration of Rights* (December 17, 1776). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 10, 1003-1004. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0443> (accessed July 27, 2011). *North Carolina Declaration of Rights* illustrates that the reforms sought by the Regulators were eventually secured. I use quotations from this document in the “Legacy” section of my paper to prove the impact of the Regulators.

Oath of allegiance for Grand Jurors of a Special Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery in New Bern District to the Government of North Carolina (1771), in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 8, 549. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0207> (accessed July 20, 2011). This oath, which Tryon forced the Regulators to take in exchange for pardon, features wording that suggests Tryon’s perception of the group to be askew. For example, he requires them to swear allegiance to the King, which in fact, would not have been objectionable in the least to the Regulators, who had continually professed their faithfulness to their sovereign. However, the proviso that they submit without question to all taxation was another matter entirely.

Powell, William Stevens, ed. *The Correspondence of William Tryon and Other Selected Papers*, 2 vol. Raleigh, N.C.: Division of Archives and History, Dept. of Cultural Resources, 1980-1981. This collection of Governor Tryon’s papers presents an exclusive look into his personal thoughts of the Regulators, as well as his *modus operandi*. I incorporated selection of his less-biased observations into “The Battle of Alamance” section.

Purviance, William. *Letter from William Purviance to the North Carolina Provincial Council* (February 23, 1776 - February 24, 1776). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 10, 465-468. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr10-0232> (accessed July 17, 2011). Purviance’s letter concerns the Loyalist militia activities of former Regulators in the backcountry, thus strengthening my claim that the Regulators were loyal subjects to the King, not the rebels that they were unfairly labeled as.

Regulators of North Carolina. *Letter from the Regulators to William Tryon* (1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 812. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0323> (accessed July 16, 2011). This petition letter again reinforces my claim that the Regulators only sought fairer treatment according to the law and not freedom from Crown rule.

_____. *Regulators' Advertisement No. 4 - Association concerning meetings to investigate the actions of public officials* (January 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 671-672. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0244> (accessed July 16, 2011). This newspaper article written by the Regulators explains the origin of their movement and the need for reform in their court systems and local government. As one of the first primary sources I obtained, the *Regulators' Advertisement No. 4* provided a fascinating look into the mindset of this organization at the time of its inception.

_____. *Regulators' Advertisement No. 5 - Address from inhabitants near Haw River to the Orange County Vestry and General Assembly representatives* (March 22, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 699-700. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0264> (accessed July 16, 2011). *Regulators' Advertisement No. 5* elucidates the Regulators concerns that they would not be lawfully allowed to petition their government, a right that they were entitled to by Crown Law. This prediction proved to be tragically accurate, for their petition was later ignored and their efforts to reform dismissed as traitorous. I used a quotation from this source in my "Escalating Conflict" segment.

_____. *Regulators' Advertisement No. 6 - Minutes of a meeting of the Regulators* (April 4, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 702-703. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0385> (accessed July 16, 2011). This advertisement, published at the dawn of the Regulation, enumerated the method in which the backcountry men would present their grievances. It is clear from this source that the Regulators exhibited no malice towards the Crown and intended to pursue a peaceful course of action.

_____. *Regulators' Advertisement No. 7 - Minutes of a meeting of the Regulators* (April 25, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 716. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0277> (accessed July 16, 2011). *Regulators' Advertisement No. 7* reiterates the Regulator's intent to petition the Governor and the General Assembly in an effort to achieve reform in their local government. Furthermore, their diplomatic, non-violent approach is evident in this source. After reading their writings, one finds it difficult to comprehend that they were perceived to be the most heinous of traitors.

_____. *Regulators' Advertisement No. 8 - Minutes of a meeting of the Regulators* (April 30, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 731-732. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0288> (accessed July 16, 2011). This advertisement explained the contents of the "Articles of Settlement and Oath," which all Regulators were required to swear to. Far from being the radical document that Tryonians assumed it to be, it merely advocated the establishment of "a regular, plain, and uniform Method" in the official's legal dealings with the members of his county.

_____. *Regulators' Advertisement No. 11 - Petition from the Regulators concerning taxes and fees for public officials* (May 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 759-766. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0307> (accessed

July 16, 2011). In their final advertisement, the Regulators expressed their veneration of the British Constitution and the King, showing that their reputation as rebellious traitors and disloyal subjects was unearned as of this point in the Regulation.

Sauthier, Claude J. *A Plan of the Camp at Alamance*. Map, May 1771, the North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, NC. Web. Jan. 15 2012. This map by Sauthier was made at the time of the famous battle. It is located in Appendix III. Sauthier's map shows Tryon's forces to be highly organized and concentrated, whereas the forces of the Regulators were haphazardly scattered. I included this observation into my "The Battle of Alamance" portion of the paper.

Sims, George. *Sims Address (1765)*. In *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, edited by William K. Boyd, 182-193. Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1927. <http://www.ncpublications.com/colonial/Bookshelf/Default.htm#tracts> (accessed July 6, 2011). George Sims, a North Carolina minister, enumerates the rights provided by the British Constitution in this speech. Not only did this primary source provide me with that aforementioned information but also did it give me an insight into what North Carolina citizens believed they were entitled to as British subjects.

Sutherland, Ransom. *Deposition of Ransom Sutherland concerning the resolutions of the Regulators* (August 3, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 799. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0329> (accessed July 15, 2011). Similar to the deposition of Harris, this account of a violent Regulator outburst by a county official was used to convince state officials and Eastern populations that the Regulators were a lawless group of rabble-rousers.

The Battle of Alamance: the "Cultured" East Versus the "Barbarian" West. Picture, Mar. 25 2009, All Points West, Alamance, N.C. Web. Jan. 15 2012. This picture of the Regulator statue at Alamance is in Appendix III.

Tryon, William. *Letter from William Tryon to Edmund Fanning* (April 27, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 717. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0279> (accessed July 15, 2011). In this letter to the epitome of anti-Regulators Edmund Fanning, William Tryon deems the Regulators to be nothing more than "traitorous dogs."

_____. *Letter from William Tryon to Wills Hill, Marquis of Downshire* (June 16, 1768). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 7, 791-792. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0323> (accessed July 15, 2011). In this letter, Tryon communicates his eagerness to crush the Regulators with his army, which supports my description of him as "military-minded" in "Escalating Conflict."

_____. *Proclamation by William Tryon concerning a pardon for rioters* (June 1, 1771). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 8, 617-618. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1886. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0237> (accessed July 21, 2011). This proclamation by Governor Tryon offered pardon to all Regulators (deemed "insurgents" or "rioters"), with the exception of the leaders of the Insurrection. The stipulations of the pardon included swearing an oath of allegiance to the Governor and King, as well as promising "to pay all Taxes... and to submit to the Laws of this Country."

Secondary Sources

- Bassett, John Spencer. *The Regulators of North Carolina, 1765-1771*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896. <http://www.archive.org/details/regulatorsofnort00bass> (accessed June 24, 2011). Bassett, who penned one of the few longer works devoted to the study of the War of Regulation, included information on the failed leadership of the movements, which I integrated into the “Battle of Alamance” portion of my paper.
- Boyd, William Kenneth and Charles A. Krummel. “German Tracts Concerning the Lutheran Church in North Carolina During the Eighteenth Century.” *North Carolina Historical Review* VII (1930): 79-147, 225-283. <http://www.ncpublications.com/colonial/Bookshelf/lutheran/default.htm> (accessed July 6, 2011). This article about the German Lutherans in North Carolina prior to and during the Regulation showed the connection between religious groups immigrating to the Piedmont and the rising tensions between the western and eastern areas of the colony.
- Butler, Lindley S. *North Carolina and the Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1776*. Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Dept. of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1976. This book was influential in shaping the “Historical Context” section of my paper. Butler delves into in-depth discussion of the taxation, extortion, corruption, and economic hardship that led to this “revolution” of backcountry men in North Carolina.
- Cameron, Annie Sutton. *Hillsborough and the Regulators*. Hillsborough, N.C.: Orange County Historical Museum, 1964. Cameron’s depiction of backcountry life prior to the Regulation was aided my understanding of the setting in which the conflict occurred. Like many of my secondary sources, I obtained *Hillsborough and the Regulators* through the inter-library loan system. This particular book came from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Cooke, Charles S. and Lawrence N. Morgan. *The Governor, Council and Assembly in Royal North Carolina [by] C.S. Cooke. Land Tenure in Proprietary North Carolina [by] L.N. Morgan*. J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton and Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, eds. Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina, 1912. <http://www.archive.org/details/governorcouncila12cookuoft> (accessed June 24, 2011). Cooke and Morgan assign much of the blame for the Regulation on Tryon’s misperception of the Regulators intent, which I found, after reviewing multiple primary sources, to be a valid claim.
- Douglas, Robert Martin. *The Life and Character of Governor Alexander Martin*. Greensboro, N.C.: 1898. <http://www.archive.org/details/lifecharacterofg00doug> (accessed June 29, 2011). Douglas recalls the life of Alexander Martin, a former anti-Regulator. Martin’s allegiance to the Patriots during the American Revolution reflects a common trend of anti-Regulators tending to side with Patriots, thus allowing me to support my thesis that the War of Regulation was not the “beginning of the Revolution” and the Regulators were not its first Patriots. Indeed, the opposite is true, the anti-Regulators were the Patriots while the Regulators were Loyalists.
- Fitch, William Edward. *Some Neglected History of North Carolina; Being an Account of the Revolution of the Regulators and of the Battle of Alamance, the First Battle of the American Revolution*. New York, N.Y.: Neale Publishing Company, 1905. <http://www.archive.org/stream/someneglectedhis00fitcuoft#page/n9/mode/2up> (accessed July 4, 2011). Fitch is among the numerous historians who inaccurately assessed the War of Regulation to be the prelude to the American Revolution. I discuss his flawed interpretation in the conclusion section of my paper.

- Foote, William Henry. "History of the Presbyterians in North Carolina [Extracts]." In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 5, 1193-1228. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1901. Originally published in *Foote's Sketches of North Carolina* (1846). <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr05-0362> (accessed July 17, 2011). This article by Presbyterian minister Foote provided me with evidence that religion did indeed play a part in the development of the War of Regulation. Though I was forced to remove much of the material pertaining to religious unrest so as not to exceed the word limit, I do briefly mention it in my "Historical Context" section.
- Ganyard, Robert L. *The Emergence of North Carolina's Revolutionary State Government*. Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Dept. of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1978. This book supplied me with information concerning the state of North Carolina's government prior to the Regulation, such as the infamous "courthouse rings," which I found useful in writing my "Historical Context" segment.
- Goodrich, Rev. Charles A.. "William Hooper (1742-1790)." *Lives of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*. New York: William Reed & Co., 1856. 422-427. <http://www.worldcat.org/title/william-hooper-17421790/oclc/46365057?title=&detail=&page=frame&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.colonialhall.com%2Fhooper%2Fhooper.asp%26checksum%3Dc3d5f906e7cf5aa1a2d952dd48800cf9&linktype=digitalObject> (accessed June 26, 2011). This encyclopedic article on William Hooper shows that anti-Regulators were the ones to become Patriots during the American Revolution, not the Regulators. For example, Hooper was an antagonist of the Regulators, but he went on to be one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the ultimate expression of Patriot sentiments.
- Guess, William Conrad. *County Government in Colonial North Carolina*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1911. <http://www.archive.org/details/countygovernment00guesrich> (accessed July 4, 2011). Guess description of the hanging of the Regulators was fairly dry; nevertheless, some of the facts provided, such as the style of burial of the executed men, lent itself well to incorporation into the "Battle of Alamance" section of my paper.
- Haywood, John. *History of the early settlement of Tennessee* (1823). In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 8, 653-654. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0258> (accessed July 15, 2011). *History of the early settlement of Tennessee* recounts the tales of former Regulators, who to escape the oppression of their local governments, fled to Tennessee. They were amongst the first to settle this new frontier; thus, they shaped its settlement and created lasting societies like the Watauga Association. I used the information provided by this extremely old secondary source to demonstrate the impact of the War of Regulation on the American landscape.
- Haywood, Marshall DeLancey. *Governor William Tryon, And His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771: Services in a Civil Capacity and Military Career as Commander-in-chief of Colonial Forces which Suppressed the Insurrection of the Regulators*. Raleigh, N.C.: E. M. Uzzell, Printer, 1903. <http://www.archive.org/details/governorwilliam00haywgoog> (accessed July 3, 2011). This book assessed the leadership of Governor William Tryon during the War of Regulation. While it included celebratory aspects of his governorship, it also lamented his inability to properly cope with the reaction of the Regulators.

Kars, Marjoleine. *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. This authoritative piece on the Regulator Movement is virtually the only comprehensive work on this subject; thus, it proved to be an extremely valuable asset to my research. Kars meticulously identifies the causes of the Regulation and discusses the conduct of the war; however, I found her analysis of its ultimate impact to be lacking, so I relied primarily upon other sources to determine the legacy of the War of Regulation.

Miller, Helen Hill. *The Case for Liberty*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press 1965. 203-225. *The Case for Liberty* presents twelve instances in which colonists fought for their rights, including the Regulators of North Carolina. As the first secondary source that I obtained, it introduced me to the basic premises of the Regulators' complaints pertaining to corruption in local government and was useful in developing the framework for my introduction.

Nash, Francis. *Hillsboro, Colonial and Revolutionary*. Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton, printers, 1903. <http://www.archive.org/details/hillsborocoloni00nashgoog> (accessed June 24, 2011). This source provided information on the backcountry town of Hillsborough and was one of the only sources that I found that discussed the misinterpretations of the War of Regulation. Nash agreed with my stance that the Regulation was not the beginnings of the American Revolution suggesting that, "to say that the same spirit inspired the Regulators that inspired the Sons of Liberty, or the Lexington Minute Men, is to my mind, sentimental slush, not historical truth."

Raper, Charles Lee. *North Carolina, A Study in English Colonial Government*. New York, N.Y.: The Macmillan Company, 1904. <http://www.archive.org/details/northcarolinaas01rapegoog> (accessed July 5, 2011). Raper's book provided me with facts concerning the functioning of North Carolina's colonial government, which enabled me to better understand the institutions that the Regulators were reacting to.

Reichel, Charles Gotthold. *History of the Moravians in North Carolina*. In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 5, 1144-1163. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1887. Originally published in Martin's History of North Carolina, vol. 1 (1829). <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr05-0360> (accessed July 19, 2011). *History of the Moravians in North Carolina* supplied me with a look at the Moravian sect during the time of the Regulation; thus, it enabled me to determine the impact of this belief system in provoking conflict in the Piedmont region. Though the Moravians were self-proclaimed pacifists, a few did in fact fight in the War of Regulation.

Seawell, Joseph Lacy. "The First Lynching Was the First Overt Act for American Liberty." In *Wayside Tales of North Carolina*. July, 1927. This article examined the outbreak of violence at the advent of the Regulation. I used Seawell as an example of one of the many historians who have erroneously assumed the Regulators to be America's first Patriots.

Weeks, Stephen Beauregard. "Historical Review of the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina." In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 19, i-169. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1914. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr19-0008> (accessed June 18, 2011). Weeks asserts inequities in representation produced resentment amongst the Western inhabitants of North Carolina,

a claim with I verified through my other sources. The “Historical Review of the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina” proved useful in penning “Historical Context.”

Welker, George William. *History of the German Reformed Church in North Carolina*. In *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, edited by Walter Clark, vol. 8, 728-730. Raleigh, N.C.: Winston and Goldsboro, 1914. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr08-0371> (accessed June 21, 2011). This source contributed to my “Historical Context” section, which asserts the significance of various religions in the cultivation of conflict in the backcountry. The German sects in North Carolina were among the most active during the War of Regulation, much more so than the neighboring Baptists, Moravians, and Quakers.

White, Julia S. *A Church Quarrel and What Resulted*. Guilford College, N.C.: s.n., 19--?. This dissertation focuses on the conflict between Regulator leader Herman Husband and his Quaker brethren, though White does digress to discuss the ineptness of the army man William Tryon.

Zinn, Howard. *A People’s History of the United States: 1492–Present*. New York: Harper-Perennial, 1995. Zinn’s section on the Regulators points to the element of class conflict as essential to the development of the Regulator Movement. Though Zinn undoubtedly exhibits liberal tendencies in his writing, the information he provided on the Regulators was verified in other sources that I subsequently obtained.

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