## WDATA.009 INFORMATION REGARDING THE REGULATOR MOVEMENT IN SOUTH CAROLINA BETWEEN 1766-1769

Entered in June of 1989 by Robert R. Hill Sr. of Brandon, Florida.

Source of Information: "Book entitled "The South Carolina Regulators," by Richard Maxwell Brown. Said book located at Library on campus of University of South Florida in Tampa, Florida.

## Discussion:

What was the Regulator movement? Simply stated, it was a group of leading citizens, who lived in the "Back Country" (interior part) in the Province of South Carolina, that decided to join together to stop a very serious wave of crime that was sweeping over the lands.

These citizens, due to lack of law enforcement by the legal government, took matters into their own hands, organized themselves and proceeded to "clear out" the robbers by means of severe punishment. They became known as "Regulators."

The Governor and the Assembly did grant them the legal power as "Rangers" for a 3 month period of time and then were supposed to disperse, but the Regulators felt they had not finished and refused, which did not set well with the Charleston Officials.

It is important for anyone that is not familiar with South Carolina History, to understand that during this time, the government was operating out of Charleston. Most commercial and legal activities took place along the coastal areas of the province, despite the fact that settlers were well established all in the interior, known as the "Back Country."

Justice of Peaces were appointed by the Royal Governor in Charleston and distributed throughout the province, but their authority was petty. They were able to levy fines of up to 20 pounds in civil matters but had no authority over criminal cases. Therefore, all criminal cases had to be brought to trial in Charleston. To the back country settlers, this presented enormous problems.

Roads were in very bad shape and very few existed. From the area of today's Fairfield County, the Little River and Broad River area, it took a week for one to travel to Charleston

and another 2 weeks by wagon. Water travel was bad due to the shallow depth of most rivers and also rocks and other hazardous items offered great danger to a traveler on the rivers.

Because of this, no one wanted to go to the trouble of going to Charleston unless is was very urgent. While such trips

were made, it was very seldom and only when absolutely necessary. Instead, the settlers wanted the courts to be established in their communities with "law officers" to enforce the laws. Despite their efforts, the government failed to offer much help. So the stage was set for the citizens to take matters into their own hands, and this they finally did.

## THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE

In the summer of 1766, a wave of crime and riots broke out over the back country of South Carolina Province. A merchant by the name of JOHN (READY MONEY) SCOTT was the first to feel the wrath of the outlaws. Scott was a Justice of Peace and his home was at Stevens Creek, on the Savannah River.

Four outlaws, George Burns, Thomas Gray, Jeremiah Folson and Nathaniel Foster struck Scott's place on the night of July 29th, 1766. They crossed over from Georgia, across the Savannah River.

While Foster stood guard outside in the yard, Gray went inside and feigned friendliness to Scott and his wife. Folson and Burns grabbed the wife and threw "snuff" in her eyes.

When Scott came to her aid, Folson struck him with a stick, dragged him in and bound him. Gray pretended fright and rushed outside screaming "murder." Folson took a hot iron and burned Scott until he told them the location of his money. They took all and went back into Georgia and divided the money. Some accounts stated that the loot was as high as 320 pounds.

In the area of Camden, in the latter part of 1766, Thomas Moon and the Black Brothers (Govey & George Black) were a scourge to the area.

One day just after Christmas, Charles Shinner, Provincial Chief Justice, was unable to raise the militia against them, so cowered were the people. Shinner then asked his friend Charles Woodmason to accompany him on a circuitous route back to Charleston, but Shinner was dissuaded when it was learned that the Black Brothers and 11 other men were waiting to ambush him. Shinner swore one day he would pass sentence on them.

Around the Broad River District, (in today' Fairfield County), horse thieves had long plagued the area and on May 6th 1767, a pitched battle was fought near the river, resulting in the recovery of 10 horses, 13 saddles and firearms. But the thieves continued to roam and loot.

In June of 1767, Governor William Tryon, of North Carolina, was in the lead of a caravan to the Cherokee Boundary and

encountered them and lost some of his animals.

A series of brutal robberies took place in the summer of 1767, led by the Black Brothers, Thomas and James Moon, Tyrrel Brothers (James & Timothy). They cut a path of destruction through Dutch Fork and Saxe Goths.

On June 16th, 1767, they came to a plantation owned by Captain Robert Buzzard, located on Cannon's Creek. Buzzard demanded their passes, whereon a pistol was drawn on him and he was shot through the chest and shoulder. They speed away but returned a few days later and robbed him of all his horses, household furniture and other possessions. They then proceeded to the house of one Wilson, burned him in a shocking manner with wood and hot irons and took all valuable possessions.

Twelve days later (June 24th 1767) Charles Kitchen of Broad River was robbed and sadistically burned and one of his eyes was gouged out.

On July 11th, 1767 in the Camden area and Fredericksburg Township, the robbers struck severely and the people were

treated extremely rough. John Pane, a blacksmith, was robbed as was Joshua English. Hugh Brennan noticed their approach, hid his goods and baffled the thieves.

The night of terror ended when the gang left and on Lynches Creek Road, some 6 miles away, waylaid on Davis, who was tied, tortured and burned until he told them of the location of his money. They then burned his house down.

The Ridge Community, lying above the headwaters of the Edisto Forks, was full of rich plantations and it was here that a series of bitter engagements took place between the citizens and the outlaws.

On July 26th, 1767, James Tyrrel, John Anderson, James & Silvester Stokes and a "Cornelius" pounced on the house of James Miller, located on Turkey Creek. They stole all of his clothes, 45 pounds in cash and a pack of deerskins. The next day they attacked Michael Watson, a member of a Clouds Creek Family, ransacked his house, took all and then burned his crops of wheat and corn.

Next the outlaws headed for the house of Watson's father, but the old man was lucky and escaped. About 10 miles down the road, Tyrrel and his men, met Conrad Alder and his family, who were driving a wagon to their house on the Long Canes. They robbed him of his watch, 140 pounds in cash and took his wife's silver buckles out of her shoes and they vowed vengeance against every person that opposed them.

William Watson, Michael Watson, the father and two others,

gave chase for 30 miles until they came to the house of Robert Ford, a man reputed to be in league with the outlaws.

At this point they had caught Tyrrel and Anderson and took them up to Ford's house, from which some of the gang called out, "War or Peace?" William Watson called out "peace" and instantly a murderous fire erupted from the house, killing the elder Watson, one of his sons and another man. The other Watson boy fell wounded but soon recovered himself, drew his knife and ripped two of the outlaws open. But the outlaws escaped.

Captain Gilbert Hays, having heard of the depredations, ordered a party of militia, under the command of Lt. Sinkfield, to give chase.

Near Ford's house, they encountered James Tyrrel, and one of his comrades, John Anderson. Sinkfield called out for Tyrrel to surrender and the outlaw defiantly shouted out "Fire and be damned." The militia men did just that and "bought down one of the most barbarous wretches among the whole crew."

A little further, Sinkfield's party "met Ford's boy with sugar, which he said was to dress some of the robbers wounds." Night fall approached and Sinkfield, having only 8 men, decided to turn back. This is a good example of the fact that pursuit and punishment of criminals in the back country of South Carolina was next to impossible.

The Regulator Judicial procedures of the Province were no help. South Carolina for example, had no vagrancy laws, being the only province to be without one. Thus there existed a favorable climate for outlaws to come into South Carolina. At the March 1767 term of the Court of General Sessions in Charleston, there were only 6 convictions. Five of those were pardoned. Ephiram Jones, Solomon Rivers, John Ryan, Anthony Distoe and James Kay were all sentenced to hang for robbing houses and stealing horses BUT were forgiven by Governor Montagu.

Only one sentence was carried out. John Tilley, convicted of petty larceny, was whipped. The remarkable act by the Governor, who had been in office less than a year, was beginning his "Acts of Clemency." Naturally this did not at all set well with the citizens of the back country.

As a result, respectable back countrymen "Rose in Body" and assaulted the villains, burning their cabins and crops, taking away their horses and goods. Echoes of the uprising reached Charleston and one editor of a newspaper stated "The most vigorous measures are pursuing to clear the country of the whole gang."

The outraged citizens stormed over the back country with

torches and whips and burned down their (outlaw's) houses as well as houses of those that were even suspected to be in sympathy with them. Merchants suspected to have any dealings with them, were rounded up, tied to trees and merciless whipped. Governor Montagu took note of the illegality of these campaigns and on October 6th, 1767 issued a proclamation, ordering those guilty of "Committing Riots and Disturbances" to disperse. IT WAS IGNORED.

The outlaws begin to retaliate by burning houses likewise. On the night of October 8th, 1767, James Mayson, a Justice of Peace, of District Ninety-Six, and who was also active against the outlaws, was abducted from his home. He was dragged and insulted "all the way" for about 80 miles distance and was then released.

Hereto, the vigilantes had operated loosely and without plan, under the general appellation of "the mob." The counter attack by the outlaws concerned the citizens and caused them "to consider of same order in their proceeding." They chose a thousand men, to execute the laws against "all villains and hoabourers (sic) of villains." They assumed the title of "REGULATORS."

Cognizant of the unauthorized nature of their activities, the Regulators took oaths and signed papers to support one and another, what ever the consequences. The metamorphoses of the movement must have occurred around the middle of October 1767. In his proclamation of October 6th, Governor Montagu did not use the word "Regulator" and on the same day, a back country opponent of the Regulators referred to them as "The Mob."

As late as October 19th 1767, the South Carolina Gazette (in Charleston) did not use the word "Regulator" but referred to them as "The peaceable inhabitants, in a kind of desperation, have formed associations, to expel the villains in a summary way." By November 5th 1767, the term "Regulator" was in use throughout S.C.

The Regulator movement in North Carolina had occurred as early as 1765, but did not mature until 3 years later and apparently copied from the South Carolina movements.

Although participants in the two movements sympathized with each other, there is no evidence of cooperation between them. North Carolina Regulators possessed courts and sheriffs, but wished to reform and regulate them, while S.C. problems of their Regulators was due to LACK of the courts and sheriffs. In the last 3 months of 1767, the South Carolina Regulators had much to do.

One Sunday, while Charles Woodmason preached in Camden,

thieves robbed a house in the village. After the services,

the enraged church gores took chase for 15 miles, up Twenty-Five Creek, where they opened fired on the outlaws. Only one man was wounded and was carried off by his cohorts, but several horses and much property was recovered.

Respectable small planters and leading men joined the new (Regulator) movement. The Regulators plied whips and burned houses everywhere in the back country, but there were centers where the movement was especially strong.

One was the PeeDee District. It was a rich pasture area, long vexed by the outlaws. Gideon Gibson, a hot tempered planter of Marrs Bluff, took the lead there, along with Moses Murphy Sr., of a prominent family and Claudius Pegues, a widely respected planter of the Cheraws.

Dutch Fork, The Congarees, Camden all suffered greatly and they too produced a fair share of "Regulators." Moses Kirkland, a back country magnate, who operated 2 mills and a ferry on the lower Saluda River, was a tireless leader,

Between the Broad and Catawba Rivers, the Regulators were activated by three (3) leading citizens, THOMAS WOODWARD, Barnaby Pope (see notes at end of document) and Edward McGraw Sr.

Thomas Woodward was a large man of commanding presence, to whom people always turned in time of stress. Henry Hunter, Benjamin Hart and Rev. Charles Woodmason were the leaders around Camden.

IN the vast expanse from the Broad River to the Savannah River, Ninety-Six (village) was the focus of the Regulator activity. James Mayson, a militia Major and magistrate and always a leader against crime, became an early Regulator leader.

To the North, in the section drained by the Tyger and Enoree Rivers, lived William Wofford, a member of a prominent family and Justice of Peace, as was Robert Cunningham, a popular militia officer of Sandy River in present Newberry County. The movement had been rampant for weeks when on November 5th 1767, Governor Montagu sent a message to the Assembly, asking for legislation to "suppress those Licentious Spirits, The Regulators." The Assembly responded by asking for more information.

The Assembly's desire for enlightenment was met the very next day. On November 7th, 1767, from an unexpected quarter. Four Regulator leaders, Benjamin Hart, John Scott, Moses Kirkland and THOMAS WOODWARD submitted a surging, sharply worded remonstrance containing the essential grievances of the Regulators, written for them by their friend and sympathizer,

Rev. Charles Woodmason.

According to Woodmason, 4,000 Back Countrymen had signed the document and had intended to march on Charleston with it..

Lt. Governor Bull had heard of the plan and appealed to Woodmason, asking that the remonstrance might be delivered by deputies "in a constitutional way." The document was then presented by Hart, Scott, Kirkland and WOODWARD.

For years, back countrymen had expressed certain grievances to the Assembly. These were recapitulated and underscored in the remonstrance, but 23 request, addressed to the Assembly, comprised the heart of the document.

The crucial request was for establishment of Circuit Courts or County Courts in the back country. Scarcely less important was the plea for "Coercive laws framed for the punishment of idleness and vice and for the lessening the number of vagrant and indolent persons, who now pray on the "Industrious."

Several of the requests related to legal matters: reform of procedures, codification and printing of the Provincial Laws, Regulation of officials' fees and reduction of the lengths and expense of law suits.

Other request were for the constructions of jails, courthouses and work houses and the amendment of the Provincial Poor Laws. Division of the Back Country into

Parishes was asked for, so that the settlers might gain Representation in the Assembly. The Provision of ministers for vacant parishes was sought and also stricter Regulation of taverns and public houses was sought.

The Remonstrance was a moving and dramatic plea for the redress of Back Country grievances. The hard lot of the exasperated Regulators received graphic expression, however, the document was distorted by the special concerns and prejudices of it's author, Charles Woodmason.

The 12th, 13th and 14th request dealt with the maintenance and prerogatives of the Anglicans clergy-matters of little movement to most of the Regulators. What was worse, the Remonstrance was the height of tactlessness.

The Assembly was frequently insulted. The 16th and 18th request contained sharp attacks on the lawyers that must have deeply offended the members of the bar, who served in the house. Pointing out high attorney's fees and concentration of the bar in Charleston, Woodmason charged that South Carolina was "harder rode at present by lawyers, than Spain or Italy by priests."

The 18th request included the plea that lawyers be forbidden

to serve as "Justice of Peace or as Assemblymen." Woodmason reserved his choicest sarcasm for the last request. IN May of 1766, the Assembly had shown gratitude for William Pitts labors against the same act, appropriating 1000 pounds for the erections of his statue in Charleston.

Woodmason concluded the Remonstrance with the parting shot that distribution of Bibles, Prayer Books and devotional tracts among the poor by the Assembly would "be of far grater utility to the Province, than the statue of Mr. Pitt." The request for a public expenditure for bibles was quite in order BUT Woodmason nullified its effect by his stinging reference to the Pitt memorial.

The fact that Woodmason composed the Remonstrance did not enhance its reception in the Assembly, since he had fallen into disfavor for having supported the "Stamp Act." Woodmason

did not sign the Remonstrance but most members of the Assembly probably recognized his authorship, as he was well known in Charleston and the Low Country.

Woodmason, whose poetry had appeared in the "Gentlemen's Magazine" of London, was S.C.'s brightest literary light and the remonstrance was a characteristic product of his pen. The Assembly took offense and tabled it the same day it was received.

Three days later, Hart, Scott, WOODWARD and Kirkland apologized for the invective, assuring the Assembly that any offensive words in the remonstrance, "must have been inserted through inadvertence not designed." The apology appeased the anger and the Assembly turned at once to redress the Regulators grievances.

The Assembly began work on a Circuit Court Act on November 11, 1767. It was signed into law on April 12, 1768 and sent to England for Royal approval.

The most pressing necessity however was to suppress the outlaw gangs. The efforts of the Regulators received whole hearted cooperation of the Assembly and the Governor.

On November 5, 1767, Governor Montagu asked the Assembly to assess the "unhappy situation of the settlers." Two weeks later the Assembly complied and asked the Governor to act as quickly as possible and establish two companies of Ranger to ride against the outlaws.

The Governor (Montagu) did so in Late November or early December of 17167. This was done by the forming of two companies of Rangers, who's purpose was to ride against the gangs. Each consisted of a Captain, a Lieutenant and 25 Privates. The Captains were paid 25 pounds per month, the Lieutenants 18 and the Privates were paid 15 pounds "to

assist the Justices and other Peace Officers in bringing law and order to the Back Country."

The Ranger method was well understood in the Back Country as it was used in the Indian Wars and was a traditional means of Frontier defense. It was preferred to rather than service in the militia, because the Rangers were mounted and pay was higher.

Two Companies, now legalized, were Captained by Joseph Kirkland and Henry Hunter, both were Regulators. THOMAS WOODWARD, signer of the Remonstrance of November 1767, became a Lieutenant, a sign that Charleston authorities bore him no ill will for his role. In effect 54 of the hardiest Regulators were deputized by the Province to make war on the outlaws.

The Moravians of Bethabara, N.C. recognized this. When the Rangers passed through N.C. in search of outlaws, they were referred to simply as "Regulators,"

The Regulator-Ranger rendezvoused at Swift Creek near Wateree River, about 15 miles south of Camden. Captains Kirkland and Hunter drew up their companies before the pulpit of Charles Woodmason, who gave the mission his blessing and harangued the men with a sermon composed specially for the occasion.

"I know that many among you have personally been injured by the Rogues. Some in their wives-others in their sisters or daughters-by loss of horses, cattle, goods and effects."

After dilating at length on the ravages of the outlaws, the cleric warned the Rangers not to exceed their authority in dealing with the bandits and not to harm innocent parties in their pursuit.

Woodmason concluded with a salute to the "known virtue, experience and honor" of the officers, Kirkland, Hunter and WOODWARD. Then they proceeded to spread out and move the outlaws out of the Province.

The Regulators did not restrict their activities into just S.C. but chased them into N.C. and Virginia. A band of outlaws was hounded all across N.C. until caught in the Hollow, a locale near present Mount Airy, North Carolina. There the summarily hung 16 fugitives, including the noted outlaw Govey Black. A few more criminals were killed in skirmishes.

The S.C. Regulators ranged northward, all the way into Augusta and Loudoun Counties in Virginia, where they retrieved Negroes and horses stolen in S.C. According to Woodmason, the Regulators recovered more than 100 stolen

horses, rescued 35 young girls, whom they returned to their families. In over 2 months of hard riding, not one Regulator-Ranger was killed.

THOMAS WOODWARD, was a large, strong and determined man and on one occasion he led 5 Regulator-Rangers on a grueling chase that was probably typical of the whole campaign., but much more daring and persistent.

Having taken to saddle in late December 1767 or early January 1768, WOODWARD and his men reached Bethabara N.C. on January 17, 1768, where they tarried briefly. Then they took part in the siege of the outlaws in the Hollow and crossed the border into Virginia, where, on the New River near Chiswell's Mines in Augusta County, they took custody of 4 Negroes stolen in South Carolina.

By January 29, 1768, WOODWARD and his party passed through Bethabara N.C. on their return trip home. A month later (February 29, 1768) after riding hundreds of miles through 3 Provinces (S.C., N.C., Va.), they arrived in Charleston with the Negroes and two horse thieves, Ebenezer Wells and Absalom Tilley.

Similar in kind were the adventures of Captain Joseph Kirkland, while in late January 1768, brought 3 notorious outlaws-Noel Williams and 2 men named Seymours, to the jail at Wilmington, N.C. to await trial.

Although the Regulator-Rangers killed or executed many outlaws in the field, the large number of convictions in April 1768 term of the South Carolina Court of General Sessions reflected the harvest of the Ranger-Regulator Campaign.

Edward Wells was hung for taking part in the vicious robbery of Dennis Hayes. Hezekiah Tyrrel was sentenced to hang for burning the corn and house of Nicholas Watson but was later pardoned. William Molley, James Johnson, John Harvey and Benjamin Hutto were burned in the hands for horse stealing. George Heywood, William Hoddy and Thomas Avery were convicted of Petit Larceny-Heyward was sentenced to be burned in the hands and Hoddy and Avery were sentenced to be whipped.

The January 1768 session dealt harshly with the Back Country outlaws. George Burns and Thomas Gray were hung for robbing and torturing John (Redy Money) Scott. James Spikes and James

Ashworth were burned in the hands, Spikes for horse stealing and Ashworth for breaking jail. Some outlaws captured by the Regulators-Rangers were no doubt tried in N.C. and Virginia, as in the case of the two Seymours and Noel Williams, whom Joseph Kirkland took to Wilmington, N.C.

Criminal Regulation was a great success. By March of 1768,

when the campaign ended, the Regulators had broken the back of the criminal problem. Governor Tryon, of N.C., complained that the Regulators had drove the outlaws from S.C. into N.C. and that crime was increasing in his own Province (NC.).

The Regulators shifted their attention to the problem of the lower people-about whom they were equally concerned. They turned from destruction of harden criminals to the correction of the marginal element of the Back Country. Those who failed to measure up to respectable standard of morality and industry were next to be punished.

The problem was a vexing one. The Regulator Remonstrance of 1767 contained bitter references to the "Rogues and other idle, worthless, vagrant people" who overran their gardens and orchards and who subsisted "on the stocks and labours of the Industrious Planter."

In the eyes of respectable hard working men of the Back Country, labor shortages were related to the presence of a large number of idle and unproductive lower (class) people.

"The country swarms with vagrants-idlers-gamblers and the outcast of Virginia and North Carolina" said Woodmason, but concluded, "If you want to hire a fellow to work, you'll not raise one for money." Complaints also came from N.C. where the Moravians in 1752 had objected to hunters who worked little and lived like Indians.

In 1748, Virginia had passed a vagrancy law which allowed vagabonds to be whipped, from constable to constable until they reached the locality where their families last lived. If the vagrant could find work, the County Court might bind him out for a year. Should he be of such bad reputation that no one would hire him, he was given 39 lashes and turned loose.

North Carolina law of 1755 was virtually the same as that of Virginia. South Carolina had no such laws.

Georgia's law of 1764 was specifically leveled at the kind of people the Regulators wished to discipline-persons "having no property or visible way of living "except taking from hard working peoples."

South Carolina was the only Southern Colony that did not have a vagrancy law. While the Regulators awaited action by the Assembly, they instituted a system of discipline for the lower people modeled on the precedents available elsewhere. The Plan of the Regulation of June 1768 made clear their method of correcting the lower people.

It was designed to purge, by measures of their own, the country of all idle persons, all that have not a visible way of getting an honest living, all that are suspected or known to be guilty of mal-practices.

They, every day, excepting Sundays, employed in the Regulation work as they term it. They brought many offenders under the whip, scourging and banishing the brasher sort of people, such as above with unwearied diligence.

Flogging was supplemented by a work scheme. If it was thought that a person was reclaimable, they were a little tender with. They were worked very hard, given so many acres of land to work in so many days. If they accomplished their goal, they were left alone and treated well. This encouraged one to realize that as long as he produced labors of work and honesty, all would be well, but on the pain of flagellation, were discouraged to prey on their neighbors.

This course, they said, they were determined to pursue, with every other effectual measures that will answer their purposes; and that they would defend themselves in it to the last extremity.

The plan was adopted in June of 1768 at the Congarees, where a "Congress" of Regulators drew hordes of people from all over the Back Country. The Regulators did not balk at the

supervision of morals and family life either. Immoral women were "Ducked and exposed." The South Carolina Gazette reported on June 13, 1768, that "one Watts and one Distoe" had each been given 500 lashes "and that an infamous woman" had "also received corporal punishment."

The Regulators also interfered in family life when necessary. Bennett Dozier, a slothful individual and poor provider, had been slighting the welfare of his wife and children. At length Mrs. Dozier went to Samuel Boykin, a rising young planter and "most energetic "Regulator, and begged for help. Boykin and two others, went to Dozier's house, stripped the sluggard, tied him to a tree and administered "39 lashes well laid on." There after Dozier "did his work and lead a better life, harboring no malice against Boykin, for what was done."

Since the Regulators were assuming the powers of government, they resolved "to prevent the service of any writ or warrant from Charleston." They felt the magnitude and immediacy of social crisis left no time for recourse or to the compels process of the Provincial judiciary.

They distinguished, of course, between courts which might subsequently be established in the Back Country, and those in distant Charleston, denying "The jurisdiction of courts holding in Charleston over those parts of the Province that ought to be right out of it." If the Regulator movement was to proceed freely and without interference, then it was necessary to erect a barrier between the Back Country and Charleston.

By nullifying the authority of the Provincial Justice system, the Regulators established themselves as the supreme rulers of the Back Country, they sealed off their domain from the Low Country.

One significant exception to the prohibition of legal process was that they did permit the Provost Marshall "to serve all writs of debt." Bad debts and absconding debtors were a major problem in ALL Southern Back Country (parts) of N.C., S.C., Va., and Ga.

The Regulators became uneasy early in 1768 when victims of their "harsh treatment" instituted law suits in Charleston (Provincial Courts). When some of the Regulators were convicted and fined, this "gave great alarm" to others, since all had been "present and aiding" when the victims had been flogged.

Faced with this new threat, the Regulators took to heart in their numbers and pledged themselves "to oppose the officers" who might serve process against them. Meanwhile Lt. Governor Bull pointed out on April 19, 1768, that many Regulators were men of scant means who would be injured by fines, resulting from the law suits. They had been lead astray, said Bull, and it would be wiser to proceed against the ringleaders.

Convinced by Bull's argument, the Council, and the Governor ordered the Attorney General to prosecute no more than 8 Regulator Leaders and dropped proceedings against the rest.

It is doubtful whether the Regulators would have overlooked the prosecution of even so few as 8 of their leaders. In one case, a Provincial Judge undermined the moderate policy by issuing warrants against many more.

The Regulators retaliated, as they had said they would, by forcibly resisting the serving process in the Back Country. In the summer of 1768, this led to a collision with Charleston Authorities.

Late in June the Regulators captured John Wood, a deputy of Provincial Marshall Roger Pinckney. Wood had violated the Regulator interdiction of legal processes by carrying a dozen of them into the Back Country.

One of the writs called for the arrest of 3 Regulator leaders, Moses Kirkland, Edward McGran and Henry Hunter, at the suit of Gilbert Hay, a Back Country Magistrate, much disliked by the Regulators.

Wood had served several process when on June 27th, he fell into the clutches of five Regulators, armed with guns, cutlasses and pistols, they grabbed him by the throat and jerked him off the horse. They bound him tightly, put him on

a horse, tied his feet in the under side of the animal and pummeled and insulted him all the way to the house of Frazer, a Regulator leader, who lived near Broad River. Wood was kept chained to a post for 5 days at Frazer's house.

On the night of July 2, he was moved to the house of Barnaby Pope, on Little River, a tributary of Broad River. There Wood was "grossly insulted." Pope swore that he would make Wood "eat the processes and take care he should be well flogged." Next Wood was taken a few miles to the house of THOMAS WOODWARD.

Finally, while being taken back to Barnaby Pope's to be tried, Wood stopped his horse under pretense of letting the horse drink. Suddenly he broke loose and escaped into the woods. Wood swam his horse across both the Broad and Saluda Rivers and made haste to Charleston, reaching there Friday night of July 8th 1768.

The ordeal Wood suffered took place in a "Regulator hotbed"the Little River-Cedar Creek section of the Broad River Valley in present FAIRFIELD COUNTY.

The next incident of "process stopping" occurred a 100 miles east, in the Marrs Bluff section of the Peedee. It grew out of an incident involving Lt. Joseph Holland of the Peedee Militia. Holland had been taken into custody by a band of Regulators headed by Gideon Gibson. As a result, Gibson soon ran afoul of an anti-Regulator Justice of the Peace named Robert Weaver, a Marrs Bluff merchant and magistrate.

Weaver had incurred the detestation of the Regulators by declaring his disapprobation of their activities, and as magistrate, had compounded that offense by issuing a warrant for the restraint of property belonging to some of the Peedee Regulators.

Robert Weaver moved swiftly when confronted by the forced detention of Holland. He issued a warrant ordering the Regulator to release Holland and entrusted its execution to a constable, George Thompson. Thompson was a militia Captain, as well as a constable and he summoned a small party of militiamen to his assistance, among them William White, his father James Taylor White: and his brother Reuben White.

On Monday July 25th, 1768, Captain Thompson and the militiamen, 14 in all, marched to Marrs Bluff, where Holland was sequestered. Outside the house, they met Gideon Gibson and his Regulators, drawn up in two lines. As Thompson and four others strode between the two lines, a melee broke out. Gideon Gibson shouted "Shot down Billy White, for I have got Reuben and if you kill Billy, we will manage the rest easy enough."

William White drew his cutlass and prepared to fight but was quickly knocked down. His father helped him to his feet and they tried to escape but the Regulators wounded William, who fainted.

When he came to, he was surrounded by Regulators, standing over him. "Shot him through the head," cried one. The rejoiner, "No. damn him! He can't live long. Let him feel himself die!" This saved White. He was then carried into the house and dumped on the floor where he lay "weltering in his own blood." Outside Regulators administered 50 lashes to each of the militiamen.

This outrage against law and order at Marrs Bluff caused a sensation in the Province, but the worst was still to come. Three weeks later, the Peedee Regulators defied no less a personage than the Provost Marshall of the Province.

Charleston authorities realized they could not allow the abuse of Captain Thompson, the White and others go unpunished. The seriousness impelled Provost Marshall, Roger Pinckney, to go to Marrs Bluff to arrest Gideon Gibson. He was accompanied by George Gabriel Powell, a leading planter and politicians of South Carolina.

Powell lived near Georgetown and was a prominent member of the Assembly and a Colonel of the Peedee Militia. They with 25 men arrived at Marrs Bluff on August 10th 1768 and established headquarters at the house of Robert Weaver.

Fifteen (15) men from Weaver's Company were waiting for them and the next day, 25 more men from Captain Thompson's Company swelled their number to sixty (60). It was a puny band as they soon learned that Gibson was guarded by "a large body" of Regulators and could raise 300 more in an hours time. It was prudent to ask for reinforcements from companies of Lt. Clary and Michael.

Meanwhile, Pinckney got word that Gibson was willing to surrender. Powell and Pinckney were apprehensive as they were deep in Regulator country. They agreed that Powell should invite Gibson to a private interview in the woods where the two might calmly discuss matters. Gibson accepted and talked with Powell for about an hour and half on Sunday, August 14th, 1768.

It went well and Powell was impressed with the sincerity of Gibson, who promised to give himself up at 8 am the next morning. But Powell was "egregiously mistaken" in his opinion of Gibson, who did not appear at the appointed time. Instead he sent a letter saying he had changed his mind and would not surrender.

About and hour and a half later (ca. 10am) Claudius Pegues

came to Marrs Bluff and assured Powell that he "would render all services in his power." Powell and Pinckney were cheered by the offer of help. Pegues came from the Cheraws, 35 miles north of Marrs Bluff. He was a magistrate and a man of high standing through all of the Peedee Region.

Powell and Pinckney and Pegues went to confer with five militia commanders, Pledger, Hicks, McIntosh, Clary and Michael-who had drawn their men up in formation about a half mile from Weaver's house. To their surprise, Powell and Pinckney were confronted by 300 militiamen rather than the expected one hundred.

It soon became clear that the militiamen were themselves ARDENT REGULATORS! Powell spoke to the officers telling them why he desired their assistance. Pinckney then explained his reason for his mission, read aloud Lt. Governor Bull's Proclamation against the Regulator violence but it did no good.

The militiamen then seized the opportunity to launch into a tirade about their grievances-the lack of Back Country courts and the "Exorbitant expense" of the law.

Powell and Pinckney struggled to regain control, holding out the lure of "Victuals" to the hungry militiamen, begged them to march to Weaver's house (where they hoped to enrage the leaders in single conversations). The militiamen railed bitterly at Weaver, but it being well into the afternoon and the desire to eat, they marched to Weaver's house.

While there, it became obvious that the good officers of Claudious Pegues was useless as he turned out to be an "active man among the Regulators, in fact, their candidate to represent ST DAVID PARISH in the next session of the Assembly. St David Parish was 2 new Back Country Parishes. It was located on the Peedee and St. Matthew, west of the Santee, created in 1768.

The meeting broke up and the mortified, half-frightened Powell and Pinckney were forced to travel back to Georgetown, without Gideon Gibson, their expedition being a complete failure.r

The Provincial Government, headed by Lt. Governor Bull, in the absence of Governor Montagu, who had sailed to Philadelphia in May, could not ignore the Regulator excesses. Bull issued two proclamation, the 1st on August 3, 1768, called for the suppression of the Regulators. The 2nd was dated August 6, 1768, offered pardons to all who should henceforth keep the peace.

The proclamation on August 3, took note of the illegal way in which the Regulators had "taken upon themselves to whip and

confine several persons," and had "daringly resisted the Execution of the King's Process.

THE END

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GENEALOGICAL NOTES RELATING TO BARNABY POPE AND THOMAS WOODWARD.

(This information was provided by Mrs. Jean Holly Day, Genealogist).

Barnaby Pope's mother was a daughter of Barnaby McKinney, of Isle of Wight County, Virginia. His 2nd wife was Mary Axum.

In Fairfax County, Virginia, Richard Simpson married a Hally

which later became known as Holly). Their son was James Hally and he married Elizabeth Simpson. They had a son named Benoni Holly.

Now meanwhile, William Robertson 5/, was the half brother of Thomas (Regulator) Woodward 2/. William Robertson 5/ was the son of John Robertson 4/, who had married a second time to MARY SIMPSON WOODWARD, the mother of the Regulator, thus John Robertson 4/ was the STEP FATHER to Thomas (Regulator) Woodward 2/.

William Robertson 5/ married Nancy Holly and their son was BENONI ROBERTSON 6/ of Fairfield County S.C.

END OF DATA.