

ly have involved the Abbettors, most of whom I am satisfied were actuated by honest Motives, incautiously drawn in to concur in Acts that have terminated in the Ruin and Destruction of their Families, while by illegal Means are intent upon exempting themselves from the within the Remedy of Laws of their Country.

“ THESE Calamities, I trust, are now removed by the *Timely* Proclamation I sent up to your my Secretary, and your own prudent determination to Petition me in Council for a Redress of Grievances complain’d of” — The discreet steady Behaviour of Col. Fanning, and the Officers and Men under his Command, met not only with the entire Approbation of myself, and Majesty’s Council, but will ever be acknowledged with gratitude by every well-wisher to the Province.

I TAKE this Opportunity to acquaint all whose understandings have been run away with and whose Passions have been led in Captivity by some evil designing Men, who, actuated by Covardice and a sense of that publick Justice which is due to their Crimes, have obscured themselves from publick View: That in Consideration of my Determination to abide by my Decision in Council; it is my Direction, by the unanimous Advice of that Board, that you do, from henceforward desist from any further Meetings, either by Vertue of Appointment or Advertisement. That all Trades of Regulators or Associates cease among

that the Sheriff and other Officers of the Government are permitted, without molestation, to execute the Duties of their respective Offices. And that all breaches of the Peace against his Majesty's Government, may be determined and examined in the course of Law.

"It is by your strict and punctual adherence to these Directions, that any farther Clemency, on My Part, may be looked for".

"This was the extent of what I authorized Mr. Edwards to declare on my behalf.—And now, that I have signified to you, the sense his Majesty's Council entertain of the nature of your Proceedings, and the Requisition I point out, by their Advice, for your future Conduct: I am to assure you, willing as I am to listen to the Voice of Distress, the just Complaints of his Majesty's Subjects, and the hardships they may groan under, that I shall give his Majesty's Attorney General orders to prosecute every Officer, who has been guilty of extortion or illegal Practices in his Office, upon any Application or Information, lodged with him by the Parties injured, or any other that shall be authorized to prosecute on their Behalf. As also that I gave a Proclamation on my arrival at Hillsborough, commanding all such dishonourable and illegal proceedings".

"You may further depend upon it, I shall at all Times, endeavour to redress every other Grievance in my Power, that his Majesty's Subjects may labour under".

“As you want to be satisfied what is the amount of the Tax for the publick Service for 1768, I am to inform you, it is Seven shillings a Tax, besides the County and Parish Taxes, the particulars of which I will give to Mr. Hunter”.

“I have only to add, I shall be up at Hillsborough the beginning of next Month. In the meantime I rest in full Confidence I shall again be made happy, by seeing industry prevailing over faction and Peace and Harmony triumphing over Jealousies and Murmurings, in a Soil and Climate most fertile in the World, and among a People who by a well directed industry, may draw down Blessings and Prosperity to their Families, and greatly contribute to the Honour of his Majesty's Government, and the Happiness of my Administration”.

WILLIAM TRYON.

At the Council Chamber,
Brunswick, 21 of June 1768.

MANY things in this Letter are worthy notice which may perhaps be the Business of a future Number, for the present the Office of Critick is left to Pheonix's Friend, who has great Opportunity given him of finishing the Scetched Picture of the excellent Letter-Writer.

To be CONTINUED Weekly on Friday.

A

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

(No. VII.)

AS it is certain that good sometimes comes out of evil, so is it true also that evil comes out of good. Self love is a good, and essential to the well-being of human Nature; but from this Principle springs evil; an instance whereof is this: Men from good views, pursue a certain course of Actions, whether public or private, it matters not; at a succeeding Period of Time their Conduct appears to have had an evil tendency; Reason would that such should repent, and turn a pride, grafted in self-love, slips in and clothes them with a disposition very pertinently named *obstinacy*. Hence ten thousand political, as well as religious errors, are maintained, and number the names of great and esteemed good Men on their side.

WE do not say that this was the Case altogether with the Regulators; tho' they cannot be cleared of the charge of self-willedness, and a degree of obstinacy. For it ever will be the case, where the People have a part in the Government, that when divisions arise, the Populace, being actuated by passion, are unduely attached to whatever they adopt.

G

adopt. This accounts for what we frequently observe, v'z. That *wise Men* are seldom violent in opposition. This was true in the instance before us; the wise men among the Regulators, had their influence exercised in moderating the People, and keeping them from violent out-breakings; was their influence always sufficient, as will be seen in the course of these Numbers.

THE method they made use of, for the purpose of moderation was, to keep the points of grievance always in view as much as possible. So that, upon receiving the Governour's Letter, inserted in the last No. they examined into and stated the causes of their jealousies and complaints—And in the examination they found—that the Extortions of the civil Officers, as already mentioned, were realities—that the situation they were in was confin'd to their County alone—that similar existed in every part of the Province, so far as they could learn—they found also, that there had been a certain Sum of Money emitted by the Government; which Sum was, by Act of Assembly, sink in a certain term, by a Tax upon the Inhabitants; and that, of this Tax there had been paid twenty or thirty Thousand Pounds over the value of the Emission—and that there still was afloat, in the Province, sixty Thousand Pounds,—that therefore there was an error, somewhere of eighty Thousand Pounds, at the least. Upon this they reason'd in the following Manner;—Either our Affairs have been deficient in burning the Monies return'd into the Treasury—or, the Officers, in the Treas-

jury have been deficient in accounting for it, or
 the Sheriffs have been faulty in the payment of the
 Money into the Treasury—or, some Counties must
 be much in arrears—for they knew that Orange
 had paid to the full. In this situation the People
 were wont to express their suspicions; for which
 the Officers reprov'd them severely, telling them,
 that it would be criminal even to suppose such
 things; for, say they, "These are Men of *such*
Credit, that such a suspicion would be deem'd a
 slander, and fall on him who utters it"—adding,
 "That if such a thing could be, there must be
 more than one concerned in it; and that was not
impossible". Fine reasoning for *quieting* the uneasi-
 nesses of a People growing under Oppressions!
 The credit of Mr. --- &c. &c. Therefore the People
 will not speak their suspicions—But, says our Au-
 thor, we could not help thinking".

Therefore they purpos'd—that if their Repre-
 sentatives, these Guardians of their Rights, would
 assist them, first to settle with the Officers of their
 own County; and if no Deficiency appear'd there,
 then to lay the matter before the Assembly, that
 the Treasurer's Accounts might be brought forth
 and examined—And, if their Representatives refus'd,
 then to Petition the Governor for a New
 Election.

In the above Enumeration of their Grievances,
 they only had suppos'd that the Publick Accounts
 might be unsettled; but by the time they received
 the Governor's Letter, they were confirm'd in this
 matter

matter by the Journals of the House; in which appeared not only that the Accounts were referred, but that the Governor had moved the House to vote him severely with that Business. This alarmed the people much more; especially as they saw the Governor was determined *in favour of the former Behaviour of the Officers* and that their uncertainty was increased by the Governor's ordering them not to meet, in any way whatsoever.

THE Governor had promised to hear the Complaint, made to him in Council by Petition. This Promised—He condemns their Conduct and sets aside their Petition, and strictly enjoins that they should not meet; therefore, they cannot support their Complaints, nor justify themselves nor vindicate their Conduct—Nor can they direct or manage the Affairs of a New-Election—In fact they were cut off from every possible means of doing themselves Justice—So that they *must* sit down, and suffer themselves to be managed by the Officers, and insulted and plundered and asking raised a Commotion and been disappointed; they *must* subject themselves to the slander *Rebellion*; for even which way they would: Governor's Orders, and Letter, like a Many-headed Monster, stared them in the Face.

In this situation they had no resource left, but the Law of their Country, "as the Governor tells them, and from this repeated Experience convinced them they would have no hope; especially as the languid manner in which

Excellency spoke concerning this matter, (*viz.* That he would order the Attorney-General, to set a Proclamation," &c) had a direct tendency to encourage the Officers; while it was evidently designed to dispirit the People, and show them that if they asserted any Rights, *not made for* them by their *Betters*, they must expect to be treated with Neglect, and thrown into the hands of Harpies.

Thus bound upon every side, the Regulators (whose side by this time were all the Country) stood still, waiting the effect of the Proclamation, expecting which so much noise had been made; the issue was, (*vox et praeterea Nil*) a *blow-bluster*. For the Register, or his Clerk, raised Fees, or rather their extortionate Demands, so that all hope vanished, in that the Gov's. pretended interposition, for such the People now saw it to have had the effect before suggested, *viz.* Of encouraging the Officers, in their wickedness, in the face of the People.

The People *dare not meet* to tell the Gov. that the Proclamation had no good Effect; That would have been called *Rebellion*. They *dare not meet* to consult what was best to be done; That would have been called a *flying in the face of Order, and Authority*. However, they made the best excuse they could, and called a meeting, "To agree upon an answer to the Gov. for he would expect some return to his Letter."—They accordingly held a Meeting; and received, from his Excellency the following Letter, *Viz.*

GENTLEMEN,

GENTLEMEN.*

IN strict Conformity to the promise I made in my Letter, dated from the Council-Chamber at Brunswick, I issued a Proclamation on my arrival at Hillsborough, a Copy of which I herewith transmit to you."

"I ALSO gave the Attorney-General, order to prosecute at Law, all public Officers in this County, for abuses in their Offices, on application made to him by or in behalf of the Parties injured."

"IT is now therefore by my advice and consent that Mr. *Tyree Harris* wait on you to proceed to the Collection of the public County and parcel Taxes of Orange County for the year 1767."

"I HAVE the fullest Confidence that you will be agreeable to the Directions of the above mentioned Letter to you, and in Justice to the principles of your Engagement to abide *my Decree* in Council, make it a matter of honour and Conscience among yourselves, that Mr. Harris and his Deputies should not meet with any Interruption in so essentially and immediately necessary discharge of his duty, and obedience to the laws of this Country."

Hillsborough Aug. 1.

1768.

William Tryon.

* The Gov. is a well-bred Man, for he calls the Regulators, one while, Gentlemen, at another time, Scoundrells, Infurgents, Rebels, &c.— Therefore *Gov. Tryon is a Gentleman.*

In this Letter G. T. magnifies his *strict Con-*
formity to his Promise ; but to what part of his
 Promise ? not that which had respect to the Peoples
 Complaints. He also gave orders to Mr. Attor-
 ney-General ; and what were his Orders ? To
 execute ; How ? upon application made to him.
 That is, if a Man that has been strip'd by a
 Sheriff, &c. will give Mr. Attorney all the Money
 he has, and Bonds for as much as Mr. Attorney
 shall demand : Go. T. in great Compassion
 for the *Oppressed Man*, gave orders to the Attorney
 to take his Money, &c.

But his Excellency's *after Clasp* is the most Ex-
 traordinary part of his Essay. viz. "It is by *my*
Advice and Consent ; Modest Gentleman ! he does
 not order, or command an Officer, whom he might
 be ordered ; but he *directs* the People ; and ap-
 peals to their honour and conscience ; and to an
 engagement which he says would that the People
 could have been under ; and what is all this for ?
 That the Money may be got from the People ;
 and then they may seek redress from the four
 Quarters ; For this seems all that his Excellency
 has in view ; by soothing, threatening, and cajoling,
 the People, that he may have money to carry
 on the building of a Palace ; But the People, per-
 ceiving sensible of the *Check* they had in *their* power,
 refused not to obey either of the Letters, therefore
 they told Mr. Harris, when he demanded the Tax,
 that they had determined to lay the matter before
 the House of Assembly, before they would pay his
 demand, They appear to have been actuated in
 this Conduct, by a new fear, which arose from the
 King's moving the House to vest him with the sole
 power of settling the public Accounts.

WHETHER this step is justifiable in the People's
 not, the reader must judge for himself. It was
 certainly disobedience, not merely to the Govern-
 ment's Direction, but to a Law of the Land,
 which the Tax was levied. In this the Peo-
 ple seem to have assumed a right of Judgment
 respecting the propriety of their being Taxed.
 Though the plea made by the Regulators is
 not a right of Judgment, nor a Power of pay-
 or not paying, as the matter should appear
 or unjust to them; but, they appear in every
 instance to consider the Tax being in their Hands
 a means to bring the Governor and Officers
 a Settlement. Therefore, they often say, let
 us that our jealousies are groundless, with
 respect to the Taxation; and remove the Cause
 of complaint against the Officers and we
 immediately pay our Levy. This was affirmed
 the Rights of the commons with a Witness.

To be CONTINUED Weekly on Friday

A

for Fanning, and a Touch-
Stone to Tryon.

(No. VIII.)

THE Reader may have observed, that the Governor, appeals to an Engagement of the People, *To abide his Decision in Council*; probable the People had entered into such obligations with the Governor; and that at the time Engaging, they intended to do as they said. Two things appear to have determined them to otherwise; (1.) When Hunter, and Howel, presented the Petition, &c, of the Regulators, his Excellency called together a small number of the Council: and such a conduct, whether it really did or not, gave the People, the colour of Suspicion, that he called only such as he knew would be on his side. (2.) It is some-what probable the Gov, in order to *engage* the People, had engaged them to believe that he would lay their Petition, &c, before the whole General-Assembly; before, when the People found by the Journals of the House, that the Gov. desired the *Whole* Power should be vested in him, and seeing by his Petition, &c, how he was like to treat them—These appear to be the reasons of the Regulators' Conduct, in refusing to obey the Governor's last Intimation, by the hands of Mr. Harris, who, in discharge

discharge of his duty, required the Tax, of the People; upon this they answered him, "We agreed to lay the matter, before the *Whole* Council, and House of Assembly, before we are to Pay". Mr. Harris, returned without the Money: and also without being Insulted, and treated by the People; though they had "desired that no Officer should come among them to Collect," &c. Nor were the People very delicate in their manner of expression, respecting the Officers. Therefore it is that they are said, by the Gov. "to Menace, and Threaten the property of the King's Officers."

At this Meeting, the Regulators agreed upon an Answer to the Gov's Letter, mention'd, in No. VII, and appointed two Men to wait on, and present it to, his Excellency. In which they said to him, that they should have been much obliged to him had he, as they expected he would have done, called together the Legislature of the Province. Here it must be acknowledged that the Regulators were altogether as forward as necessary though some apology may be admitted from a want of knowledge, and the pressing necessity of their Situation; Nor is it to be refused, that their own importance seems to have had some Influence on their Conduct; They had gone so far for they were unwilling to return back. But if the Regulators treated the Gov. with *freedom*, and a courtly style, it must be confessed also, That the measure he meted to them, was as far from moderate and lenient, as theirs was from delicate and submissive. — For, when Harris returned

among the Regulators, The Gov.'s Officers were
 busied in raising the Militia—Their orders were
 To rendezvous at an appointed place, on a set
 day, which day, was nigh at hand—To
 bring with them three days Provision, and
 nine Charges of Amunition". The Militia,
 upon receiving these orders, immediately sent mes-
 sengers, to carry Tidings to the Regulators, "That
 the Gov, was forming an Armament, to cut them
 off, &c. It was also said, that the Gov. intended
 to send for, and bring down Indians, from the fron-
 tiers, to Aid him in cutting off the Regulators.

THESE alarms threw the Inhabitants of Orange
 into the utmost perplexity; so that in fear they
 ran together, not to Arms, of which they might
 have availed themselves effectually, had they been
 disposed to fight; But, whatever might be the voice
 of the inconsiderate Multitude, of whom it always
 is, the more part, know not wherefore they are
 gathered together; the wiser, and considerate part,
 are disposed, and the People chose, of themselves,
 eight Men, whom they sent to the Gov. That they
 might inform him of what they were told, and know
 of him the Truth, respecting all these things; The
 eight Men returned, having waited on the Gov.
 with the following Declarations from the Gov. and
 others, viz. "In the first place, the Gov. Declares,
 That he never had an Intention to bring down
 Indians, nor of raising the Militia in order to break
 upon any Settlement, as has been falsely repre-
 sented; and that he again repeats his firm resolution
 to do Justice to the People in every thing wherein
 they have been injured, (he being Judge) as far as
 his power."

“ In the next place, Col. Fanning, agrees that the dispute between him and the People, shall be decided at the next Supreme Court; that if the Chief Judge, and his associates, give Judgment against him on the Trial of Mr. John Lowe, or any other deed, he is willing, and shall refund the full Sum over his Lawful fees, he has taken, to every Man who shall apply to him, bringing his deed along with him; and that they shall pay no Cost.”

“ In the next place, Mr. Nash, agrees to the same thing, with respect to his Clerk's fee, as he has already wrote to the Regulators.”

“ In the last place, the Accounts of the Sheriff with the Vestry, and the Court, for the Parish, and County Tax, have been examined and approved; and when a Settlement is made for the Insolvent in the full State, in the same manner, shall be posted up in the Court-house.”

“ THE Gov. will give no Directions for the Sheriff to proceed in his Collection till after the Supreme Court.”

This is an *Unaccountable* piece of Conduct, if we view it in this Light, That the Gov. did actually attempt raising the Militia, and that with design to reduce the Regulators—and that this is True is without a Doubt; and therefore, we can give no better reason for these apparently soft Words of the Gov. in the above Message to the Regulators &c, than the Refusal of the Militia to serve against their Brethren; which Refusal appears by the following

Resolution formed by the Militia, viz. "The
 Affairs in public have caused us to meet to
 consult what is our duty"—We have been warned
 to go against a set of People, called Regulators un-
 der the Term of Enemies; but we look on them
 as Loyal Subjects, acting for the good of our Coun-
 try. Until they are proved Enemies, we do not
 think it our duty to go against them. We are told
 that they who disobey the Gov.'s order, shall be
 punished, for not appearing against these our Brethren,
 and Neighbours; which thing we design to oppose
 until it appears to be our duty; and until their Ar-
 ticles are proved to be contrary to Law."

By the above mentioned Eight Men, the Gov.
 notified the Regulators to meet at a convenient
 Place, to them known, and appointed by his
 Excellency; at a time; at which Place and
 Time, the Sheriffs were to attend, in order to satis-
 fy the People with respect to the Concern they
 had in the Publick accounts.

THE People, met on the day appointed; No
 one of the former Sheriffs came; the Sheriff for the
 time being came, not with Accounts, but, a Letter
 from the Governor, viz.

"GENTLEMEN.

I had every reasonable hope, that my Letter to you
 from the Counsel-Chamber, the 21st of June, would
 have given you not only the most cordial Satisfac-
 tion, but have prompted you with the most ardent
 Zeal to have subscribed to every Direction contain-
 ed therein, conformable to the declared Resolution
 of your address to me."

"IT

“ In the next place, Col. Fanning, agrees that the dispute between him and the People, shall be tried at the next Supreme Court; that if the Court Judge, and his associates, give Judgment against him on the Trial of Mr. John Lowe, or any other deed, he is willing, and shall refund the full Sum over his Lawful fees, he has taken, to every Man who shall apply to him, bringing his deed along with him; and that they shall pay no Cost.”

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 have given you not only the most cordial Satisfac-
 tion, but have prompted you with the most ardent
 zeal to have subscribed to every Direction contain-
 ed therein, conformable to the declared Resolution
 of your address to me."

" IT

“ IT is with a sincere Regret, I at this time affect on the Disobedient, and ungrateful returns have made me, both by your Disregard to the part of my Directions in the above mentioned Letter, and your Refusal to pay your publick Levies to Mr. Harris, late Sheriff, who demanded them of you, on the 2d of this Month, at a general Meeting in Virtue of his Legal Power, and in compliance with the Letter I sent you, by him, urging the immediate Payment thereof”.

“ THE Candor with which I treated the Rash and Precipitate Steps of your past Conduct, and the just means, and effectual measures I pointed out for removing the Causes of Complaint, would have given ample Satisfaction to every Man who Petitioned me with an Intention to be satisfied with Justice.”

“ BY your Letter delivered me the 24th Instant by Mess^{rs} Low and Hunter, I have the Mortification to find every lenient Measure of mine has been prevented, and the friendly Aid I offered to correct abuses in publick Officers, which it was my Duty to tender, considered by you as insufficient.”

“ THE force of the Proclamation was to caution publick Officers against, and prevent as much as possible Extortion. It is the province of the Courts of Law, to Judge and Punish the Extortioners. The Dissatisfaction also you express, that your Addresses, and Papers, were not laid before the whole Council, is equally groundless with your Declarations of the insufficiency of the Proclamation.”

By his Majesty's Commission and Instruction, three Counsellors make a Board; and with five Members business may be transacted of the highest dignity: whereas six Gentlemen of the Council were present when your Address, and Papers were presented before that Board."

THE Resolution you have taken to Petition the Legislative Body, are exceeding agreeable to me; your services on that occasion shall not be wanting, to redress all real Grievances.

It is necessary I should now inform you, in Humanity to your misguided Passions, and in Justice the Integrity of my Intentions, that you are pursuing measures highly Criminal and illegal; and it is a circumstance of real affliction to me, since I consider you as acting upon principles, no less void of Faith and Honour than inconsistent with every Moral, and Religious Duty."

You have given occasion to every Man of probity, and probity, by the open, unreserved Menaces you have thrown out against the Lives and Property of many of the Inhabitants of this County, to look on your designs as bent rather upon destroying the Peace of this Government, and the security of the Inhabitants, than a wish or intention to wait for any Legal process against those you imagine have abused their publick Trust."

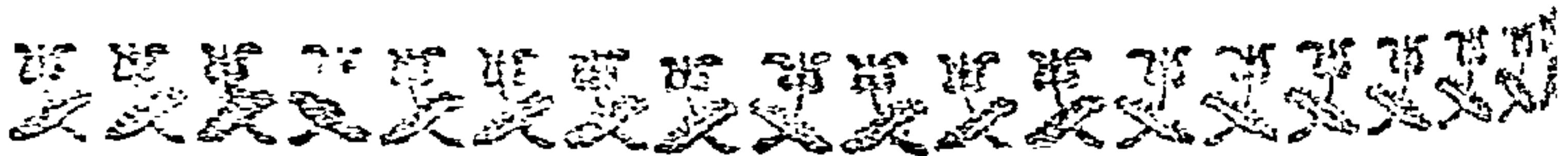
UPON these alarming prospects, I esteemed it my Duty to provide for the Safety of the Government, and to take care that the Publick receive

no damage; To prevent therefore as much as possible the heavy Expence that must accrue to the Province, by providing against the Insults that are intended to be offered to his Majesty's Superior Court of Justice, I am peremptorily to require your Part, that at least twelve of your Principals and those of the first property, wait upon me at Salisbury, on Thursday the 25th of this month, there in my Presence, to execute a Bond in the Sum of One Thousand Pounds, as a Security that no rescue shall be made of W. Butler, and Her Husband, at the Superior Court at Hillsborough they being under Recognizance, then to appear and take their Tryals."

William Tryon.



To be CONTINUED Weekly on Friday



A

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

(No. IX.)

In the last Number was published Gov. Tryon's declaration of War: concerning which, we may be allowed one remark, viz. The Regulators, upon hearing rumours, and alarms, trusted in them, but went to the Gov. and asked, were they true; upon being informed they were not, the People believed, and accepted the Gov's declarations, and confessed and humbled themselves. The Gov. is alarmed by "the unreserved menaces of the Regulators," and the manner of his Intelligence is "Hearsay"; and that contrary to the public declaration of the People by their Committees, made to his Excellency; Upon this, after a series of contradictory, and unintelligible conduct, &c. on the Gov's part, he publishes a declaration of War, with great formality against his own subjects, the People of his care, whom honor, office, and conscience ought to have obliged him to preserve, and secure in the peaceable possession of the fruits of their Industry.

HAD the Regulators been *the men* they are set forth to be in the afore-mentioned declaration of War, reason would that they should have rejoiced

no damage; To prevent therefore as much as possible the heavy Expence that must accrue to the Province, by providing against the Insults that are intended to be offered to his Majesty's Superior Court of Justice, I am peremptorily to require your Part, that at least twelve of your Principals and those of the first property, wait upon me at *Salisbury*, on Thursday the 25th of this month, and there in my Presence, to execute a Bond in the Sum of *One Thousand Pounds*, as a Security that no rescue shall be made of *W. Butler*, and *Herne* his Husbands, at the Superior Court at *Hillsborough* they being under Recognizance, then to appear and take their Trials."

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HAD the Regulators been *the men* they are set forth to be in the above-mentioned declaration of War, reason would that they should have rejoiced

at this opportunity, put into their hands, of bringing the matter to a final issue by force and arms; and that in consequence hereof, they would have published their Manifesto, and dared his Excellency to the Field: But far from such a conduct, inspired by a better spirit, they sent the Gov. in haste the following Letter, viz.

“*May it Please your Excellency.*”

“We received your Letter by the hand of Mr. Lee, at the only time our Officers ever shew any real intentions of informing us to what our Money is apply'd, and at a Time when we were in hopes, and were persuaded matters were likely to be settled to the peace and satisfaction of the publick.”

“We are truly affected with sorrow and concern, because of your Excellency's displeasure; more especially are we affected with sorrow on account of that part of our conduct, which has given the Gov. occasion to charge us with breach of trust, and to look on us as rather bent on destroying the peace of this Government than to wait for Justice. We are much concerned at the thought of a difference arising between your Excellency and us; and we determine to guard against such occurrences for the future. The Commonalty have given occasion, for being under great oppression, and at the same time, threatened, as Rebels, &c, by the Indians, to cut them off, &c, they were much concerned, and broke out into expressions, suggesting their Situation. We shall guard against this in the future.”