

THE  
SOUTH CAROLINA  
REGULATORS



Richard Maxwell Brown

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of the state legislature: William Arthur, John Boykin, Thomas Charlton, Robert Cunningham, Alexander McIntosh, James Mayson, and Matthew Singleton. Ten of the twenty-one Regulators who had legislative or convention service were elected to more than one body: William Arthur (Provincial Congress, Jacksonborough Legislature, regular legislature), Benjamin Farrar (colonial Assembly, Provincial Congress), Tacitus Gaillard (colonial Assembly, Provincial Congress), Henry Hunter (Provincial Congress, Jacksonborough Legislature), Joseph Kirkland (Provincial Congress, Jacksonborough Legislature), William Kirkland (Jacksonborough Legislature, ratification convention, constitutional convention of 1790), Alexander McIntosh (Provincial Congress, regular legislature), James Mayson (Provincial Congress, constitutional convention of 1790, regular legislature), Claudius Pegues (colonial Assembly, Provincial Congress), and William Welsh (Jacksonborough Legislature, constitutional convention of 1790).

The list of seventy-five Regulators pardoned by Governor Montagu in 1771 was composed mainly of rank and file Regulators from Camden District.<sup>26</sup> Of the seventy-five, seventy (93 per cent) were of small planter status at the time of the Regulation; only five were leading men.<sup>27</sup> In later years ten of the small planters<sup>28</sup> rose into the leading man category, so that a total of fifteen (20 per cent) of those pardoned in 1771 were then or later leading men. The 1771 pardon list is additional proof that the Regulator movement was part of the climb upward for ambitious younger men. It also suggests that family and kinship were important factors in the movement. Thirty-one, or almost half, of the seventy-five men on the pardon list had surnames that appeared more than once; only twelve surnames accounted for nearly half of the men listed.<sup>29</sup>

Thirty-four Regulators listed in the pardon lived in the Little River-Cedar Creek section and exemplify the movement at the local level. Little River and Cedar Creek flow into the Broad River from the east about five miles apart. Their small watersheds are adjacent and form a fairly distinct section in the southwest and south central area of present Fairfield County and the north

central section of present Richland County, about fifteen miles north of the present city of Columbia. The group from this area was mainly rank and file.<sup>30</sup> Only three (9 per cent)—Thomas Woodward, Barnaby Pope, and Edward McGraw, Sr.—were leading men at the time of the Regulation; all the rest were small planters. Six of the latter became leading men in after years;<sup>31</sup> hence nine, or one quarter, of the Little River-Cedar Creek Regulators fell ultimately in that category.

Nineteen, or more than half of the Little River-Cedar Creek men, were related to each other or had common surnames, an indication of probable kinship. Some of the family relationships were notable: the five McGraws, the Woodwards, the three Andrews, and the Kirklands.<sup>32</sup> Other men were related by marriage; for example, William Kirkland and Barnaby Pope each married McKinney girls.<sup>33</sup> Nearly half—fifteen—of the Little River-Cedar Creek Regulators were neighbors or owned adjoining land tracts. The land plats show only landowners bounding directly on the plat in question, but it is likely that other Little River-Cedar Creek Regulators were neighbors in the general sense of living only a few miles from each other. For example, on Morrison's (or Morris) Creek, a branch of Little River, were intermingled plats belonging to Thomas Woodward, James Andrews, Sr., David McGraw, and Edward McGraw, Sr.<sup>34</sup> The Little River-Cedar Creek group affords a picture of the Regulator movement at the local level where it probably functioned most effectively. Here local bands of small planters—friends, neighbors, and relatives headed by a handful of leading men—operated along particular creeks or streams, rounding up outlaws and tasking lower people.

The widely accepted view that resentment against Low Countrymen who were Liberty Boys in the 1760's and Whigs in the 1770's caused old Regulators to support the King during the war is not correct. Of the 118 Regulators, sixty-nine (59 per cent) were Whigs (fifty-five or 47 per cent definitely, fourteen or 12 per cent probably), six (5 per cent) were Tories, and forty-three (36 per cent) were either dead or of unknown status. When the forty-three ex-Regulators whose Revolutionary allegiance cannot

Continental Association in their areas, and both ranked among the leading patriots of the Peedee.

Camden District Regulators were zealous Whigs. John Marshall of Lynches River executed the Continental Association and became a colonel under Thomas Sumter. Joseph Kirkland enforced the Continental Association, became a lieutenant colonel of militia and helped mete out punishment to the vanquished Tories in the Jacksonborough Legislature of 1782. Matthew Singleton of the lower Wateree was Provincial Congressman, executor of the Continental Association, and Whig colonel. Samuel Boykin executed the Continental Association and in 1776, as Ranger captain, led a company of Catawba Indians in the defense of Charleston; he later fought in Thomas Sumter's partisan band. Henry Hunter was a Provincial Congressman, executed the Continental Association, and in 1780 was among a score of leading Camden Whigs whom Lord Rawdon cast into jail for refusing to take up arms against the approaching Gates; later Hunter served in the Jacksonborough Legislature. Elsewhere, William Wofford, a "leading patriot" of the Tyger-Enoree section of Ninety Six District, became a Whig lieutenant colonel and took part in Andrew Williamson's campaign against the Cherokees in 1776 and in various actions in 1779. William Arthur was one of the principal Whigs of Saxe Gotha Township, Orangeburg District; he represented Saxe Gotha in the Provincial Congress, served in the state senate during the Revolution, and shared in the victorious deliberations of the Jacksonborough Legislature.

Examination of data on the Regulators as a group affords a general picture of the movement. A different, and no less enlightening, perspective is gained by an examination of the individual careers of a few typical Regulators. James Andrews, Sr., was typical of the small planters who made up the rank and file of the Regulator movement.

Andrews, an early settler in the region, lived on Morrison's (or Morris) Creek in the Little River-Cedar Creek hotbed of Regulators. A plat of 150 acres was surveyed for him on Little River in 1752, and another of 300 acres was laid out for him near Mor-

risson's Creek in 1765. Except for his participation in the Regulation, Andrews' life seems to have been almost without public incident. His name appears from time to time in minor actions in Fairfield County court records after the Revolutionary War. In 1790 he was enumerated in the federal census. At his death in 1798 Andrews was essentially the same modest though solid and respectable property holder that he had been in the Regulator era. He lived on a plantation of 300 acres that had passed from Isaac Porcher to Joseph Kirkland (an ex-Regulator) to Andrews. He owned no slaves but possessed four horses, fifteen head of cattle, fifty hogs, household and kitchen furniture, farm implements, and three featherbeds. Andrews was survived by his wife, Priscilla, and ten children, to each of whom (except his executors, Mathew and Edward) he bequeathed 1<sup>s</sup> sterling in cash. Small planter James Andrews, Sr., was deeply involved in the Regulator movement. Two of his sons (Enoch and James, Jr.) joined him in it, and one of his daughters (Mary) married into the McGraw family of Regulators.<sup>43</sup>

Andrew Baskin (or Baskins) was typical of those Regulators who were young and relatively unimportant small planters at the time of the Regulation but who later rose into leading man status, a rise probably begun by active participation in the Regulator movement. The Scotch-Irish Baskin was born in Ireland about 1730. Pausing for a time in Augusta County on the Virginia frontier, he moved about 1755 to the Flat Rock Creek section northeast of Camden in the South Carolina Back Country, and in 1761 he was living on the west side of Little Lynches River not far from Flat Rock Creek. Baskin was an active Whig during the Revolutionary War. Besides supplying provisions for Whig partisans in 1780 and 1781, Baskin himself served in the Whig militia in 1779 and 1780 under ex-Regulator Colonel John Marshall, who was probably related to Baskin's bride of 1759, Mary Marshall.

After the war Baskin emerged as one of the leading men of his section. When Lancaster County was formed in 1785, he was appointed one of its justices of the peace. During the 1780's and 1790's his name appears frequently in the county records as a grand juror and in other connections. Like most men of affairs, Baskin had

## A. LIST OF SOUTH CAROLINA REGULATORS

- Name—Approximate location of residence—Acreage ultimately owned—Slaves ultimately owned
1. William Ackary—Little R. of Broad R.—200 acres.
  2. John Alran—Peedee R.—250 acres.
  3. Enoch Andrews—Morrison's Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.
  4. James Andrews, Sr.—Morrison's Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.—450 acres—1 slave.
  5. James Andrews, Jr.—Little R. of Broad R.—100 acres.
  6. Barnabas Arthur—Little R. of Saluda R.—300 acres.
  7. William Arthur—Saxe Gotha.
  8. Andrew Baskin—Little Lynches R.
  9. John Boykin—Swift Cr. of Wateree R. (Fredericksburg Twp.)—15 slaves.
  10. Samuel Boykin—Town Cr. of Wateree R. (Fredericksburg Twp.)—64 slaves.
  11. Richard Burnett—Hanging Rock Cr. of Little Lynches R.—400 acres.
  12. Robert Buzzard—Cannon's Cr. of Broad R. (Dutch Fork).
  13. Rudolph Buzzard—Saluda R. (Dutch Fork)—470 acres.
  14. James Carey—Camden—2262 acres—42 slaves.
  15. Thomas Charlton—Camden—1200 acres.
  16. Benjamin Cook—Camp Cr. of Catawba R.—200 acres.
  17. John Cook—Cook's Ferry of Broad R.—300 acres—33 slaves.
  18. Christopher Coulliott—St. Matthew Parish.
  19. Robert Cunningham—Island Ford of Saluda R.—1000 acres.
  20. Alexander Daley—Wateree Cr. of Broad R.—100 acres.
  21. Mark Davis—Cedar Cr. of Broad R.—100 acres.
  22. William Deason—Flat Rock Cr. of Wateree R.—100 acres.
  23. Joshua Dinkins—Old Wateree loop of Wateree R.—211 acres—2 slaves.
  24. Joshua English—Spears Cr. of Wateree R. (Fredericksburg Twp.)—1200 acres—45 slaves.
  25. Benjamin Farrar—Amelia Twp.—200-plus acres.
  26. Thomas Frankland—Sandy R. of Broad R.—521 acres.
  27. Jacob Fray—Cannon's Cr. of Broad R. (Dutch Fork)—425 acres.
  28. Jacob Frazer—Little R. of Broad R.
  29. John Frazer—Saxe Gotha.
  30. William Frazer—Little R. of Broad R.—200 acres.
  31. Jacob Fulmore—Camping Cr. of Saluda R. (Dutch Fork).
  32. John Fulmore—Dutch Fork—10 slaves.
  33. Tacitus Gaillard—Santee R. (Eutaw Sprs.).
  34. Daniel Gardner—Camden—100 acres.
  35. Bartholomew Gartman—Saxe Gotha—300 acres—1 slave.
  36. David Gibson—Little R. of Broad R.

### ADDENDUM

While this book was on the press, another Regulator pardon was discovered. Dated June 29, 1771, the pardon (Miscellaneous Records, Volume OO, pages 614-615) was practically identical in form and language to the pardon of October 31, 1771 (Appendix C); it absolved eight Regulators: Joseph Kirkland, Henry Hunter, Thomas Woodward, Matthew Singleton, Philip Pledger, Charles King, Alexander Gordon, and Thomas Green. On Kirkland, Hunter, Woodward, Singleton, and Pledger see the index. Charles King lived in the Broad-Saluda fork, served in the Provincial Congress of 1775, and owned thirty slaves when he died in 1789. Thomas Green was a tax inquirer in the Congarees in 1767.

APPENDIX

Case, by any unavoidable Accident, the said Courts shall fail to be held, at the Times respectively appointed for holding the same, the Proceedings shall not be discontinued; but that any *one* of the Commissioners, for taking Recognizances of Bail and Affidavits, or the Clerk of the Court, shall and may adjourn the said Court *ed Die in Diem*, not exceeding Six Days, until the said Court shall meet: And in Case they shall not meet and sit, in Six Days as aforesaid, the said Commissioners, or Clerk of the Court, shall adjourn the same to the next Circuit Court, to which time all Causes then depending, shall be continued over.

XXVIII. *And be it further Enacted*, by the Authority aforesaid, That all Fines and Forfeitures, accruing or arising by Virtue of this Act, shall be sued for in the Name of the King, and when recovered, shall be disposed of as is herein before directed and appointed.

XXIX. *And be it Enacted*, by the Authority aforesaid, That this Act shall be deemed a public Act, and may be given in Evidence, without Special Pleading: And if any Person shall be sued, for any Thing done in Pursuance hereof, and Judgment shall pass for the Defendant, either on Verdict, non-Suit, or Demurrer, or the Plaintiff shall discontinue his Action, the Defendant shall recover treble Costs.

XXX. *And be it Enacted*, by the Authority aforesaid, That nothing herein contained, shall be of any Force, Virtue or Efficacy, until Public Notice of His Majesty's Gracious Allowance and Approbation of this Act shall be given, by Proclamation of the Governor, or Commander in Chief of this Province for the Time being; but that all and every Matter and Thing herein Contained, shall, as soon thereafter, as the same shall be practicable, be observed and carried into Execution, according to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act.

Peter Manigault, Speaker.

In the Council Chamber,  
this 29th Day of July, 1769.

Assented to,  
C. G. Montagu.

C. THE REGULATOR PARDON OF OCTOBER 31, 1771

Source: Miscellaneous Records, Volume PP, pages 46-47. Manuscript volume in South Carolina Archives Department.

South Carolina      George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France & Ireland, King Defender of the Faith & so forth.

To all & singular our Judges, Justices, Marshalls, Sheriffs, Constables, Bailliffs & others our Peace Officers or loving Subjects within our said province, *Greeting.* Whereas sundry Inhabitants in the Northern parts of our said province, heretofore assembled themselves together under the name of Regulators & committed various Outrages & Acts of Violence in illegally whipping & Imprisoning divers persons under pretence of their being Robbers & Horse-Thieves But for as much as it appeared that sundry well Disposed people, had been unwarily drawn in to join the said Association in some of the said illegal Acts of Violence by them committed. We did by our Proclamation under the Great Seal of our said province bearing Date the sixth Day of August 1768, promise our most Gracious Pardon for the said Outrages & Acts of Violence, Committed by any person or persons on or before the said sixth Day of August 1768, to all such Persons as should thenceforward peaceably Demean themselves & should keep our peace & duly observe the Laws of our said province enacted for the preservation of the same. *And Whereas* very many of the said people who called themselves Regulators did thereupon Desist from the illegal practises aforesaid & peace & Tranquility hath in a manner been restored to the Inhabitants in the back Settlements of our said province. *And Whereas* John Marshall William Welsh, Richard Burnett, John Welsh, Thomas Marshall, Willm. Deason, John Holley Senior, John Holley Junior, James Holley, John Cook Jonathan Holley, John Kirkland, Benjamin Cook, Francis Kirkland, James Marlow, John Owens, James Owens, James Rutland, Edward Grigg, Andrew Baskins, Joshua English, William Hilton, Joshua Dinkins Samuel Wiggans, David Gibson, Barnaby Pope, John Kimbol, William Kirkland, Thomas Parrot, Moses Matthews, David McGraw, William Simmons, Philip Shaver, David Moore, Thomas Frankland, William Frazier, Jacob Fraizer, William McGraw, Edward McGraw Junior James Jones, Mark Davis, James Nelson, John Woodward, Josiah Horn James Andrews Senior, Thomas Trap, John Miles, John Grigg, Edward Narramore, Bryant Ryley, John Lightner, Edward McGraw Senior, Henry Wimpey, Henry Gotes, George Lewey, John Goodwin, James Russell, George Lightner, James Andrews Junior, Enoch Andrews, William Hill, Enoch McGraw, Benjamin Gigary, Peter Rapesome, William Ackary,

## APPENDIX

Jesse Stevens, John Roden, Alexander Daley, Henry Horn, William Nettles, Averheart Nates, John Gray, Richard Taylor, Daniel Gardner, Wood Tucker & John Cook of our said province planters, have represented unto us that altho' they were present at some of the illegal proceedings, committed on the first Association of the Regulators they have for a long time past duly observed our Peace, & have humbly besought us to grant to them our Pardon for the said Offences. *Now Know Ye* that we being Graciously inclined, have pardoned, Remitted & Released & We do hereby Pardon, Remitt & Release unto the said John Marshall, William Welsh, Richard Burnett, John Welsh Thomas Marshall, William Deason, John Holley Senior, John Holley Junior, James Holley, John Cook, Jonathan Holley, John Kirkland, Benjamin Cook, Francis Kirkland, James Marlow, John Owens, James Owens, James Rutland, Edward Grigg, Andrew Baskins, Joshua English, William Hilton, Joshua Dinkins, Saml. Wiggans, David Gibson, Barnaby Pope, John Kimbol, William Kirkland Thomas Parrott, Moses Matthews, David McGraw, William Simmons Phillip Shaver, David Moore, Thomas Frankland, William Fraizer, Jacob Fraizer, William McGraw, Edward McGraw Junior, James Jones, Mark Davis, James Nelson, John Woodward, Josiah Horn, James Andrews Senr. Thomas Trap, John Miles, John Grigg, Edward Narramore, Bryant Ryley, John Lightner, Edward McGraw Senr. Henry Wimpey, Henry Gotes, Geo: Lewey, John Goodwin, James Russell, George Lightner, James Andrews Junior Enoch Andrews, William Hill, Enoch McGraw, Benjamin Gigary, Peter Rapesome, William Ackary, Jesse Stevens, John Roden, Alexander Daley, Henry Horn, William Nettles, Averheart Neates, John Gray, Richard Taylor, Daniel Gardner, Wood Tucker & John Cook, & to each & to every of them all Assaults, Batteries, Tresspasses, Misdemeanours & Crimes whatsoever under the Nature & Degree of a Felony had done, committed & perpetrated by them or any of them on or before the first Day of October Instant, & all Fines, Forfeitures, Amerciaments & Imprisonments, or other punishments for the same, & We do hereby further Will & Direct, that no Suit shall henceforward be Instituted or Prosecuted in our Name or at our Instance against all or either of the above named persons for any of the Tresspasses or Misdemeanours aforesaid, of which our Attorney General of our said province & all others whom it may concern, are required to take due Notice & govern themselves accordingly.

By His Excellencys Commd.  
Geo: Murray  
Dep. Secy.

Given under the Great Seal of our said Province *Witness* His Excellency The Right Honble Lord Chas. Greville Montagu Captain General Governour & Commander in Chief in & over our Said province this thirty first Day of October, Anno Dom: 1771 & in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

Chas. Grev: Montagu.

[Concerning a newly discovered pardon see page 144 above.]

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography contains all the items cited in the notes to the text, in addition to many items which were of value in the preparation of this study but which do not appear in the notes.

- I. Primary Sources, Unprinted
  - A. Public Records
  - B. Church and Parish Records
  - C. Diaries, Journals, Letters, and Papers of Private Individuals
- II. Primary Sources, Printed
  - A. Public Records
  - B. Church and Parish Records
  - C. Diaries, Journals, Papers, and Memoirs of Private Individuals
  - D. Newspapers, Magazines, and Almanacs
  - E. Maps
  - F. Other
- III. Secondary Works
  - A. Books, Pamphlets, and Monographs
  - B. Articles
  - C. Unpublished Theses
  - D. Maps and Atlases
  - E. Other

### I. PRIMARY SOURCES, UNPRINTED

#### A. PUBLIC RECORDS

##### 1. *South Carolina Archives Department, Columbia*

Accounts Audited of Revolutionary Claims against South Carolina. A huge collection, rich in material on the Revolutionary service of ex-Regulators.

Acts of Colonial South Carolina, 1760-1775.

"An Act for disposing of certain Estates, and banishing certain persons therein mentioned," 1782.

Association for Defense signed by inhabitants east of the Wateree, 1775.

County Wills of South Carolina. Works Progress Administration transcripts containing many wills of ex-Regulators who lived beyond the Revolution.

Loose Papers, Pre-1800. A varied collection of documents, some of which refer to ex-Regulators.

came one of the leading Whigs of Saxe Gotha], Robert and Rudolph Buzard, Alexander Daley, Christopher Smith, and Elisha Teiger).

37. In his earlier work, *The History of the Revolution of South-Carolina, from a British Province to an Independent State* (Trenton, N.J., 1785), I, 63-64, Ramsay was under the impression that the Regulators became Tories. In his general history of South Carolina published in 1809, Ramsay gave a more detailed and quite penetrating account of the Regulation and concluded, correctly, that the Regulators on the whole became Whigs, while their opponents, the Coffellites, became Tories. *History of S.C.*, I, 210-215. It is the opinion of Elmer Douglas Johnson, student of South Carolina historiography, that the latter work was Ramsay's most valuable historical contribution. Johnson, "A History of South Carolina History to 1789" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1951), pp. 110-112.

38. Ramsay, *History of S.C.*, I, 210-215; Barnwell, "Loyalism in S.C.," p. 137. On the Tory military service of Musgrove and Coffell see notes 24 and 28, Chapter VI.

39. The twenty-eight officers were John and Samuel Boykin, Thomas Charlton, John Cook, William Deason, Jacob Frazer, Jacob Fulmore, Bartholomew Gartman, John Gray, George Hicks, Joseph and William Kirkland, Alexander McIntosh, John Marshall, James Mayson, David Moore, Morris Murphy, Sr., John Owens (probable), Thomas Parrot, Barnaby Pope, William Simmons, Matthew Singleton, Thomas Trapp, William Welsh, Henry Wimpey, William Wofford, and John and Thomas Woodward. The names of the nineteen who served in the ranks were Andrew Baskin, Thomas Frankland, William Frazer, David Gibson, Benjamin Gigary, William Hill (probable), James Holley, John Kimbol; David, Edward, Jr., and William McGraw; James Marlow (probable), Thomas Marshall, Edward Narramore, James Nelson, William Nettles, David Robinson, John Roden, and James Russell (probable).

40. Gaillard was an unsteady Whig, and at this distance his final Revolutionary status cannot be determined. See the sketch of him in note 30, Chapter IV.

41. Those who furnished Whig supplies were Andrew Baskin, Samuel Boykin, John Cook, Joshua Dinkins, Joshua English (a Tory who had friendly relations with the Whigs; see the sketch of him in note 46, Chapter VII), Daniel Gardner (probable), Gideon Gibson, George Hicks, Henry Hunter, Francis Kirkland, Alexander McIntosh, John Marshall, Moses Matthews, James Mayson, Edward Narramore, John Owens, Thomas Parrot, Claudius Pegues, Philip Pledger, Barnaby Pope, Evan Pugh, Peter Rapesome, John Scott, Matthew Singleton, Wood Tucker, Matthias Wecker, and William Welsh.

42. The six who served in the ranks were William Frazer, David Gibson, David, Edward, Jr., and William McGraw; and James Russell (probable). The four probable Whigs were Russell, William Hill, James Jones, and Peter Rapesome.

43. The foregoing sketch of James Andrews, Sr., is based on the following sources: Bound Plats, V, 311, VII, 437; S.C. County Records, A-319,

pp. 1, 9; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families in 1790: S.C.*, p. 19; Fairfield County Wills, I, Book 2, pp. 3-4, in County Wills of S.C. Andrews and his sons were pardoned for Regulator activity in 1771 (Appendix C).

44. The foregoing sketch of Andrew Baskin is based on the following sources: Raymond Martin Bell, *The Baskins-Baskin Family: Pennsylvania-Virginia-South Carolina*, and supplement (mimeographed, Washington, Pa., 1957-1958), pp. 29-30; Lyman Chalkley, ed., *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia: Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Va., 1912), I, 55; Bound Plats, VII, 188; Cook, *Map of S.C.*; S.C. County Records, A-456, A-457, A-459, A-462; Accounts Audited of Revolutionary Claims; Salley and Wates, *Stub Entries to Indents*, L-N, p. 5, Y-Z, p. 211; Salley, *Journal of Convention of S.C.*, 1788, p. 45. Baskin was one of those pardoned for Regulator activity in 1771 (Appendix C). Information on the state debt held by Baskin was given to me by Mr. William McDowell, Archivist, S.C. Archives Dept.

45. The foregoing sketch of Moses Kirkland is based on the following sources: Meriwether, pp. 136-137; Cooper and McCord, *Statutes of S.C.*, IX, 210-211; SCG, Oct. 18, 1770, May 31, 1773, Jan. 23, 1775; Andrews, *Almanac for 1774*; S.C. Treasury Journal C; Bound Plats, V, 417, VI, 307, VII, 263, 323, VIII, 508, IX, 79, XI, 324, XVII, 494-495, 498; SCCJ, Aug. 14, Oct. 10, 19, 1770; McCrady, *S.C. in the Revolution, 1775-80*, pp. 14, 37-38; Barnwell, "Loyalism in S.C.," pp. 102-105, 116-117, 265-266, 404; Sabine, I, 603-604; Audit Office Transcripts, LVII, 319-334, 336-350; Kirkland to Clinton, Oct. 13, 1778, and to "His Majesty's Commissioners," Oct. 21, 1778, in Clinton Papers (MSS, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor); Green, *Richland County*, p. 89. See the index for the numerous mentions of Moses Kirkland in this study.

46. The foregoing sketch of Thomas Woodward is based on the following sources: Leonardo Andrea, "Woodward" (MS in possession of Mr. Andrea, Columbia, S.C.); Bound Plats, VI, 390, VII, 281, 304, XIII, 64, XVIII, 233-234, XX, 496, 501-502; Hemphill and Wates, *Journals of Provincial Congresses*, pp. 6-7, 22-24; William Tennent, "Fragment of a Journal kept by the Rev. William Tennent, describing his journey in 1775, to upper South Carolina . . ." *City of Charleston, So. Ca., Year Book-1894*, p. 296ff; McCrady, *S.C. in the Revolution, 1775-80*, p. 42; "Journal of the Second Council of Safety, appointed by the Provisional Congress, November, 1775," South Carolina Historical Society, *Collections*, III (1859), 234; Accounts Audited of Revolutionary Claims, AA-5065-B; SC&AGG, Apr. 17, 1776; George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C., 1870-1883), I, 444-449; Hooker, pp. 90-92. See index for the frequent mentions of Woodward in this study.

47. Tombstones of James and Henrietta Mayson, Ninety Six, S.C.; John H. Logan's MS, Joseph Habersham Chapter, D.A.R., *Historical Collections*, III, 32; SCG, Nov. 15, 1760, Apr. 3, 1762, Aug. 25, 1764, Oct. 19, 1767, Dec. 17, 1772, May 31, 1773, Jan. 17, Dec. 12, 1774; Andrews, *Almanac for 1774*; Circuit Court Act of 1769 (Appendix B); Bound Plats, VII, 482, IX, 188, XI, 78, XVIII, 47-48; Abbeville County Wills, Book I, pp. 261-264, in County Wills of S.C.; Hemphill and Wates, *Journals of Provincial Congresses of*