Review of the Events Leading Up To and Of the Battle of Alamance
by: Lisa Cox
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Footprint of Our Ancestors: Battle of Alamance 1771

The Weeks Leading Up To The Expedition:

February 16

“I have animated the people” Rednap Howell to James Hunter
Halifax Feb. 16th, 1771
Respected Friend,
On my setting out for Hallifax my horse fell sick which detained me some time so that on my arrival here I had certain information that Herman was at liberty; so that I found it needless to raise the Country but I am satisfied it would be easily done if occasion required, however I have animated the people here to join the Regulation; on Saturday come 2 weeks they are to have a meeting for the purpose. If it once takes a start here it will run into the neighboring Counties of Edgecomb, Bute and Northampton and this will undoubtedly facilitate Justice to poor Carolina. I will now inform you of such things as I have learnt since I left home. At New Bern the Governor called a general muster of 1,100 men; after treating them at yours and my expence he tried to prevail on them to march against the rebels but on one man's absolute refusal he ordered him to turn out of the Ranks for a Traitor which he very readily did and all the Regiment followed or were following him; the Governor perceiving his mistake says Gentlemen you mistook me I only meant should they come down and destroy all your livings would you not fight them; they answered yes on which he dismissed them, they then gathered in Companys of 6, 8, 10 & 12 growling and swearing would the Mob come down they would join them. In Dobbs a general muster was called for the same purpose, but only seven men attended. I am informed the Clerk's places in the New Countrys are parcelled out among the Quality; one Cooper is designed for your Country but if you suffer any rascal to come there may eternal oppressions be your lot: as I cannot solely depend on the Irish ahead pray you will reserve that morsel for yours to serv—

We hear that the Governor has sent a proclamation to you importing as the French and Spaniards are now at war with us, it's a pity to breed a civil war among ourselves; that the Chief cause of the trouble was the counterfeit money for which the great men were to blame; artful V—n! if he could have raised the Province on us he would have told another tale. However if this be true the day is ours in spite of Lucifer—I give out here that the Regulators are determined to whip every one who goes to Law or will not pay his just debts or will not agree to leave his cause to men where disputes; that they will choose
Representatives but not send them to be put in jail; in short to stand in defiance and as to thieves to drive them out of the Country. I leave the plan to your consideration from your sincere friend

REDNAP HOWELL

Image – portion of the letter from Howell to Hunter transcribed in 1771

Regulator Leader Rednap Howell
Howell was probably a native of New Jersey. He was a schoolmaster in lower Orange (now Chatham) county; in 1768 he moved to that part of the county which is now Randolph. A leader of the Regulators, he drew up a statement of grievances to present to Governor Tryon. He also wrote popular ballads making fun of oppressive officials and supporting the cause of the Regulators. Howell participated in the Hillsborough riot of 1770 and fought at Alamance in 1771. Afterward he took refuge in Maryland and died in New Jersey.

-Powell
When Fanning first to Orange came,
He look’d both pale and wan:
An old patch’d coat upon his back,
An old mare he rode on.
Both man and mare wa’nt worth five pound,
As I’ve been often told;
But by his civil robberies,
He ‘as lac’d his coat with gold.
-Rednap Howell

This marker is located along Hwy 64 on the land owned by Solomon Allred 1752-1771 on the western edge of Ramseur, NC.

March 6
Several hundred Regulators converged on the outskirts of Salisbury on March 6 and demanded the opening of the superior court to redress their complaints. John Frohock and several other townspeople rode out to the Regulator encampment to reach a peace settlement. “We went to (the Regulators) found some of them Armed and others unarmed (and) desired to know their Designs and what they wanted,” Frohock remembered. “They answered they came with no Intention to disturb the Court or to injure the Person or property of any one...and that their
Arms were not for Offence, but to defend themselves if assaulted.” Both parties agreed to form a joint committee to arbitrate disputes involving excessive fee collection and to discuss other Regulator grievances, and Husband was chosen to represent the protestors. Appeased, the Regulators rode into Salisbury, “gave three Cheers, and returned to their home without using Violence to any Person.”

-Bruce E. Stewart

Image-1770 Sauthier map of the town of Salisbury

March 7

Agreement for Restitution by Rowan County officials to the Regulators

We the subscribers officers of Rowan County now met at Mr. Steels with a committee of the People called Regulators now assembled at the meeting for a Redress of Grievances as to officers fees and disputes to wit Messrs James Hunter, John Inyerd, Wm Wilburn, Thos Flake, John Curry, James Wilson, Sam Wagoner, Daniel Gilespie, Jas Graham, Henry Wade, Peter Julian, Jeremiah Fields, John Vickery, Saml Jones, & Joshua Teague to receive the Proposals as shall be offered by the several officers for the approbation of the People who are desirous of
nothing more than Justice and Peace with every person whatsoever and that all Debates hereafter may subside now the several Officers Hereto subscribed do hereby agree to settle and pay unto any and every person within the county any and all such sum or sums of money as we or our Deputies have taken through inadvertency or otherwise over and above what we severally ought to have taken for fees more than what the Law allowed or entitled us so to receive without any trouble or Law for the recovery of the same and it is further agreed by the said committee that when any debate may arise and that all persons within this county do give in their demands to such persons as shall be hereafter appointed by the People in each neighborhood to receive the same and to be determined by the following Gentlemen joynly and unanimously chosen between the parties (to-wit) Matthew Locke, Herman Husband, James Smith, James Hunter, Samuel Young, Thos Persons, John Kerr, and James Graham or the majority of them and their determination to be a final end to all former differences whatsoever and that they meet at John Kimborough on the third Tuesday in May next.

Given under our hand this 7th day of March 1771.

JOHN FROHAWK C C
Wm FROHAWK D S
GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD S
THOS FROHAWK C S C
BENn MILLER Sh
JOHN BRAWLEY Regr
ANDREW ALLISON Sherf
FRANCIS LOCKE Sherf
JOHN DUN by J Frohawk and Ellis Martin
ALLELx MARTIN
Wm NAZARY
Wm TEMPLE COLE Sherf
by John Frohawk

Governor Tryon received word from John Frohock, Alexander Martin, and Griffith Rutherford of Rowan County that they had agreed with a group of Regulators to arbitrate differences over fees already collected by the officials, Immediately Tryon repudiated their arrangement as being “unconstitutional, dishonourable to government and...dangerous to the peace and Happiness of Society.”

Image-Tryon’s response to Frohawk and Martin’s agreement
March 11

The grand jury in New Bern indicted husband and sixty other Regulators for rioting, and three days later, Tryon’s council authorized the militia to arrest these men and “reduce (the Regulators) by force to an obedience to the laws of their country”

Crown Prosecutions at a Special Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery held at Newbern the 11th Day of March 1771.
The King vs. John Fruit. Riot A. B—a true Bill.
The same vs. Matthew Hamilton. Same.
The same vs. Eli Branson. Same.
The same vs. Thomas Hamilton. Same.
The King vs. Moses Smith. Riot.
The King vs. James Low. Same.
The King vs. Daniel Smith. Same.
The King vs. Jeremiah Fields. Same.
The King vs. John Pugh. Same.
The King vs. Samuel Deviney. Same.
The King vs. William Dunn. Same.
The King vs. Henry Linteman. Same.
The King vs. Thos Wilborne. Same.
The King vs. William Butler. Same.
The King vs. Ninion Bell Hamilton. Same.
The King vs. Ninion Hamilton. Same.
The King vs. Peter Craven. Same.
The King vs. William Payne. Same.
The King vs. Thos Wilborne. Same.
The King vs. Samuel Dibury. Same.
Same vs. Henry Linterman. Same.
Same vs. Samuel Deviney. Same.
Same vs. Eli Branson. Same.
Same vs. Ninion Hamilton. Same.
Same vs. John Fruit. Same.
Same vs. Peter Craven. Same.
Same vs. James Lowe. Same.
Same vs. Herman Husband. Same.
Same vs. James Hunter. Riot A. B.—A true Bill.
The same vs. William Butler. Same.
The same vs. Thomas Hamilton. Same.
The same vs. John Pugh. Same.
The same vs. Jeremiah Fields. Same.
The same vs. Ninion Bell Hamilton. Same.
The same vs. William Butler. Felony—a true Bill.
The same vs. John Grappen. Same.
The same vs. Samuel Deviney. Same.
The same vs. James Hunter. Same.
The same vs. Matthew Hamilton. Same.
The same vs. James Few Jr. Same.
The same vs. William Payne. Riot A. B.—a true Bill.
The same vs. Aaron Harland Senr. Same.
The same vs. Reuben Landrum. Same.
The same vs. Richard Copeland. Same.
The King vs. Richard Copeland. Same.
The King vs. Aaron Harland Senr. Same.
The King vs. James Binnum. Same.
The King vs. Rednap Howell. Same.
The King vs. James Hearndon. Same.
The King vs. Samuel Culberson. Same.
The King vs. Reuben Landrum. Same.
The King vs. Patrick Crayton. Same.
The King vs. Patrick Crayton. Same.
The King vs. Rednap Howell. A true Bill.
The King vs. William Butler. A true Bill.
The King vs. Peter Craven. A true Bill.
The King vs. John McDaniel. A true Bill.
The King vs. Rednap Howell. A true Bill.
The King vs. Matthew Hamilton. A true Bill.
The King vs. Robinson York. A true Bill.
The King vs. Daniel Smith. A true Bill.
Ralph McNair, Adlai Osborne, Carnes Tinnen, Robert Tinnen, Darby Henley, Philip Jackson, Basil Jackson, Barnab G. Cabe, Josiah Lyon, John Hogan, James Thackston, John Butler, John Henley, Nathaniel Turner and Jacob Mason severally recognized to make their personal appearance on the eleventh Day of May next to give evidence in Behalf of the King against John Fruit upon the Penalty of £200 Proc Money.
Image - The Virginia Gazette March 1771
March 18

Governor Tryon laid before the Council an intercepted letter from Rednap Howell to James Hunter in which force had been urged to free Herman Husband during his imprisonment at
New Bern. The Governor and his Council made the final decision for an expedition into Regulator country. That in effect meant war.

-Alonzo Thomas Dill

Image – Council minutes March 1771

March 27

Governor Tryon obtained the consent of his council to march against the Regulators and “reduce them by force to an obedience to the laws of their country.” He was eager to settle the matter with the Regulators once and for all. The following day he began organizing his army.

-Kars
Wilmington 30th March 1771
The Governor directed Hugh Waddell with some of the Cape Fear division to Salisbury, where he was to collect militia from the western counties and bring them to join the main body. “To forward this business I went myself last week to Wilmington, when I appointed Waddell General of all the forces raised, or to be raised against the insurgents. I expect he will get seven hundred men from the western counties to serve under his immediate command...” – Tryon
Disgruntled Militia
These were exciting days for New Bern. During the muster of the Craven militia, troops were billeted in many of the houses and taverns, and the town’s population was greatly increased. Among the troops were some who either sympathized with the Regulators or were disgruntled at being called from their farms, or both. One Jeremiah Pritchett stepped out of ranks, refused to obey orders, and attempted to “breed a mutiny” among his fellow militiamen. He was sentenced by a court martial to receive 150 lashes “at the Halberts” for attempting to spread disaffection.
William Tryon to the Commanding Officers of the Militia
Every man to be allowed forty shillings for an encouragement to serve in this expedition and to be entitled to receive two shillings a day while in Service, the eight pence per day for provisions being stopped for the commissaries who have contracted to serve the troops with provisions; each Man will also have a pair of Leggings, a Cockade and a Haversack given him, which you are to furnish, and when delivered and a certificate thereof produced signed by the commanding Officer of the Regiment I will give you a Warrant on the Treasury for the amount as well as for the forty shillings per man you shall advance as Bounty Money.
April 22

Journal of the Expedition against the Insurgents - Monday April 22d

The Craven detachment consisting of four Companies (including the Rangers) marched into Town, & five Wagons arrived from Orange County for the Use of the Army. Arrived also the Sloop from New York, with two Brass field Pieces and their furniture, Drums, Colours, camp Kettle, Leggings, & Cockades.
The Piedmont militia commanders found that calling out their men was a very hard sale. From “the North side of Orange County,” a group who called themselves “True Friends to Government” petitioned Tryon in protest of the militia muster, saying that it was directed against the wrong people. They complained of the expense of the 1768 campaign but declared that they would be glad for “every man to take his horse out of the Plow tho at a busy time of the year” to assist the governor if he was “realy determin’d to suppress all the disturbers of the public peace and to punish according to their deserts the Original offen[ders] in government.” The petitioners attacked “the legislature of this Province” for abandoning “the Constitution of Great Britain” in defiance of North Carolina’s colonial charter. Apparently referring to the Johnston Riot Act, they said the legislature “paid very little regard to that Bullwark of life the Habeas Corpus.” It was not a submissive petition.

-Dr. Carole Watterson Troxler
his excellency the Governor of this colony — an humble address from the inhabitants of the north side of Orange County.

We, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, have heard of the inhabitants in our county which is likely to be attended with great cost to the public revenue. And we humbly think that it is quite unnecessary to divert such large sums of money for so mean purposes as to reward men for destroying the tranquility of government — after mature deliberation, of war or peace, the resolve of our people that if your excellency came up at the head of your army for every man to take his horse and the plow for a burden at a time of the year and wait on your excellency to know for certain whether you are really determined to suppress all the sin of the public peace and to punish according to their deserts the original offenders in government. If so we are willing and ready to assist you all in our power to suppress or remove any nuisance that may be an obstacle to good government. What if your excellency answer and subscribe ourselves

True Friends to Government
April 26

The Governor leaves New Bern and the Expedition begins. Image from the Virginia Gazette.
Saturday the 4th of May – Johnston Court House Camp
“The Whole marched to Johnston Court House. Nine Miles.”
“The Army Marches tomorrow. The General to Beat at six o’Clock, the Assembly at Eight and the whole to march at nine.
The Orders of March this day.
The 3rd company of Craven takes the Grass guard to night and the rear Guard tomorrow. Carteret Company takes the Quarter guard tonight, For the Piquet the first Company of Johnston who takes the Baggage guard to morrow. No fires to be lighted in the front of the Lines, Flanks & Rear of the Camp being the proper places.”
-William Tryon’s Orders to the Troops
Johnston Courthouse
By 1771, a new courthouse location was necessary after Wake County was carved from western Johnston County, and the place chosen for it lay along the Neuse River exactly where Smithfield rose as Johnston’s enduring county seat. Construction of the new courthouse began in 1771.
- Thomas J. Lassiter and Wingate Lassiter
May 6

Monday May 6th – Hunters Lodge Camp

“The Army halted, and the Governor reviewed the Wake regiment at a Gen. Muster. Mr. Hinton Colonel of the Regiment acquainted the Governor that he had got but twenty two Men of the Company he had received orders to raise, owing to a disaffection among the Inhabitants of the County. The governor observing a General discontent in the Wake Regiment as he passed along the Front Rank of the Battalion, seeing that not more than one Man in five had Arms, & finding
that upon his calling on the to turn out as Volunteers in the Service, they refused to obey, ordered the Army to surround the Battalion; which being effected he directed three of his Colonels to draft out Forty of the most Sightly & Most active Men, which Manouvre caused not small Panic in the Regiment, consisting at the Time of about four Hundred Men. During the drafting the Officers of the Army were active in persuading the Men to inlist, and in less than two Hours completed the Wake Company to fifty Men. The Forty Men drafted were released upon their giving their Parole they would return next Day with their Arms to lend the to such Volunteers as stood in need of them. Night coming on the Wake Regiment was dismissed, much ashamed both of their disgrace, & their own Conduct which occasioned it. The Army returned to Camp.”

-Journal of the Expedition against the Insurgents

May 9

Eno Camp – Thursday May 9th 1771

“Marched and incamped on the South Side of Eno river, half a Mile from Hillsborough.”

“No Soldier to go into the town of Hillsborough without leave from the Commanding Officer of his Detachment.”

“The Army Halts tomorrow; the Men to wash their Linnen and haversacks in the Morning, that they may be ready to march at an hours warning”
May 13

Haw River Camp – Monday May 13th 1771
At 12 O’Clock an Express arrived from General Waddell, with a Verbal Message, the Express not daring to take a Letter for fear of its being intercepted. The Purport of which Message was that on Thursday Evening the 9th Instant the Regulators to the Number of two Thousand surrounded his camp, and in the most daring & insolent Manner required the General to retreat with the Troops over the Yadkin river, of which he was then within two Miles. He refused to comply, insisting he had the Governor’s orders to proceed. This made them more insolent, and with many Indian shouts they endeavored to intimidate his Men. The General finding his Men not exceeding three Hundred, and generally unwilling to engage; and may of his centuries going over to the regulators, was reduced to comply with their requisition, & early the next Morning repassed the Yadkin river, with his Cannon and Baggage; the Regulators agreeing to disperse and return to their several Habitations.

...His Majesty’s Council, and the Colonels & field officers of the army, Wherein it was resolved that the Army should change their route, get into the Road a Captain Holt’s that leads from Hillsborough to Salisbury, pass the little and great Alamance rivers with all possible Expedition, & march without Loss of Time to join General Waddell...

-Journal of the Expedition

Image-From the "Hartford Courant" 1771
May 13

Monday the 13th of May - News from the Regulators
The Chiefs of the regulators getting Intelligence on Monday the 12th of May that the army had passed through Hillsborough, and was marching towards their Settlements, dispatched emissaries through the Settlements of the Regulators to order them with all possible dispatch to reassemble at Hunter’s plantation near McGee’s, that they might obstruct the junction of the Forces on the governor and General Waddell.

-Journal of the Expedition

“Hunter’s plantation” James Hunter was, according to Governor Josiah Martin, “the General of the regulators.” He lived in the part of Orange County which became Guilford. His signature appears on most of the petitions, and he was entrusted to deliver several of them. His plantation was laid waste by Tryon after the battle.

“McGee’s” In 1753 John McGee was granted a large tract of land in Orange County. He established a gristmill and ordinary at the headwaters of Sandy Creek along the trading path from settlements farther west to markets in Virginia.
Red Circle shows where the Allreds lived in 1771.

**May 14**

Great Alamance Camp – Tuesday 14th May 1771
Halted, the men ordered to keep in Camp. This Evening the two Companies of the Orange Detachment, left at Major Hart’s Mill, joined the Camp with the sick men left in Hillsborough and the waggons under their convoy sent for provisions.
The Army lay on their Arms all night as in the Preceding. No alarm given.
- Journal of the Expedition

"The Regulator army" remains little-studied, in part because of an almost complete lack of records concerning its organization, arms, and even the names of those who served in it. From those Regulators whose names are known, it can be inferred that the majority of those present at Alamance came from Guilford, Orange, and Chatham Counties. Groups from Surry County were apparently on their way, but it is unclear whether they arrived in time to participate. Prior to the winter and spring of 1771, the Regulators were members of their county militias. As for weaponry the Regulators would have been armed much like Tryon’s militia. Their arms would have been comprised of fowling pieces, Brown Bess muskets, and perhaps a few rifles."  
- Joshua B. Howard
Image – A Plan of the Camp and Battle of Alamance, the 16th May 1771. Between the Provincials of North Carolina, Commanded by His Excellency Governor Tryon. and Rebels who styled themselves Regulators. Survey'd and Drawn by C. J. Sauthier.

A. Craven division
B. Beaufort Division
C. Artillery
D. Orange Division
E. Carteret Division
F. New Hanover Division
G. Johnston Division
H. Dobbs division
K. Onslow Division
L. Light Horse
M. Rangers

May 16

Great Alamance Camp – Wednesday May 15th 1771
The Officers and Men of the Orange Detachment were drawn up in the lines and took the Oath of Fidelity. About 6 o’clock in the Evening the Governor received a letter No. —— from the Insurgents which he laid before the Council of War, wherein it was determined that the Army should march against the rebels early the next morning, that the Governor should send them a letter offering terms, and in case of refusal should attack them.

The Army remained under Arms as in the preceding night.

Note.—The messenger that brought the letter from the Insurgents signifying that he had orders to return in four hours the Governor dismissed him about 9 o’clock at night, and sent a messenger of his own to see him safe through the outposts, and then to proceed to the Rebels Camp with a letter to acquaint them of his having received their letter, and that he would send them an answer by 12 o’clock the next day; but the Governor’s messenger meeting with Insults from the outposts of the Rebels returned back to Camp with the said Letter. Mr. Walker and Lieut. Ashe of the New Hanover Detachment, going out of Camp after it was dark to reconnoiter beyond the outposts, were surprised and taken by the Enemy.

The men remained all night under Arms; no alarm, tho’ Rebels lay within 5 miles of the Camp.

-Journal of the Expedition

The last written communication the Regulators are known to have sent Tryon was on the evening before the battle, 15 May. It contained the signatures of John Williams, Samuel Low, James Wilson, Joseph Scott, and Samuel Clark- in the name of the Orange County inhabitants. It reminded Tryon that “the Lives of his Majesty’s Subjects, are not Toys, or or Matters to be trifled with.”

-Carole W. Troxler

May 16

Great Alamance Camp May 16th 1771.

In answer to your Petition, I am to acquaint you that I have ever been attentive to the true Interest of the Country, and to that of every Individual residing within it. I lament the fatal Necessity to which you have now reduced me, by withdrawing yourselves from the Mercy of the Crown, and the Laws of your country, to require you who are Assembled as Regulators, to lay down your arms, surrender up the outlawed ringleaders, and submit yourselves to the laws of your Country, and then rest on the lenity and Mercy of Government: by accepting these Terms in one Hour from the delivery of this dispatch you will prevent an effusion of Blood, as you are at this time in a state of War and Rebellion against your King, your country, and your laws.

Wm. Tryon

To the People now Assembled in arms, who style themselves Regulators...

Image- William Tryon’s response to the Regulators
In answer to your petition, I am to acquaint you that I have ever been attentive to the true interest of this Country, and to that of every individual residing within it. I lament the fatal necessity to which you have reduced me, by withholding yourselves from the mercy of the Crown, and the laws of your Country, to acquire you who are assembled as Regulators, to lay down your arms, surrender up the outlawed leaders, and submit yourselves to the laws of your Country, and then rest on the clemency and mercy of government: By accepting terms in one hour from the delivery of this dispatch you will prevent effusion of blood, as you are at this time in a state of war and rebellion against your King, your Country, and your laws.
May 16, 1771

Great Alamance Camp – Thursday 16th May 1771
The Army marched soon after 7 o’clock this morning leaving the Guard for the Camp as directed in the orders yesterday. The Barrels of Flour and Pork were made use of to strengthen the Barricade formed by the Waggons.

Note.—The discharging three pieces of Artillery was the signal ordered for forming the Army into two Lines in order of Battle agreeable to the plan.

About two miles from the Camp the whole were ordered by the above signal to form the line, to see if the several Detachments knew their stations. This being performed in good order, the Lines were reduced into a column and continued their march, and before 10 O’Clock came within half a mile of the Rebels’ Camp, where the Army formed in line of Battle. The Governor then sent Capt. Malcolm, one of the Aides-de-Camp, and the Sheriff of Orange, with his Letter, requiring the Rebels to lay down their Arms, surrender up their Outlawed Ringleaders, &c., Vide Letter No. ——. About half past ten Capt. Malcolm and the Sheriff returned with the Information that the Sheriff had read the Letter four several times to different Divisions of the Rebels who rejected the Terms offer’d with disdain, said they wanted no time to consider of them and with rebellious clamor called out for battle. As the Army kept moving on slowly during the absence of Capt. Malcolm and the Sheriff, when they returned the Army was within 300 yards of the Van of the Rebels, who had also advanced towards the Loyalists, waving their hats and daring them to come on. An engagement being then inevitable both Lines were ordered to advance nearer; and they even drew upon the ground upon which the Van of the Rebels first shewed themselves, the latter retreating back to their main body as the Lines advanced.

About this time the Officers petitioned the Governor for an exchange of prisoners in lieu of the two Gentlemen taken over night. After some messages passing on both sides, it was agreed that all the prisoners taken by the Loyalists, (number seven) should be restored for Mr. Walker and Lieutenant Ashe. But the Rebels delaying upwards of half an hour to send back the two Gentlemen, under pretence that they were a distance in the rear, and the Governor being suspicious that they were only protracting the time that they might outwing his Flanks by the superiority of their numbers, sent them word by an Aid-de-Camp he should wait no longer for the prisoners, and cautioned the Rebels to take care of themselves, as he should immediately give the signal for action. Accordingly, the Artillery began the fire which was instantly seconded by a discharge from the whole of the first Line. The action was hot on both sides tho’ the Rebels soon took to the Trees, from whence they kept up a brisk fire for near two hours, at the expiration of which time their fire slackened considerably. The Artillery was ordered to cease and the Army to advance in the best order the Circumstances would admit of. The left wing of the first line having turned upon the second line of the said wing, threw both into much disorder, tho’ by the spirited behaviour of the Officers they were again brought into the Field and moved forward with the right wing. This soon drove the Enemy from the Trees and the whole Rebel Army fled in great
confusion leaving behind them near 20 prisoners taken in the Field, seventy Horses with saddles, provisions and a small quantity of Ammunition.
The Army pursued not more than half a mile beyond the Field of Battle, thro’ the Enemy’s Camp to a House where were found in a Garret, Mr. Walker and Lieut. Ashe, who had been left to shift for themselves in the hurry of the action; the night they were taken they were stript and tied to a tree and both most severely whipt with small Hickory Sticks.
It being now half past two o’clock, the Enemy entirely dispersed and the Army five miles from Camp, it was thought advisable to lose no time, but to return immediately to the Camp to Alamance. Empty Waggons were order’d from Camp which took both the killed and wounded of the Loyalists, and even several of the wounded Rebels, who acknowledged that had they gained the day no quarter would have been given but to such as would have turned Regulators, these were nevertheless taken good care of, and had their wounds dressed.
The Army got into Camp about five in the Evening, and remained under Arms, as in the preceding nights.
The Governor Orders that all the wounded of the arm be brought to his own Tent and the greatest care taken of them, the wounded of the rebells brought to Camp to be taken care of.
-Journal of the Expedition and William Tryon’s Orders to the Troops
Image- A Plan of the Camp and Battle of Alamance, the 16th May 1771. Between the Provincial of North Carolina, Commanded by His Excellency Governor Tryon. and Rebels who styled themselves Regulators. Survey’d and Drawn by C. J. Sauthier.
May 17

Friday the 17th of May Alamance Camp
Army halted. This Evening the Dead were interred with military Honors; and an Out Law, Named Few, taken in the Battle was hanged at the Head of the Army. This gave great Satisfaction to the Men, & at this Time it was a necessary Sacrifice to appease the Murmurings of the Troops, who were importunate that public Justice should be immediately executed against some of the Outlaws that were taken in the Action and in opposing of whom they had braved so many Dangers, & suffered such Loss of lives and Blood, and without which Satisfaction some refused to march forward, while others declared they would give no Quarter for the future.

-Journal of the Expedition
"Out law, Named Few"

James Few was born in Maryland, the son of William Few, Sr., and Mary Wheeler Few. He was the brother of William Few, Jr., who became a U.S. senator and judge. In 1758 the family moved to North Carolina and settled near Hillsborough. James Few married, probably in 1769, Mary
Howard, and settled near Hillsborough where he was a farmer and carpenter. The couple had twin children, William and Sally. Few's role in the Regulator disturbances is not clear. In 1768 his father had signed a bond for two leading Regulators, William Butler and Herman Husband. On the other hand, James Few's brothers William and Benjamin seem not to have been seriously involved. James Few was indicted in the May term of court in 1771 in New Bern for participation in the Regulator riot of the previous September. Because he had never been arrested, he was technically an outlaw at the time of the battle. Following the Battle of Alamance, William Few, Sr., moved his family to Georgia, taking with him the twin children of James and Mary Few. James's son William became prominent in Georgia and was the great-grandfather of William Preston Few, twentieth century president of Duke University.

- Elmer D. Johnson

May 19

Sunday the 19th of May – “Three Hundred Rebels”

“The Army marched early this Morning and joined the second Line before Twelve. Col. Ashe informed the Governor he had been surrounded all Night by three Hundred of the Rebels, but by keeping his Men very alert under the Enemy was deterred from attacking his Camp,
excepting a Small party which shot one of his out Sentries through the Shoulder, and took another Prisoner from his post.
The whole Army got under March by two O’Clock, and proceeded about five Miles to Mr. Lowe’s, an extensive plantation, an commodious & safe Camp. Cut down a large Fruit orchard to open the Communication between the Lines.”

-May 21-

Tuesday 21st of May – Sandy Creek Camp
“No accounts of Husband or Hunter after the action...”
Marched five Miles to James Hunter’s the General of the Rebels, and an Outlaw. His dwelling House, Barn, &c though mean, burnt down.
Halted about three Hours, to give Time to a large Body of the Inhabitants who come into Camp & took the Oaths of Allegiance, submitted themselves to Government, and delivered up their Arms in Conformity to the Governor’s proclamation of the 17th the Day after the Action.
This Evening took possession of Herman Husbands plantation, containing Six hundred Acres of Excellent Land, and encamped in two Lines. No Accts. Of Husbands after the Action. A large parcel of Treasonable papers found in his Home, and some of his Stock, and Cattle, on and near the plantation.
Mad a Requisition from the Quaker Settlement on Cane Creek of Six Waggon Loads of flour for His Majesty’s Service.

-Bethabara Diary May 21-

A small company of Regulators passed this morning, probably many went by during the night, ashamed to be seen. One of them, a friend, gave Br. Blum a report of the first battle last Thursday; they had stood the first two rounds from the Governor’s troops, during which many of their people had fled, and then they also had retired some distance; at a spring they had seen many hats and guns lying, but only three men, who were nearly dead. One, the lower part of whose body was shot away, begged him for God’s sake to give him a drink, and he had brought him water in his hat. Another had part of his skull shot away.

-Herman Husband's Sandy Creek tract
May 21

A Proclamation.
Whereas the time limited in my Proclamation of the 17th Inst. for those to surrender themselves and deliver up their arms who have stood out in rebellion is now expired, and whereas I am informed that many persons living at a great distance from camp who were concerned in the rebellion and are desirous of making their submission have not had timely notice of that act of Grace, I do therefore by and with the advice and consent of His Majesty's Council hereby extend the time limited in the aforesaid Proclamation to the 24th Instant, Inclusive and allow a pardon to all those who comply with the terms thereof on or before the 24th Inst. above mentioned, the prisoners and outlaws excepted.
Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the said Province this 21st day of May A. Dom. 1771.
Wm. TRYON.
God save the King.
North Carolina 24th May 1771

By His Excellency William Tryon
Esquire. His Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the said Province

A Proclamation

 Whereas the time limited in my Proclamation of the 1st for them to surrender themselves and deliver up their arms who have stood out in Rebellion is now expired, and whereas it is informed that many persons living at a great distance from camp who were concerned in the Rebellion and anxious of making their submission have not had timely notice of that Act of Grace, I do therefore by and with the advice and consent of His Majesty's Council hereby extend the time limited in the aforesaid proclamation to the 24th Instant Inclusive, and allow a pardon to all those who comply with the Terms thereof or before the 24th Instant above mentioned the prisoners and outlaws excepted.

Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the Province this 24th day of May Anno Dom. 1771

By His Excellency's Command

[Signature]

W. Tryon

Mr. Palmer, Deputy

God save the King
May 26

Sandy Creek Camp – Sunday May 26th 1771

His Excellency is much concerned that notwithstanding his repeated orders, the Officers are so negligent of their Duty as to Suffer Soldiers to fire off their Guns through all parts of the Camp. He Expects for the future that they will be more observant and send every Man that Fires without his leave to the Quarter Guard, to be Tried by a court Martial for disobedience of orders.

The Corps of Rangers detached with two loads of provisions to join the Orange Detachment on Deep River where the Indian trading path Crosses. This evening Major Hawkins informed the Governor that at Poll Cat Creek, two Miles short of Deep River the Rangers had joined the Orange Detachment but the Creek was too much swelled to pass over it. Rains continue Day and Night.

-Journal of the Expedition & William Tryon’s Orders to the Troops

Red Circle shows where the Allred family lived in 1771. Note Polecat Creek ran just west and north of their land.

May 28

Sandy Creek Camp – Tuesday 28th May 1771
The Army marches at two O’Clock. The Quarter Master General and Camp Colour Men to parade immediately and March forward as soon as possible. The Pioneers to follow the Camp Colour Men and repair the Roads.

- William Tryon’s Orders to the Troops

On Tuesday, May 28, the soldiers moved on to Deep River, where Nathaniel Powell, a Regulator, presided over Deep River Separate Baptist church. They crossed the river early Thursday morning and camped near Carraway Baptist Church.

- Marjoleline Kars

Deep River Separate Baptist Church was a large Sandy Creek Branch congregation some distance up Deep River organized in 1757.

After Husband and Butler were jailed in Hillsborough, in May 1768, "The News spread like wildfire through Orange county and so much further incensed the people that by dawn the next morning, several hundred men, possibly Nathaniel Powell, gathered near Hillsborough to break Butler and Husbands out of jail. Powell signed Regulator Advertisement No. 9 and later became an ex-Regulator because of Elder Shubel Stearn’s “order” that “if any of their members should join the Regulators or take up arms against lawful authority he should therefore be excommunicated.”

- John Sparks

Image – Sandy Creek Baptist Church courtesy of the North Carolina Office of Archives and History

May 29

Deep River Camp - Wednesday the 29th of May

"Marched four Miles and crossed Poll Cat Creek, a deep and ugly Ford. Felled a large tree a Cross the Creek and marched the Troops over in Indian File. From the obstructions of this Creek they were five Hours in getting all over. Marched two Miles beyond the Creek and encamped
on the North East Banks of Deep River. Left the Rangers, Wake, and Orange Detachments, at Poll Cat Creek."

-Journal of the Expedition Against the Insurgents

Image-Portion of the 1770 Collet map indicates the area where the militia crossed Polecat Creek. (West of Husband's Mill.)

May 31

Flat Swamp Camp – Friday 31st May 1771.
A Proclamation.
Whereas, I am informed that many Persons who have been concerned in the late Rebellion are desirous of submitting themselves to Government, I do therefore give notice that every Person who will come in, either to mine or General Waddells Camp, lay down their Arms, take the Oath of Allegiance, and promise to pay all Taxes that are now due or may hereafter become due by them respectively, and submit to the Laws of this Country, shall have His Majestys most gracious and free pardon for all Treasons Insurrections and Rebellions done or committed on or before the 16th Inst., provided they make their submission aforesaid on or before the 10th of June next. The following Persons are however excepted from the Benefit of this Proclamation, Viz. All the Outlaws, the prisoners in Camp, and the undernamed persons, Samuel Jones, Joshua Teague, Samuel Waggoner, Simon Dunn, Jr., Abraham Creson, Benjamin Merrill, James Wilkerson, Sr., Edward Smith, John Bumpass, Joseph Boring, William Rankin, William Robeson, John Winkler and John Wilcox.

Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the said Province at Kaiway Camp this 31st May A. Dom. 1771.

Wm. TRYON.

God save the King
North Carolina:

[Signature]

By His Excellency's Command,

Wm.

A Proclamation

Whereas I am informed that many Persons who have been concerned in the late Rebellion and desertion of submitting themselves to Government, I do therefore give Notice that every Person who will come in either at mine or General Hanby's Camps, shall deliver their Arms, take the Oath of Allegiance, and promise to pay all Taxes that are now due, or may hereafter become due, by them respectively and submit to the Laws of this Colony; shall have His Majesty most gracious and free pardon for all Treason, Insurrection, and Rebellion, done or committed on or before the 16th Instant, provided they make their Submission accordingly on or before the 10th of June next. The following Persons are likewise excepted from the benefit of this proclamation viz. All the Captains, The Presidents in Camp, and the undernamed Persons: Samuel Jones, John Knapp, Samuel Ruggles, James Dunn, John Graham, Benjamin Merklk, James Witherston, and Edward Smollett. John Wombach, Joseph Howing, William Barnbrooke, William Whistler, John Whistler, and John Wombach.

Given under my Hand and the great Seal of the said Province at Hanby Camps, the 31st Day of March 1771.
June 15

Hillsborough Camp – Friday June 15th 1771
The troops halted. This the day of the Trial of the State prisoners came on in the special Court of Oyer and Terminer held in Hillsborough and which had been kept open since the 30 May, the situation of the public affairs not allowing the Governor to bring the prisoners earlier to justice,
he having no place of security to keep them but with the Army; and the marching them through the Country made a deep impression in the minds of the Inhabitants.

-Journal of the Expedition

Image from “The South-Carolina and American General Gazette”
ON THIS SPOT WERE HANGED
BY ORDER OF A TORY COURT
JUNE 19, 1771
MERRILL MESSER, MATTHEW, PHIN
AND TWO OTHER REGulators

PLACED BY
THE DURHAM-ORANGE COMMITTEE
NORTH CAROLINA N. A. L.
COLONIAL NATIONAL
APRIL 19TH
June 18

Hillsborough Camp – Tuesday June 18th 1771
Army halted. State Trials finished when Twelve Prisoners were sentenced to die as Traitors.

After Orders
The Pioneers and Camp Colour Men to March at six O’Clock to Morrow Morning to open the woods near the place of Execution. The Sherif will give his attendance. The Army to be under Arms to Morrow at eleven O’Clock and the whole to March to Guard the State Prisoners to and at the place of Execution...

The troops will form and March in an oblong square, the first Line to form the Right ad the second Line the left Face. The Corps of Artillery to form the Front and the Rear Faces The Main Guard to March in the hollow of the Square with the Prisoners. The Light Horse to keep on the outside Flanks to prevent the Mob crowding on the men.

-Journal of the Expedition and Tryon’s Orders to the Troops
June 19

Hillsborough Camp – Wednesday June 19th 1771
The twelve prisoners condemned were escorted by the whole Army, under the command of Col. Ashe, to the place of execution, six were hanged and the other six reprieved until his Majesty's pleasure should be known; this grace was granted in compliance with the wishes of the Army, the Officers having recommended them as objects of mercy.
A Court Martial to be held at Nine O’Clock to Morrow Morning for Tryal of the Prisoners in Camp.
-Journal of the Expedition and William Tryon’s Orders to the Troops
Image - The execution site in Hillsborough ca. 1920
WHERE THE REGULATORS WERE HANGED  HILLSBORO, N. C.
June 28

Soon after the Troops got on their march they halted and drew up in two ranks facing inwards. The Governor then rode between the Ranks and took an affectionate and painful leave of those brave men, thro’ whose spirit, obedience and attachment he surmounted all his difficulties. He then proceeded to New Bern, one hundred and eighty miles from Hillsborough, Embarked the 30 June and on the 7th of July, arrived with his family in his present Government. Thus ended an expedition the arduous undertaking and happy issues of which are submitted to the consideration of Government.

March 5, 1781

A little known Revolutionary War engagement occurred on the Regulator battlefield on 5 March 1781. Ten years after the Battle of Alamance, and approximately two weeks before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, soldiers of the Delaware Light Infantry commanded by Capt. Robert Kirkwood fought a small contingent of troops from the British Army of Lord Charles Cornwallis. The discovery of a Continental Army button on the Alamance battlefield in 2010 confirmed the written account of this inconclusive skirmish.

The skirmish at Alamance Battleground occurred just ten days before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse (March 15th, 1781), where Cornwallis won a costly victory over American Major General Nathanael Greene. The British could never recover and eventually surrendered at Yorktown seven months later.

Captain Kirkwood wrote the following entries in his Journal and Order Book:
March 4, 1781
We came us with the Enemy at the Allamance.
March 5, 1781
Marched this Night to the Old Regulation ground and attack'd the advanc'd picquet. Brought off one of their Centinells & returned to Camp by morning...